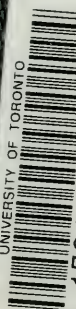


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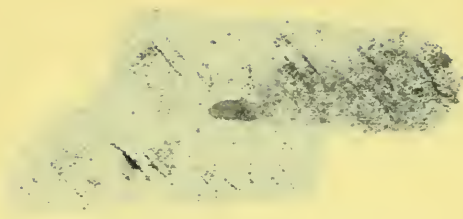


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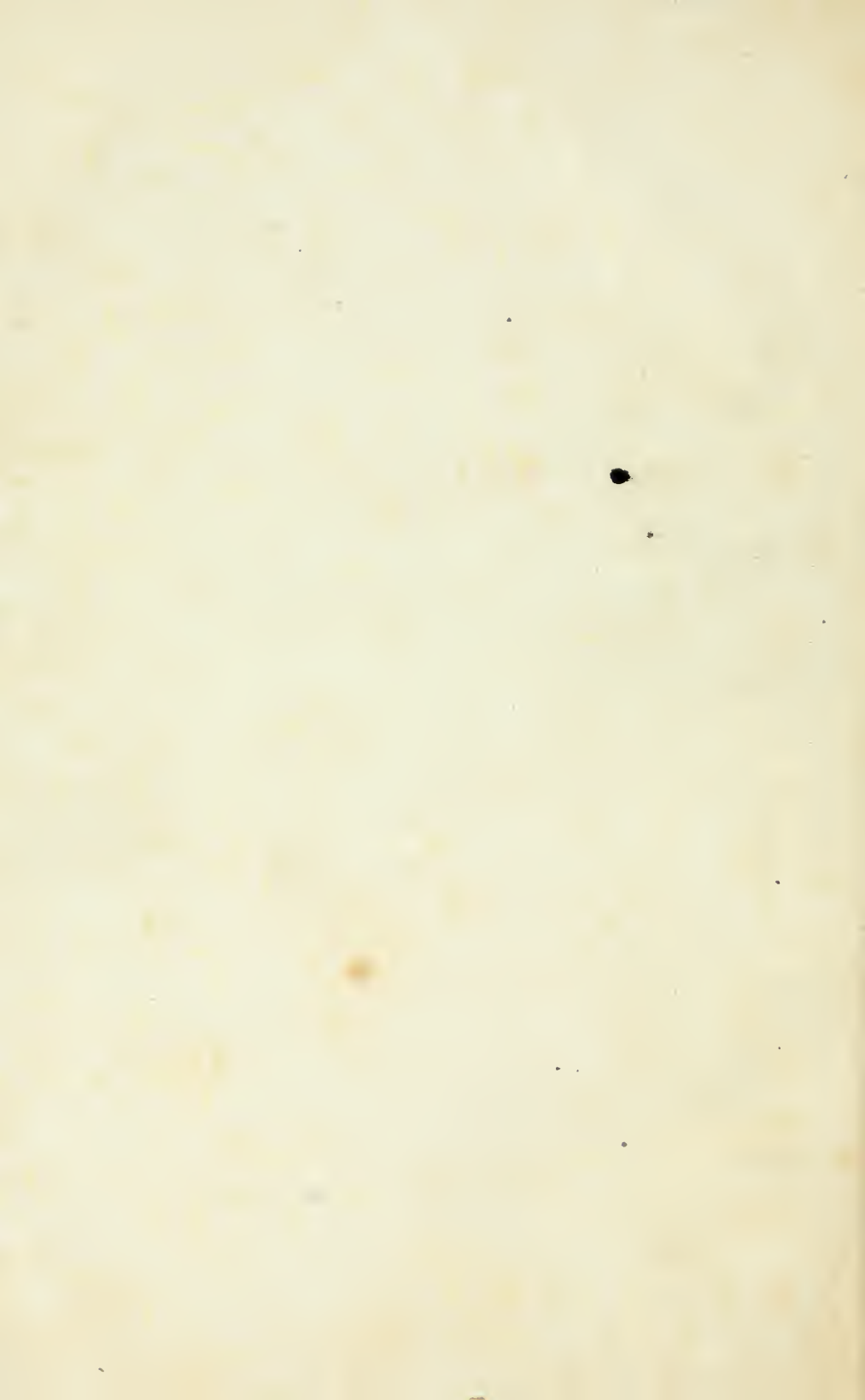








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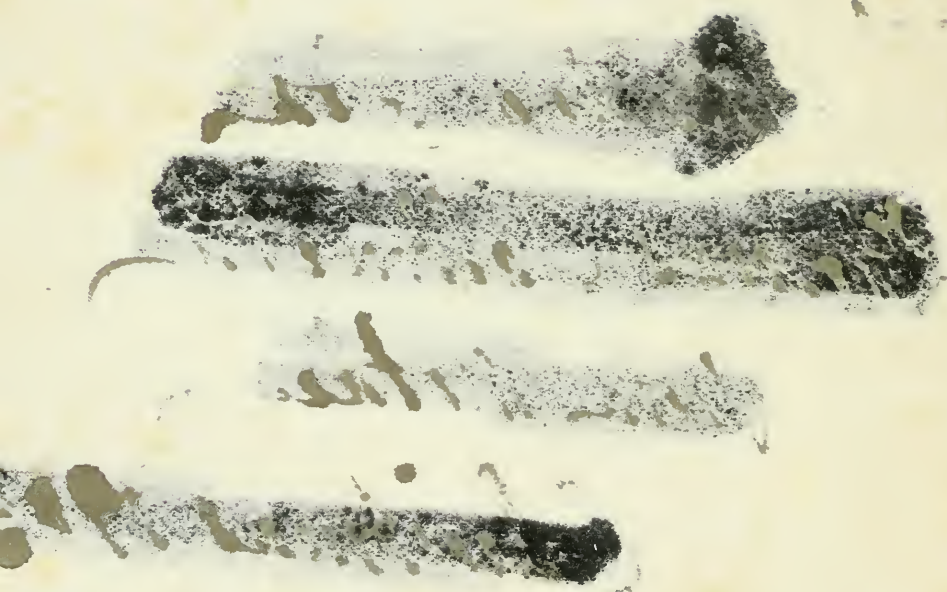
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THE
HISTORY OF THE SWEDES,

BY
ERIC GUSTAVE GEIJER,

HISTORIOGRAPHER ROYAL OF SWEDEN,

AND PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF UPSALA, &c.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SWEDISH,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

J. H. TURNER, ESQ. M.A.

170931
3/5/22

THE FIRST PORTION,

(COMPRISING THE FIRST THREE VOLUMES OF THE ORIGINAL,)

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES THE TENTH.

LONDON:

WHITTAKER AND CO., AVE MARIA LANE.

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION.

PROFESSOR GEIJER'S History of the Swedes (*Svenska Folkets Historia*) was published at Örebro in 1832-36; a German version, by Dr. Leffler, made under the author's supervision, was published contemporaneously at Hamburg. The work possesses a European reputation; all competent judges admit that the writer has added one to the scanty list of great national histories, and achieved on behalf of the literature of his country and his own fame, an emprise to which Dalin, Lagerbring, and other annalists of the last century, were unequal. The present volume comprises all of the original which has hitherto appeared; the continuation, which will bring the history down to a more recent date, is in an advanced state of preparation; and its appearance will be welcomed by all who delight in historical studies, or are capable of appreciating the important relations of the subject. But the work is even now more complete than either of the two older referred to; the former of which comes down only to the close of the reign of Charles IX. in 1611, while the latter breaks off in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Some notice of the author's life may be expected by those who are unacquainted with his position and labours. He was born on the 12th January, 1783, at Ransäter, in the province of Vermeland; entered the University of Upsala in his seventeenth year, and at twenty obtained the chief prize of the Swedish Academy for eloquence in composition. In 1806 he took the degree of M.A., and after visiting England, was appointed in 1810 Lecturer on History at Upsala, and in 1817 Professor, on the death of Fant, whose pupil he had been. Subsequently he was charged by King Charles John with the superintendence of the studies of the Crown-Prince Oscar, now King of Sweden and Norway, to whom the original of the present translation is dedicated. In 1824 he was nominated one of the eighteen in the Swedish Academy; and in 1826, on his return from travels in Denmark and Germany, member of the Commission of Public Education. In 1828 he was created by his sovereign Knight of the Order of the Polar Star, and chosen to represent the University of Upsala in the Diet. In 1840 he was again elected to the same trust, from which, in the present Diet, he has retired. While he remained a member of the legislature, he filled one of the foremost places in the councils of his country; and was distinguished as the friend of every well-considered liberal measure. Being in orders, the Bishopric of Linköping was offered to his acceptance in 1833, and in 1834 that of Carlstad; but he is understood to have declined both. During this long and brilliant career, his official duties and the engrossing concerns of politics, did not prevent him from rendering the most important services to the literature of his country. He assisted in editing, with Afzelius, the old popular poetry of Sweden; and with Archbishop Lindblom and Schröder, was appointed by royal warrant to prepare for the press the great collection of the *Scriptores Rerum Suecicarum*, which appeared at Upsala in 1818 and 1823. He was editor or chief contributor to the *Swea and Iduna*, reviews established in imitation of those of Britain; he is also a poet as well as a critic and philologist, and those who have read "The Pirate," will probably not question his claims to the Scaldic laurel. In 1825 appeared a volume of Dissertations on the Early History and Antiquities of Sweden (the *Swea Rikes Häfder*), full of the most curious and recondite learning, conveyed in a popular and eloquent mode of exposition¹. Finally, in the "Litteratur Blad" or Literary Journal for 1838-39, there appeared from his pen a series of Essays on the Poor Laws, and their Bearing on Society, which testify to the wisdom of his political views and the extent of his information. Of these one of the principal objects was to advocate the liberation of labour and trade in Sweden from the fetters of corporate restriction, and the adoption of a liberal tariff on foreign produce imported. Such is a brief and imperfect summary of the public services and honours of this celebrated

¹ This the translator hopes to be able to issue in a future volume.

man. The great writers of our own, no less than of the continental literatures, are familiar to him, and Englishmen will be pleased to recognize in him a kindred genius, who belongs to the same generic school of metaphysical and political speculation. Second to none among European scholars, the learned of Germany have long since discovered his merits, and promptly profited by them²; for though their soil is not fertile in historical talent, nor their alacrity in acknowledging foreign obligations remarkable, yet their quickness of adaptation is not to be denied.

To the present translation, which originated in the desire to make known to the English public a historical work of singular excellence, the author has given his sanction. The task was begun with a perfect consciousness of its difficulty, and the wish that it might be performed, *ab alio potiusquam a me; a me potiusquam a nemine*. The translator had been led by curiosity to seek information on Swedish history, and regretted the entire absence of any work on the subject in our own language. This deficiency, it may be remarked in passing, has certainly not been removed by the recent appearance in an English form of a portion of Fryxell's *Stories from Swedish History*³; a book which, meagre, unsatisfactory, and feebly written, can lay claim to no serious consideration as one of any authority or weight.

It has been the aim of the present translator, in essaying an English version of the only work deserving to be regarded as the standard of Swedish history, to present a faithful and accurate image of the style of the original; to render as exactly as possible every shade of meaning and variety of diction. A translation should be close without stiffness, free and spirited without paraphrastic license. Whether these objects have been attained in the present case it is for others to determine. I by no means assent to a theory often maintained, which supposes true translation to be impossible, because nice distinctions of meaning, and still more idiomatic forms of expression, are necessarily evanescent, and leave but a *caput mortuum* to mock the toil of conversion. I believe it to be possible to reproduce in our language a just presentment of any *prose* composition in another; and to transfuse the ideas in similar diction without loss of force or grace. If the attempt fail, it must be ascribed not to its impracticability, but to an imperfect command of the resources of the English tongue in the individual. With the noblest and most comprehensive of modern languages as our instrument, it must be possible to find, even in the most difficult cases, (of course those springing from some radical difference in the things symbolized are excepted,) expressions of equivalent significancy, and more or less identical in the verbal meaning. Some changes of collocation and structure must be permitted.

Whenever doubt was felt as to the true sense of the original, recurrence has been had to the German version⁴; which, though containing many minor inaccuracies⁵, avoided in the following pages, fulfils by its general fidelity and vigour of style all the essentials of a translation. In some passages of the Swedish original variations from the German are observable, apparently proceeding from the author's own pen; in these the former has been followed. The notes, it will be seen, are numerous; but they are never necessary to the text, and should be regarded, like those of Gibbon, in the light of corroborative matter, which may be read or not at pleasure. A few turning on minute topographical or technical points (chiefly in Chapters II. and X.) have been omitted or abridged, as possessing only domestic interest; those supplied by the translator are brief explanations of points on which many English readers might possibly feel at a loss. It was originally intended to give a map of Scandinavia; but the idea was abandoned, because maps are now-a-days easily procured, and maps of Germany, Poland, and Russia would have been scarcely less necessary.

Professor Geijer's style bears a remarkable resemblance to the mode in which the old English writers thought and expressed themselves,—a circumstance coincident with the expectations we should be inclined to form from affinities of race, and analogies of language⁶ and situation, nor likely to prove a discommendation to English readers, especially at the present day. Its peculiar quality seems to be

² As for instance Gfrörer, the librarian of Stuttgart, in his "History of Gustavus Adolphus and his times." Much of the first two books is little else than an abridgment of Geijer. It is continually possible to trace not only the ideas, but the phraseology.

³ Berättelser i Svenska Historien. Published in London under the title of *History of Sweden*.

⁴ A French version likewise exists by a Swedish resident of Paris; but this I have not had the advantage of seeing.

⁵ It would be easy, but for the reluctance to enter on an invidious office, to give proofs of this assertion.

⁶ In grammatical structure the English and Swedish languages have perhaps a closer affinity than any others of Europe. More examples of verbal identity might be produced than even in the case of the German. It often happens that words which have dropped out of use in the written language of England, though still existing in the Scottish or provincial dialects, find their correlatives in that of Sweden. I may specify a few instances out of hundreds. *Grete*, *pr. gratte*, to weep; Swed. *grata*. *Toom*, empty; Swed. *tom*. *Side*, meaning long or down-hanging; Swed. *sid*, and length or side-ness, *sidd*. *Hemman*, the word translated "grange" in the following pages, is obviously the same with the Anglo-Saxon *ham*, meaning a croft, or piece of ground adjoining to a house, also the house, farm, or village itself; whence hampsel, hamlet. *Hem* is *home*. *Leak*, to play; Swed. *leka*.

suggestive power. The figurative language he sometimes employs, though always sparingly and with discrimination, not only adorns the subject with the graces of imagery and fancy, but is an instrument admirably adapted to extract its essence, and to impress the mind of the reader, by a few words, more forcibly than by pages of disquisition. His narrative is rapid, animated, and striking; while he excels not less in deciphering the faint and imperfect records of the past, and lighting up the dim obscurities of history with the gleam of truth, than in relating the best ascertained facts of the clearest periods, standing upon unquestioned testimony. This will be acknowledged by such as compare the first two chapters of the following history, or the ten of the Scandinavian Antiquities, which are in the nature of an inquiry, with his account of the reigns of the later sovereigns. In the caution and sagacity with which he tracks his way through the mysterious gloom of the mythological and traditionary period, constructing a symmetrical and harmonious fabric of verisimilitude from the poetical legends of the sagas and the scattered hints of foreign annalists, the same analytic faculty is exhibited which Niebuhr brought to bear on the darkness of the early Roman history, conjoined with an artistic method and felicitous eloquence which we vainly desiderate in the German writer. Of the heathen and Catholic periods, for which the authorities are few, brief, and unsatisfactory, his exposition is necessarily succinct and undetailed. Here he follows in some passages, as the safest course in dealing with imperfect evidence, the exact language of the original writers⁷; which indeed is sometimes the vehicle best calculated to imbue the inquirer's apprehension with the spirit of the age or subject. In his progress to the names and events which have gained a world-wide celebrity, and demand a breadth, force, and grandeur of narration, not unequal to the theme, he displays these qualities in an amplitude of measure that leaves nothing to be desired; *crescit cum magnitudine rerum vis ingenii*. At times there is a scriptural energy and solemnity which indicate one of the models he has followed, and impart to his own narrative the same features that stamped the mind and style of the ancient heroes of Sweden. Not unfrequently, like all the chief northern writers, from the Icelanders to the modern poets of England, he blends the elements of comic and tragic emotion, or illustrates elevating truths by familiar things. In the occasional inborn and homebred pith of his expressions, drawn from the stores of demotic feeling and fancy, is portrayed the free, plain-spoken, and vigorous spirit of the people whose story he relates.

The study of Swedish history is not only necessary, as an integrant part of general history, and interesting in itself, because fertile in memorials of heroic exertion, lofty achievement, and patient triumph over difficulties manfully encountered; it is also indispensable to the right comprehension of the mutual relations, and even the intrinsic import of other departments of European history. For the pomp and grandeur which gild the mediæval story of nations such as France, England, and Spain, whose numbers, opulence, and power have thriven under advantages of situation, soil, and climate, denied by nature to the remote north, we must not look here. Yet there are many elements which lend the subject a character of elevation and dignity beyond any that could be conferred by mere magnitude of material resources, and amply compensating their deficiency. And above all, the history of Sweden possesses a unity of interest, wanting in those of both Germany and Italy, where the student's attention is distracted by the multiplicity of constituent parts, arising from the political divisions of these countries, or even in that of her neighbour Denmark. Down to our own day, her power and consideration in Europe have ever exceeded the due proportion of her population and means, as was also the weight which she could at times, as in the seventeenth century, throw into the scale; results ascribable partly to the talents of her sovereigns, and partly to her comparative freedom from the religious divisions, and other distracting causes, which tore contemporary states.

Although the opinion once so generally spread, that Scandinavia⁸ was the home and dwelling-place of the Gothic tribes which subdued the Roman empire, has been overthrown by the more critical learning and precise inquiry of modern days, its claims on our curiosity need not be rested on any such factitious grounds. In its indigenous religion, institutions, and manners, the purest type of the ancient Gothic mind exhibited itself, and exercised its constructive faculties. These exemplify the original form of society among all the kindred of the Gothic stock. They are not less deserving of investigation in

⁷ See instances in the accounts of Ingvald Illrada, Ivar Widfamne, Ragnar Lodbroc, and Earl Birger, as well as many subsequent passages. Compare in the latter case specified, the description of Birger's conduct on his return from Finland, at p. 48 of the following volume, with that in Lawrence Peterson's Swedish Chronicle, p. 72, in the Script. Rer. Suec.; and the account of his legislation with that given in the Great Rhyme Chronicle, *ibid*.

⁸ The name *Scandia*, *Scondia*, *Scandinavia*, seems probably to come from *Scania*, *Sconia* (Skåné), the appellation of the southernmost province of the peninsula, the meaning of which is explained by Professor Geijer in the first note to Chapter II. This was the only part of the country distinctly known to the ancients; and as they were ignorant of its extent, the application of the name by them was indefinite. Both *Scandia* and *Scandinavia* are found, for the first time, in Pliny. If the *via* in the latter were any thing more than a protraction of the termination, it might perhaps be analogous to the German *wegen* in Norwegen, and the English *way* in Norraway or Norway.

themselves, than from the illustration they throw on the origin and progress of the various nations that compose this great family of mankind. In the sacred books of the Icelandic Scalds, which record the mythological lore of northern heathenism, we may find no consistent or satisfactory system of doctrine, but many speculations, that must be regarded as most ingenious and profound, when we consider the age and circumstances in which they were produced; and we trace unmistakably the germs of the later Teutonic poetry, the dawnings of that intellect which expanded into the radiance of so bright a day in England under Elizabeth, in Germany almost within our own generation. From the same authorities we derive the only full and credible account of the religious belief of our own Pagan ancestors, those wild worshippers of Odin, who poured into Britain, dispossessed its Celtic population, and occupied its fair domain; where their descendants were to build up an empire bearing sway over the East and the West, to give laws to distant people and unexplored continents. For in the wide extent of Scandinavia Proper, on the coasts of the North Sea and the islands of the Baltic, not less than in the forests of north Germany and Jutland, we must seek for the *incunabula gentis Anglica*⁹. Again, in the venerable precepts of the Scandinavian legislators, we find the best comments on the principles of our own jurisprudence; for on this foundation has been reared the vast fabric of English law. In like mode, their social and military institutes, their habits and manners, elucidate those of the so-called Anglo-Saxons, and are identical with those of the Danes (so our old writers term them) whose marauding hosts afterwards came to reinforce their numbers and dispute their heritage; and with those of the Normans, who wrested from the crown of France some of its noblest provinces, and would not be satisfied until they had established their power among their insular kinsmen, by the armed bands of the Conqueror and his followers. In the primitive forms of the Gothic monarchy, when the king speaks to the assembly of the armed people, or the estates confer with each other at the diet, we discover the sources from which the usages of the modern constitution of England, familiar to us in its daily workings, have sprung. And even in the Sweden of the present day, we see perhaps a picture not unlike what England might have presented, had not the progress of the Anglo-Saxons been arrested, and their peculiar civilization disturbed, by the admixture of foreign elements. For while Scandinavia has sent forth in ancient days hosts of emigrants and conquerors, she herself has never received a foreign yoke. The basis of society there is the "allodial right of property acquired by labour, for Swedish soil was never won by conquest. Even the old legend of the immigration of Odin and the Asae, speaks of peaceful colonization, not of forcible subjection. War has certainly had but too great an influence on the Swedish cultivator, but the law of arms has never divided his land, nor made him a labourer under foreign dominion¹." During the middle age also, the Swedes, unlike the Germans, clung to the traditions and habitudes of their ancestral freedom, and refused to surrender their liberties into the keeping of princes and nobles; and hence the institutions of this cognate people, like our own, though under very different conditions, reached their natural development in a free polity. Even as the seed sown in autumn,—“beautiful type of a higher hope,”—survives the storms of winter, its vitality covered, but not extinguished, by the snow.

In this view—and perusal of the following pages will show that it is neither forced nor exaggerated—it would be difficult to point out any country which has more solid or legitimate claims on the attention

⁹ The share which the Scandinavians must have had in the Saxon colonization of England, though passed over by many of our historians from their defective information, seems as clearly established as we can reasonably expect. Danes (Danal) and Jutes, as well as Rugini (no doubt the classical Rugii or inhabitants of the island of Rugen, and the coast of the adjacent mainland), are mentioned along with the Saxons proper by Bede. See Hist. i. 15; v. 10. Now the appellation Jutes is merely another form of that of the Goths; Jutar and Götär, or Gütär, are almost identical in sound; and the Jutes who occupied the Cimbric Chersonese, and gave their name to it, are supposed to have come from Swedish Gothland. This view derives countenance from the authority of Gibbon; for it had not escaped the sagacity of that greatest of historians. “This contracted territory,” he says in Chap. XXV. of the Decline and Fall, “was incapable of pouring forth the inexhaustible swarms of Saxons, who reigned over the ocean, who filled the British island with their language, their laws, and their colonies. . . . The solution of this difficulty is easily derived from the similar manners and loose constitution of the tribes of Germany; which were blended with each other by the slightest accidents of war or friendship. . . . It should seem probable, however, that the most numerous auxiliaries of the Saxons were furnished by the nations who dwelt along the shores of the Baltic. They possessed arms and ships, the arts of navigation, and the habits of naval war; but the difficulty of issuing through the northern columns of Hercules (which during several months of the year are obstructed with ice) confined their skill and courage within the limits of a spacious lake.” (Of this latter assertion, it is to be observed, that there is no proof; and compare Geijer, Chap. II. *ad init.* for notices on this subject.) “The rumour of the successful armaments which sailed from the mouth of the Elbe, would soon provoke them to cross the narrow isthmus of Sleswig, and to launch their vessels on the great sea. The various troops of pirates and adventurers, who fought under the same standard, were insensibly united in a permanent society, at first of rapine, and afterwards of government.” Scarcely consistent with this just and penetrating strain of reflection is another sentence soon after following, which is rather incautiously expressed: “The fabulous colonies of Egyptians and Trojans, of Scandinavians and Spaniards, which flattered the pride, and amused the credulity of our rude ancestors, have insensibly vanished in the light of science and philosophy.”

¹ Geijer, Poor Laws, Essay V.

of the English student of history than Sweden. For this purpose it is superfluous to refer to the link of a common extraction in remote antiquity, established no less by the internal evidence of language and institutions, than by the probable, if not certain, testimonies of historic records. To those who delight to investigate the origin of nations, and track through the course of ages the winding currents of their strangely diversified destinies, the reflection is not without its charm, that the Swede and the Anglo-Saxon, races of men whose vocation in modern times has been so different, were brothers in the cradle, so to speak, in the elder day of the world. The birth-place of the Goths, it seems to be now established, was the mountain chain of the Caucasus, in the very heart of that wild land of Circassia, where their descendants are now engaged in a struggle of life and death against the aggressions of the Slavonic race². Such researches and speculations have an elevating influence, as connecting the remote past with the absorbing present, illustrating the affinities of nations, and recommending to our informed reason those inspired accounts, so often attempted to be discredited, of the unity of the human family. It may besides be wrong to suppose that, though referring to a distant age, they can throw no light on the subsequent transactions of history; and as applied to modern times, are no more than fanciful recollections or baseless dreams. How else, for instance, than by accepting the theory which makes the Circassians a branch of the Gothic race, is the secret of that gallant and hitherto successful resistance to be better explained? None but the descendants of so brave a stock, perhaps, would have defied with equal intrepidity the slaves of the Russian colossus.

The Swedes are acknowledged by the most ancient records, as they have appeared in modern times, to be the chief of the Scandian nations. The character of the people has ever been marked by depth of feeling, strenuous self-reliance, and the capacity of ardent endeavour, which shine out at every period of their annals. Their military achievements were signalised by desperate gallantry and brilliant success, often against overwhelming superiority of force; of the sagacity and boldness of thought which distinguished their politicians, the following pages contain many proofs³. That which some of the northern antiquaries have styled their heroic age, offers few names that have preserved wide celebrity; among them, those of Ragnar Lodbroc, the scourge of the British coasts, and Cesten,—the same in name, at least, with the most formidable of the sea-kings, whom our English chroniclers call Hastings, an appellation which has sometimes proved a stumbling-block to inquirers,—possess some interest for us, apart from their home fortunes. But it is not in the days of barbarous anarchy that we should seek for the true heroic age of Sweden. The events of the Union, which led to her temporary subjugation by Denmark, a country of inferior size and population, but with energies better concentrated, powerfully enforce the lesson of the evils of domestic dissensions; the story of the liberation by Gustavus Vasa possesses the interest of romance, and forms a noble document of popular energy and patriotic devotion. It has sometimes been supposed that the memory of Christian II. has been unjustly loaded with the charge of wanton cruelty; his apologists have even represented him as anxious to break the power of the Swedish nobility, and by raising the peasantry and improving their condition, to rest upon their support for the maintenance of the Danish sway. It is true that he acted upon a somewhat similar policy in his own kingdom of Denmark; but there cannot be a more baseless theory as respects its application to Sweden. It rests indeed on an entire misconception. The Danish interest depended mainly on the support of the nobles and clergy; and the Swedes only knew Christian as a bloody and remorseless oppressor, who scrupled at nothing for the gratification of his own lusts and caprices, frenzied as they often were.

The feudal system, in that full development which it attained in other countries of Europe, did not exist in mediæval Sweden, but with the termination of the great civil war following the introduction of Christianity, and the seizure of regal power by the Folkunger Earl, the ascendancy of the nobles appears established, with results for the government and community analogous to those elsewhere produced. "This was the introduction of the feudal principle in Sweden, which manifested itself here in a peculiar form, more tenacious of life than might be supposed. We know the origin of feudalism, from the warlike trains of the soldier-kings and the magnates. A powerful nobility had arisen during the contest of the rival kingly houses, and surrounded itself with bands of men-at-arms, which king Magnus Ladulas, by the institution of a royal equestrian militia, endeavoured to draw into the service of the crown. The whole was an attempt to organize in a royalist spirit an armed force of nobles⁴." With this view exemption from taxes was granted by the king both to the barons and knights, and the inferior gentry

² See this view briefly stated by Geijer in Chapter I. of the following work, and more largely in the Scandinavian Antiquities, already referred to. The case of the Saxons is supported with strong, though perhaps less convincing evidence, by Mr. Sharon Turner, in the first volume of the History of the Anglo-Saxons.

³ See the speeches of the kings or their ministers in the diet; the memoirs of Swedish envoys as to the social state of Russia, Denmark, &c. In the saying of the chancellor of Gustavus Vasa on the subject of church property (p. 111), we have perhaps the first clear and distinct enunciation of a principle so keenly contested at the present day.

⁴ Geijer, Poor Laws, Essay V.

or franklins, in return for military service to be performed by them. "All of the commonalty who chose or were able to do service on horseback, were also ennobled, an appendage to the nobility; the rest remained unennobled, *ofrölse*, a word in its proper sense meaning *unfree*, but which could not here receive its full acceptation. For feudalism in Sweden wanted its proper foundation, namely, a people precipitated by conquest into bondage. With us it has been organized from above, by the king as the first nobleman. The fiefs, here in general never legally hereditary, (although by the earldoms and counties of Eric XIV. they became so in part, and otherwise often enough through abuse,) were, at least the more considerable of them, attached to the command of the royal castles and fortresses, to which the surrounding common people were bound to render certain services⁵." On these relations turns much of the controversies between the nobility and the other estates of Sweden. The obligation to military service was never fully performed, and fell by degrees into desuetude; while the immunities of the nobles entailed manifold grievances and oppressions on the commonalty, and Charles IX., as will be seen, made repeated unsuccessful attempts to obtain their surrender, offering in exchange releasement from a merely nominal burden.

The accession of the dynasty of Vasa to the throne, through the abilities and services of its founder, marks the commencement of the modern period of Swedish history. By the measures of Gustavus I. society was remodelled; and the impulse given to the national industry, with the augmentation of resources during a period of comparative peace under his reign and that of Charles IX., prepared the way for that series of brilliant achievements which gave to Sweden a high rank among the nations of Europe, and crowned the radiant brow of Gustavus Adolphus with undying glory. Never was a country more fortunate in its leaders than Sweden under the three great princes of the house of Vasa; never were there monarchs, perhaps, who so thoroughly fulfilled the ideal of royalty, as the active and efficient rulers, yet not the autocrats, of their kingdom, guides of their subjects in peace, and champions in war. The crown of the Vasas derived its strongest support from the people. To Gustavus I. the tide of popular fervour which had placed and sustained it on his head, brought an accession of influence which enabled him to carry on the government in the face of foreign enmities and domestic revolts encouraged by strong factions among the nobility and the clergy; augmenting the regal power in Sweden proportionally as in other monarchies about the same time,—in England under Henry VII. and Henry VIII. (with whose character that of Gustavus has some points of resemblance), in France under Louis XI., in Spain under Ferdinand and Charles. From the same cause, Charles IX. derived force to set aside the legitimate claims of Sigismund, backed by the arms of Poland, to change the order of succession, and settle the state under a strong central government, animated by respect for popular rights. Under Gustavus Adolphus, the love of his subjects, continued and heightened by his own great qualities, impeded the wings of victory, and the increment of dominion, enabling him to defy the combined hostility of the other northern powers, to grapple with and overcome the house of Austria, to vindicate the rights of Protestantism, and the freedom of Europe. Greatness and warlike glory are promised by one of the most acute and knowing political thinkers to princes who advance the prosperity, and cultivate the favour of the masses. On this principle these first two sovereigns of the house of Vasa acted; and the realization of the subtle Florentine's prophecy came in full measure with the third.

Sweden had been better prepared for the principles of the Reformation,—its reception was also more necessary, than in some other countries of Europe. It is calculated that in the Catholic period the Swedish church possessed fully two-thirds of the soil of the country; such was likewise the statement of the high chancellor Anderson at the diet of Strengness⁶. Its vices were not unproportioned to its wealth. The bishops were the most powerful men in Sweden; they had always appeared, along with their clergy, as the supporters of foreign interests in the country, and had taken a peculiarly obnoxious part in rivetting the yoke of Denmark. These and other political motives had doubtless a great share in facilitating the Reformation, and in determining Gustavus I. to throw his weight into the scale of the adherents to the new doctrine. But however the social revolution was brought about, the Swedes soon embraced the religious tenets of the Reformers with the ardour of conviction, and stood by them with a zeal and constancy which made Sweden under Gustavus Adolphus what England had been under Elizabeth, and ceased to be under the Stuarts—the head of the Protestant interest in Europe. The reign of that monarch, one of the greatest among soldiers and statesmen, and perhaps the only righteous conqueror, has an epic grandeur, the solemnity of which is deepened by the sad recollection of his untimely fall. Cut off in the bloom of years, the maturity of intellect, and the full career of victory, he closed on the field of Lutzen a life, which, if prolonged, might have changed the destinies of modern Europe, given unity to Germany under a Protestant emperor, and reconducted, with more enlightened

⁵ Geijer, *Poor Laws*, Essay V.

⁶ See Chapter IX. *infra*.

policy and nobler intentions, the conquering arms of the North to the Tiber and the Bosphorus⁷. "The at once *aristocratic* and *military* monarchy," says Geijer, in the essay already quoted, "now spreads itself forth glittering to our view under one of the world's greatest heroes and warriors. Posterity cannot know, scarce guess, all that to his eagle eye that monarchy was destined to be. The eagle fell, arrested in its course. But that course had been directed towards the sun. And though war yet rolled to and fro its bloody tide for many a year over the spot where he fell, the place is sanctified by the triumph of light, and there is breathed the peace of mankind⁸."

"Then did the great men of Sweden," he continues, "study to deserve the name. Sweden has not had Axel Oxenstierna's match in the council; and in Torstenson beyond all others lived the genius of his master in the field. Against them and their colleagues but one reproach can justly be made. They thought that they could establish the state of Sweden, even for the future, upon a war-footing, however burdensome it might be to the people. Thus war became even after peace a necessity. Christina evaded it. The hero Charles Gustavus submitted to it not unwillingly, gathering at length in his victorious course Sweden's most useful conquests—now all that remain to us.

"We have seen that the Swedish nobility, during the period of conquest, was representative of the army of Sweden, which again in the world represented the kingdom of Sweden. They had at the head of this army done good service, without forgetting their own advantage; and under a new weak regency, after the early death of Charles Gustavus, every one had large opportunities of caring for it. This led to contentions within the nobility, foreboding division and fall, whilst they were deaf to the general discontent which was fermenting below them. In the meanwhile, pretensions were for the first time distinctly asserted, which had heretofore been rather in use than declared, but now sounded particularly ill in the ears of the people; for instance, the proposition of the nobility in the year 1664, 'that they could not be outvoted by the other orders at the diets.' Almost without knowing how, a government tottering betwixt alliances, and from want of subsidies, plunged the kingdom into a war, which, owing to degenerate military discipline and deficient resources, was universally unsuccessful, save where the youthful Charles XI. himself maintained the honour of the Swedish arms.

"He came out of this war with a deep feeling of the deficiencies of the public condition, and with the determination to found the martial power of Sweden not upon subsidies"—(a resource hitherto employed among others)—"but upon the country's own well-husbanded resources. To recover what the crown had thus lost, an end which was accomplished by means of the Reduction⁹, absolute power was requisite; and it was given by the un noble orders, who were glad—as the younger nobility were not sorry—to see the power of the envied grandees now crushed. To render Sweden ready for war, and the crown absolute and rich, became from 1680 the chief object of Charles XI. during the peaceful remainder of his reign. Thus Charles XII. felt himself at once unrestrained, and fully equipped. Conspiring neighbours challenged him. Then marched he forth over the old Swedish battle-fields to others far distant, whithersoever the hope of victory beckoned him, braving first fortune, then misfortune, until his country had no more sons to give him; and with the fall of Sweden's power, a hand from amongst its ruins was turned against his life."

With this sovereign another period of historic splendour was still to come for Sweden. In the struggles against Russia under the princes of the Palatine House, we often find cause to regret a spirit less well-balanced, and a policy less far-seeing, than in the elder monarchs of Sweden. Onwards from this date her history perhaps ceases to possess an interest so universal; yet it has aspects which, viewed in connexion with the recent politics of Europe, lend it enhanced attraction. It would be here out of place to speculate on the lofty destinies to which Sweden may yet again be called, amidst the changeful

⁷ Such anticipations were certainly current in the camp of Gustavus himself. Witness his follower Monro, who, with homely but honest enthusiasm, says: "From Denmark our expedition by water (having taking service anew, under the Lion of the North, the invincible King of Sweden,) did continue towards Spruce (Prussia); from thence to the Baltic coast again, and from thence to the river of Danube, that runs from the foot of the Alps in Swabland to the *Adriatic* Sea. And had our master of worthy memory lived, we had crossed the Alps into Italy, and saluted the Pope within Rome. But the loss of this Lion to lead us, was the loss of many, and of this old regiment," &c. i. 6. See other better informed evidence in the notes to Chap. XVII. *infra*.

⁸ "Sweden's most glorious time was a time of great life-giving ideas, and also one of forcibly-compelling circumstances. Gustavus Adolphus may be likened to a sower from an onspeeding war-chariot; wherefore of that which was sown, some fell upon the rock, and some among stones, and other among thorns. He behoved to have means for the wars,—and the course of commerce had to adjust itself accordingly. He took the trades into his own hands, directly, by means of monopolies for the crown; or indirectly by companies, leases, and privileges, all with a view to effect an earlier gain, required by circumstances, than the natural increment could afford." *Ibid*. The beauty of these passages must be my apology for quoting them, especially as they are imbedded in essays, which necessarily are less attractive in the whole to readers.

⁹ "Thus the act was termed by which Charles XI. was empowered by the estates to resume all the alienated lands of the crown in the year 1680." This passage is from Mr. Lewin's Translation of the Essays.

and perplexed currents of human affairs. Within the last century and a half new nations have appeared on the scene; new empires have sprung into life and greatness, and now rear their giant heads over the ruins of fallen thrones and decayed monarchies. During the same period the Scandinavians, jealous and disunited, deprived of the assistance of more powerful kindred nations, at times almost shut out from the councils of Europe, and robbed of a portion of their heritage amidst the tempests of the French revolution, struggled against unpropitious fortunes to maintain their rank among nations, and make head against the encroachments of ambitious neighbours and rival races. A new era of peace, of rapidly advancing prosperity¹,—perhaps, too, if the aspirations of ardent patriots carry trustworthy presages, one of Union, in which the three nations of the northern peninsula will present a compact and united front that may bid defiance to any foreign aggression—has now risen upon them. To Sweden, whose power has but relatively declined, while absolutely it is much greater than ever, the foremost place will no doubt be yielded; and a brilliant prospect opens which will yet be realized. Meantime, honour and regard should wait on this ancient and warlike nation, which keeps watch by the Polar lights over the portals of the East Sea and the West. To her are committed the keys of Europe, the vanguard of civilization. And if ever the day should arrive, when the legions of the Muscovite shall march to conflict with those of the west and south, her post will be one of danger, and doubtless of glory. Once she was the arbiter of the European system; she may yet be its preserver.

But I detain the reader too long from pages more worthy his attention. My apology must be the apparent necessity of attempting to explain the general character of a department of history hitherto too little known, as well as of a style which some may find unfamiliar in its treatment. Let us listen then to the words of a great scholar and politician, who, from the stillness of that distant retreat of the Northern Muses, speaks to us with a voice of gentleness, yet of authority and force.

¹ The kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, united since 1814, contain the immense surface of 281,358 square miles English. The population of the former in 1839, according to the Geographical Almanack of Berghaus, was 3,111,067; that of the latter in 1840 was 1,243,700. They form now the fourth maritime power of the world, coming after Great Britain, the United States, and France. The number of their ships I have seen stated at 5450, and the tonnage at 471,772, though I am at a loss for the reference. The population of Denmark in 1840 was 2,194,950. That of the grand duchy of Finland, severed from Sweden by Russia in the reign of Gustavus IV., and whose inhabitants are far from having forgotten their old connexion, is 1,393,727.

ERRATA.

Page 1, col. 2, line 17, for "recollections," read *recollections*.

Page 31, col. 1, note 9, for "mundok," read *mund ok*.

Page 34, col. 1, line 14, for "Gothland," read *Gottland*.

Page 38, col. 2, line 23, for "befel," read *befell*.

Page 45, note 9, for "Juta," read *Jutar*.

Page 81, col. 2, line 11, place the , after *conflict*.

NOTE.—*Sti* in Swedish sounds like *sh*; *j* like *y*, as also *g* before *ö* or *ü*. I have not in all cases rigidly adhered to the Swedish orthography, sometimes using the Latinized form instead. The mark ' generally placed over *e* final, is to be considered as merely arbitrary, for the purpose of reminding the reader that it should be sounded.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

Notions of the Ancients on Scandinavia. Character and Relations of its History. How first made known to Modern Europe. Saxo Grammaticus. The Icelanders. Scaldic Poetry. Snorro Sturleson. Swedish History compared with Norwegian and Danish. The Subject divided..... 1

CHAPTER I.

TRADITIONS OF THE NORTH.

Inland Seas; the Mediterranean and the Baltic..... 3
 Seat of the Teutonic Nations; their Irruptions..... id.
 The Suiones of Tacitus..... 4
 The Gothic Tribes..... id.
 Notion of their Scandian Extraction; its Explanation.. 5
 Idea of the Northern Mythology..... id.
 Supposed Divine Descent of the Kings..... id.
 Extent of Odinism..... id.
 Annals and Destiny of Gods and Men..... id.
 Spirit of Northern Paganism; its Heroic Odes..... 6
 Legendary Account of the Establishment of the Swedish Monarchy..... id.
 Odin; his Actions and Character. The Asæ..... id.
 Njord and Frey. The Ynglings. Fjolner, the First King..... 7
 The Ynglingasaga. King Anund the Leveller. The Upsala Kings. Feast of Ingyald; his Tragical End... 8
 Origin of the Swedes..... 9
 Odin probably a Real Personage. Traditions as to him. id.
 The Asæ or Alans, a Tribe dwelling in the Caucasus id.
 Priority of the Goths. Goths and Swedes two distinct Races..... 10
 The Second Dynasty. Ivar Widfamme, its Founder; his Conquests..... id.
 Harald and Sigurd. Battle of Bravalla..... 11
 Eastern Conquests of the Swedes. Russian Monarchy founded by Ruric. Statement of Nestor. Vaners and Varangians..... 12
 Swedish Wars in Russia..... 13
 Ragnar Lodbroc; his Adventures..... id.
 Fate of Ragnar's Sons..... 14
 Accounts of him compared. Invasion of the Northmen id.
 Settlement in Switzerland. Hassildale; its Inhabitants 15

CHAPTER II.

LAND AND PEOPLE FROM THE HEATHEN PERIOD.

Scania; its Produce and Commerce. Towns; Inhabitants..... 16
 Provinces of the Southern Coasts; Occupations of the Inhabitants..... 17
 West-Gothland and East-Gothland; Notices of them in the Sagas..... 18
 Gothland and Swedeland; their Boundaries..... 19
 Sudermania or Sutherlandland, Nerike, Vermeland..... id.
 Description of Sweden by King Alfred and Snorro Sturleson..... 20

The Folklands; Upland. Meaning of these Appellations. Westmanland..... 21
 Ancient Topographical Divisions. Settlement of the Swedes round the Shores of the Mælär. Upsala, Sigtuna or Birca..... 22
 Mining Tracts; Dalecarlia. State of its Inhabitants in the Twelfth Century..... 23
 Progress of Settlement and Culture to the North. Norrland, Helsingland, Gestricland..... 24
 Medelpad and Angermanland. Finnmark; Character of this Region..... 25
 Voyage of Ottar and Ulsten. Biarmaland. Fennic Tribes..... 26
 Carelians and Tavastrians. Finns and Lapps..... 27
 Their probable Common Extraction, and Present Diversities..... 28
 Expulsion of these Nomadic Races by Swedish Settlers. Vestiges of them in Middle and Southern Sweden..... 29
 Notices of them by Old Writers..... 30
 Ancient Polity and Manners of the Swedes..... id.
 Odin and his Council of Twelve. The Tings. Social Life in Heathen Times. Wedding and Funeral Rites Formation of the Original Commonwealth; its Dignities..... 31
 The Lagman or Judge. Free and Unfree. Houses and Occupations of the People..... 33
 Fruits and Relics of Paganism..... 34

CHAPTER III.

ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY. CONTESTS OF THE SWEDES AND GOTHIS FOR SUPREMACY. A.D. 800—1250.

Anskar, the Apostle of Sweden. His Mission by the Emperor Lodovic the Pious..... 34
 His Visits to Sweden. Partial Success of his Labours. His Character. Rimbart. Relapse to Paganism..... 35
 King Eric Edmundson and his Conquests. Scandinavian Enterprises in the Ninth Century. King Eric the Victorious..... 36
 Olave the Lap-King; his son, Olave Tryggwason, King of Norway; League against him..... 37
 The Anglo-Saxon Sigfrid preaches the Gospel to the Swedes and Norsemen. Baptism of Olave the Lap-King..... id.
 St. Olave of Norway. Embassy from him to Olave of Sweden..... 38
 Extinction of the Second Dynasty. Effects of the Religious Changes. Ascendancy of the Gothic Population. Stenkil chosen King by them..... 40
 Civil Wars between the Goths, who had espoused Christianity, and the Swedes, who remained Pagans.. 41
 Reign of Inge. Hostilities with Norway. A Danish Prince chosen by the West-Goths..... 42
 Ascendancy of the Christians. King Swerker. Introduction of Monks. Visit of a Papal Legate. Reign of St. Eric..... 43

	PAGE
His Crusade in Finland, Death, and Character. Charles Swerkerson first King of the Swedes and Goths. State of the Church.....	44
Successors of St. Eric. Feud of Eljaras.....	45
King Eric Ericson. Results of the Civil Wars. The Folkungers. Usurpation of the Regal Power by the Earl of Sweden.....	46
Disorders of the Clergy. Synod of Skenninge convoked by a Papal Legate. Its Measures.....	47

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOLKUNGERS. A. D. 1250—1365.

Augmented Power of the Crown and the Nobility.....	id.
Dawnings of Literature.....	48
Waldemar, son of Birger, Earl of Sweden, chosen King. Revolt of his kinsmen, the Folkungers; its Suppression. Power of Earl Birger; his Legislation.....	49
Foundation of Stockholm; Foreign Trade.....	id.
Waldemar's Quarrels with his Brothers; his Pilgrimage to Rome.....	id.
Dethronement of Waldemar. Magnus Ladulas crowned King.....	50
His Regulations for checking the Power and Turbulent Spirit of the Magnates.....	51
Extensive Claims of Regalities referred to this Reign. Their Unsoundness proved. Payment of Land-Tax to the Crown not incompatible with complete Allodial Right of Property. Nobility and Freehold Tenure by Equestrian Service.....	52
Benefactions of Magnus to the Church. His Death. Ascension of his son Birger.....	53
Swedish Law. Functions of the Lagman. Provincial Codes. Revision of the Law of Upland.....	54
Marriage of King Birger. Jealousy and Ambition of the Royal Dukes.....	id.
Their Revolt and Seizure of the King's person. Compact of Helsingborg. The Dukes treacherously made prisoners at Nyköping.....	55
Their tragical fate. Flight of Birger to Denmark. Magnus Ericson chosen King.....	56
Aristocratic League for the Support of the new Government. Land's Law of King Magnus Ericson; Congress of Warberg.....	57
Crusade in Russia. The great Plague. Magnus and his Son Eric alternately Kings.....	58
Dethronement of Magnus by the Swedish Nobles. Offer of the Crown to Albert, Duke of Mecklenberg.....	59

CHAPTER V.

FOREIGN KINGS. THE UNION, UNTIL THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE STURES. A. D. 1365—1470.

The Union Age. Dislike to the new King. German Favourites.....	59
Invasion by Haco, King of Norway, Son of Magnus Albert's surrender of Power to the Lords of his Council. Margaret of Norway. The Crown offered to her by the Executors of the High Steward.....	60
Battle of Falköping and Captivity of Albert. Piracies in the Baltic. Eric duke of Pomerania elected King. Treaty of Calmar for the Union of Scandinavia, July 20, 1397.....	61
Philippa of England. Oppressive Exactions by the new King's Government. Tyranny of the Royal Lieutenants. General Rising of the People under Engelbert Engelbertson. His Encounter with the Council.....	62
Success of his Army. He is chosen Administrator; and Assassinated, April 27, 1436.....	64
Charles Canutesson Bondé chosen Administrator. King Eric retires to the Isle of Gottland. Oscillations of Parties. Choice of Christopher of Bavaria to the Throne.....	65
Charles Canutesson High Steward. Jealousies of the Magnates. Design to surprise Lübeck. Death of Christopher.....	66

	PAGE
Election of Charles Canutesson to the Crown. Attempt on Gottland. Burning of Wisby by the Danes. Norway adheres to Christian of Oldenburg.....	67
Hostilities of Charles and Christian. Danish IncurSION. Public Calamities.....	68
Unpopularity of Charles. His Feud with the Archbishop and Flight to Dantzic. Christian of Oldenburg, King of Denmark, admitted to the Crown.....	69
Quarrel of Christian and the Archbishop. His Departure to Denmark. Recall and Death of Charles Canutesson.....	70

CHAPTER VI.

STENO STURÉ THE ELDER. KING JOHN. SUANTO STURÉ. STENO STURÉ THE YOUNGER, AND CHRISTIAN THE TYRANT. A. D. 1470—1520.

Steno Sturé the Elder chosen Administrator. Danish Invasion under Christian I.....	71
Battle of Brunkeberg, and complete Defeat of the Danes. Internal Tranquillity after their Expulsion.....	72
University of Upsala founded. Renewal of the Treaty of Calmar. Its Non-fulfilment.....	73
War with Russia. Indecisive Movements. Charges against the Administrator. King John of Denmark invited into Sweden by the Council.....	74
Opposition of the Administrator. His Compromise with King John.....	75
Desertion of the King by the Nobility. Death of Steno the Elder. Suanto Sturé chosen Administrator.....	76
Hostilities with Denmark. Peace with Russia. Alliance with Lübeck. Steno Sturé the Younger chosen Administrator.....	77
Accession of Christian II. in Denmark. Continuance of Hostilities. Papal Ban and Interdict on Sweden. Invasion and temporary Reduction of the Country by the Danes.....	78
Demand by the Archbishop of Satisfaction for Injuries sustained from the Administrator. Massacre of Stockholm. Cruelties of Christian.....	79

CHAPTER VII.

LAND AND PEOPLE DURING THE CATHOLIC PERIOD.

General Character of this Period. The Monarchy a Federation.....	80
Strength of the Popular Element. Mode of Election to the Crown. The Ericsgait.....	81
Elective Customs of the West-Goths. Privilege of the Upper Swedes.....	82
The Yeoman and his Rights. Law of Inheritance. Birthrights.....	83
Protection of Private Character by the Law. Outlawry of Homicides. The Man-bote.....	84
The Ordeals. Compurgators. Judicial Office and Power. Mulets.....	85
Measures of Police. Punishments. Influence of the Church in ameliorating Manners. Early Abolition of Serfage.....	86
Social Customs and Observances. The Land's Law. Court Laws.....	87
Jurisdiction of the Nobility. Towns and Burgesses. Seats of Trade. Crown Revenues.....	88
Taxation. Tithes. Royal Domain. Boundaries of the Kingdom. Mines.....	89
Cultivation. Traffic. The Gottlanders.....	90
Commercial Privileges of the Germans. The Coinage; its Depreciation.....	91
Produce of the various Provinces. Fisheries. Institution of Guilds. Prevalence of Immorality.....	92
State of Knowledge. Introduction of Printing. Domestic Manners and Old Usages.....	93
Education of Youth. Popular love of Freedom.....	94
CATALOGUE OF KINGS.....	95

CHAPTER VIII.

PAGE

GUSTAVUS VASA. THE LIBERATION. A.D. 1520—1523.	
Birth and Parentage of Gustavus.....	97
His School-days and youthful Exploits; his Captivity in North Jutland, and Escape to Lubeck.....	98
He repairs to Calmar; attempts to raise the Smalanders against the Danes.....	99
State of Sweden under the Danish Governors; the latter favoured by the Bishops and Nobles. News of the Massacre. Flight of Gustavus.....	100
His Wanderings in Dalecarlia; Agitation against the Danes.....	101
Rising of the Dalesmen; Gustavus chosen for their Captain; Apathy of the Helsingers; Zeal of the Stockholm Magistracy for the Danes.....	102
Unsuccessful attempt to quell the Revolt by Archbishop Gustavus Trollé and the Danish Authorities; Rout of Brunnebeck or Brunneburn.....	103
Successes of the Patriot Force; Combats of Westeras and Upsala.....	104
Narrow Escape of Gustavus. Siege of Stockholm begun. He is elected Administrator at a Diet in Vadstena....	105
Progress of the War. Cruel treatment of the Wives and Children of the Swedish Nobles by Christian. Attempts of the Danish admiral Norby to relieve Stockholm. Its Capture.....	106
View of Christian's Policy and Character. His Flight from his Dominions. Gustavus elected King at a Diet in Strengness.....	107

CHAPTER IX.

GUSTAVUS VASA. THE REFORMATION. A.D. 1524—1543.	
State of the Country at the close of the War. Dissolution of the Union. The Nobles and the Commons. Temper of Men's Minds.....	108
Position of the Church. Pecuniary Claims of the Lubeckers. Gottland held by Norby for Christian II. ...	109
Expedition fitted out by Gustavus against Gottland. Treachery of its Commander. Introduction of Luther's Doctrines into Sweden by Olave and Laurence Petersen.....	110
Financial Statement made by Gustavus at Westeras. Debts to Lubeck. New Taxes. Prevalence and Severity of Distress.....	111
Anabaptist Riots in Stockholm. The King's Rebuke of the new Preachers. New Bishops appointed. Their Intrigues.....	112
Plots for the House of Sturé. Punishment of the delinquent Bishops.....	113
Gustavus and Bishop Braske. The King invades the Property of the Monasteries, and assumes the Direction of Ecclesiastical Affairs.....	114
The False Sturé; his Impostures. Rebellion in the Dales.....	115
Diet of Westeras assembles; its Composition. Speech of the High-Chancellor Anderson on the State of Affairs.....	116
Disputes between the King and the Nobles; Ferment among the Common People; the Royal Demands granted.....	117
Measures of the Diet respecting the Church Temporalities. Bishops' Castles sequestered.....	118
Assize of Tuna in Dalecarlia. Suppression of the Monasteries. Decrees of the Synod of Orebro.....	119
Revolution in West-Gothland and Smaland, instigated by the High-Steward Thuré Jenson. Meeting on Larfs Heath.....	120
Plot of seven West-Gothic Barons; their Chastisement. Steps for the Payment of the Debt to Lubeck. Bell Sedition.....	121
Movements of Christian II. He Lands in Norway, and is acknowledged King. Attempt on Sweden.....	122

Surrender of Christian. His Imprisonment by Frederic of Denmark, and Sufferings. Conference of Gustavus with the Insurgent Dalecarlians.....	123
Designs of Lubeck. Rupture with its Government. Relations with Denmark.....	124
Conspiracy in Stockholm; its Detection and Punishment. Establishment of the Reformation. Measures of Church Discipline.....	125
Rebellion in Southern Sweden. Its dangerous Character, and Suppression.....	126

CHAPTER X.

GUSTAVUS VASA. THE HEREDITARY SETTLEMENT. A.D. 1544—1560.

Settlement of the Crown of Sweden in the House of Vasa. Internal Tranquillity.....	127
Effects of the Recess of Westeras. Confiscation of Church Property.....	128
Increase of the King's Power by his Ecclesiastical Measures. Assertion of Claims of Regalities over Commons, Waters, Fisheries, and Mines.....	129
Character of the King's Administration. Popular Methods of Government. Conrad Von Pyhy, Chancellor His Pestilent Influence; and Ruin. The King's Avarice and Covetous Devices.....	132
His Domestic Economy, and Plans of Improvements... Popular Regard for Gustavus. Finance and Agriculture.....	133
Mines and Forges. Foreign Commerce.....	134
Steps to its Extension. Regulation of Internal Trade... Military Force. Navy. Education.....	136
Condition and Manners of the Upper Classes and Clergy. Misunderstandings with Denmark.....	137
Hostilities with Russia. Last Years of the King's Life Misconduct of his Son Eric. The King's grave Displeasure.....	138
Eric's Love-suit to Queen Elizabeth of England. Contest in Livonia.....	139
Designs of the Princes Eric and John. Diet of Stockholm.....	140
The King's Farewell Speech to the Estates. His Last Illness.....	141
His Death. Account of him by his Nephew, Count Peter Brahe.....	142

CHAPTER XI.

ERIC AND HIS BROTHERS. A.D. 1560—1569.

Accession of Eric. His Accomplishments. Power of the royal Dukes John and Charles.....	145
Characters of the Princes; their Disagreements with the King.....	146
The Coronation. Creation of Hereditary Counts and Barons. New Supreme Court established.....	147
Administration of Justice. Eric's Overtures of Marriage His Profusion. Submission of Estland to Swedish Rule. John's Views on the Crown of Poland. Hostilities with the Poles. John imprisoned.....	148
The King's Intentions towards him. Tyrannical measures of Police. George Person.....	149
Atrocities of the Royal Court. War with Denmark... Swedish Invasion of Norway. Eric's Account of the Military Occurrences.....	150
Severity of the Conscription. The King's Persecution of the House of Sturé.....	151
Cruel Treatment of Nicholas Sturé. Supposed Conspiracy in the Interest of that Family.....	152
Investigation of the Charge. Arraignment of Six Lords at Stockholm. Adjournment of the Trial to Upsala. Murder of Nicholas Sturé there by the King and his Attendants.....	153
Frenzy of Eric; Discussion of its Nature.....	154
His Insane Deportment to Duke John; his Marriage. Incursion of the Danes into East-Gothland.....	155
Frivolities of Eric. Design against his Brothers' Lives; the Dukes take up Arms.....	156

	PAGE
Eric brought to Trial before the Estates, and Deposed. His Imprisonment and Sufferings.....	159
Plots for his Release. Resolution of the Council of State to despatch him.....	160
He is poisoned by the Servants of Duke John. His Widow and Children.....	161
Fortunes of his son Gustavus in Poland and Russia	162

CHAPTER XII.

JOHN AND CHARLES. A. D. 1569—1592.

John acknowledged King. Position of Duke Charles. Charter of Privileges to the Nobility.....	163
Congress of Stettin, and Peace with Denmark. War with Russia.....	164
Successes in Livonia and on the Finnish Border. The Crown-Prince Sigismund elected King of Poland.....	165
Design of John to restore Popery. Arrival of Jesuits in Stockholm.....	166
State of the Church, and the Popular Belief. Pro- visions of the Kirk's Ordinance.....	167
Machinations of the Jesuits. King John's Liturgy.....	168
His Embassy to Rome, and Proposals to the Pope. Abandonment of Papistical Tendencies.....	169
Exasperation of the Differences between the King and Duke Charles. Division of the Royal Patrimony.....	170
Dispute between them as to the Government of Livonia. Intentions of Gustavus I. respecting the Government	171
Crown-rights over the Nobility. The Equestrian Ser- vice. Views of the Swedish Nobles in this Age illus- trated from the Treatise of Count Brahe.....	172
Disputes as to the Civil and Ecclesiastical Government of the Duchy.....	173
Reflections on the Character and Policy of King John. His Second Marriage. Affairs of Poland.....	174
Statutes of Calmar, for the future Union and Govern- ment of Sweden and Poland.....	175
Family of Vasa. The King's Suspicions of Treason in the Council.....	176
Regulations of the Mines. Improvements of Duke Charles in Vermeland.....	177
Mismanagement and Profusion of the Court. John determines to visit his son Sigismund.....	178
The King's Departure, and Stay in Reval. Remon- strances of the Council and the Army.....	179
The King's Return; his Disgust with the Council.....	180
The Estates convoked. Arraignment of Six Lords of the Council for their Conduct at Reval, and Design to annul the Hereditary Settlement.....	id.
Despotic Conduct of the King; his Harshness towards the Accused. The Russian War. Horn's Heroism, Unjust Condemnation, and Pardon.....	181
Illness and Death of John.....	182

CHAPTER XIII.

CHARLES AGAINST SIGISMUND. A. D. 1592—1598.

Education of Sigismund by his Father in the Catholic Faith. Proceedings of Duke Charles in his absence. Pardon of the Accused Lords. The Duke's Covenant with the Council.....	183
Synod of Upsala. Abrogation of John's Liturgy.....	184
The Calvinists declared Heretics. Fears as to the ad- mission of the King. Mission of Thuré Bielké to obtain Guarantees from Sigismund.....	185
The King's arrival. Disorders at Stockholm. Diet of Upsala. His acceptance of the proposed Conditions..	186
The Coronation. Opinion of Gustavus Adolphus as to Sigismund's Conduct and Policy. Renewal of the Abuses of the former Union. Postulates of the Nobles	187
Sigismund's Charter of Privileges to their Order. Ar- rangements for his Departure to Poland.....	188
Quarrels of the Poles and Swedes. His Embarkation. Position of the Council; vast Infeudations to several of its Members.....	189

	PAGE
Pretensions of the new Lieutenants to Independence of the Duke. Re-erection of the University of Up- sala. Peace with Russia. Disturbances raised by Fleming, the Governor of Finland.....	190
Convention of the Estates by Duke Charles at Söder- köping. Measures against the Catholics.....	191
Kirk-inquest by the Archbishop. Distress and Dis- content. Letter of the Dalesmen in support of Duke Charles. Civil War in Finland.....	193
The Duke renounces the Government, and convokes the Diet of Arboga.....	193
Announcement of Sigismund's purpose to return. Decrees of the Estates in favour of the Duke. Ar- rival of Sigismund. Negotiations and Hostilities. Fights of Stegeborg and Stangbridge.....	194
Treaty of Linköping. Flight of Sigismund. Charles declared by the Estates Hereditary Prince Regnant....	195

CHAPTER XIV.

CHARLES IX. A. D. 1599—1611.

Consequences of Sigismund's Flight. Disorders in Upper Sweden.....	196
Severities against the King's Adherents. Execution of John Sparré, brother of the Chancellor, and others. Diet of Linköping. Arraignment of the Royalist Nobles.....	197
Condemnation of the Accused, and Execution of their Chiefs. Banishment of other Nobles of the King's Party.....	198
Offer of the Crown by the Estates at Linköping to the Duke. Military Operations in Livonia. Negotiations with the Poles. Visit of Charles to Finland.....	199
Condition of the Peasantry of that Province. Reflec- tions on the Career and Position of Charles. His Generous Conduct to his nephew, Prince John.....	200
Diet at Stockholm. His View of Foreign Affairs. Famine and Plague. Refusal of the Crown by Charles. New Council appointed.....	201
His Religious Opinions, and Controversy with the Arch- bishop.....	202
Projects of Religious Union. Rebukes to the Clergy. Correspondence of Charles with the University of Upsala.....	203
Acceptance of the Crown by Charles in 1604. Heredi- tary Settlement of Norrköping. Measures for the Organization of the Military Force.....	204
The King's Relations with the Nobility. Projects for the Amendment of the Law.....	205
Correction of Judicial Abuses. Regulation of the Pro- vincial Governments and Magistracy.....	206
Commercial Measures. Import and Export Duties. Mines and Manufactories. Survey of the Country....	207
War in Livonia. Revolutions of Russia. Disputes with Denmark. Invasion by Christian IV.....	208
The King's Negotiations with Foreign States. His Death. Spirit of his Life and Reign.....	209

CHAPTER XV.

GUSTAVUS II. ADOLPHUS. HIS INTERNAL ADMINISTRA-
TION. A. D. 1611—1632.

Sketch of the Early Life and Education of the King by Chancellor Oxenstierna.....	210
His First Campaign against the Danes.....	211
His acknowledgment by the Estates, and Accession to the Government. View of the effects of the Heredi- tary Settlement.....	212
The Royal Warranty; Restrictions stipulated on the Power of the Crown. Legal Rights and Obligations of the Nobility.....	213
Policy of former Kings with regard to the Feudal Pres- tations; Efforts of Charles IX. and Gustavus Adol- phus to give the Order a Military Character.....	214
Prevalence of the Military Spirit in the Government....	215
Aristocratic and Democratic Parties; Oxenstierna and Skytté.....	216

	PAGE
Backwardness of the Nobility in performing Military Service.....	217
New Charter of Privileges. House of Barons erected; Consequences of its Institution.....	218
Its Objects and Organization; Representation of the Army in the Diets.....	219
Order of Proceeding in General Diets; Instances of Provincial Diets.....	220
Taxation; uncertainty of the Mode of Imposition, and Irregularity of the Amounts.....	221
Frequency of Diets in this Reign. Commissions of Estates. Supplies granted to the Crown.....	222
Equality of Assessment endeavoured by the King; Declarations of the Estates against Privileged Immunities. Collection of the Taxes.....	223
Disturbances occasioned thereby. The Conscription; Method of enforcing it by Commissioners.....	224
Conduct of the Levies throughout this Reign. Allocation of the Soldiery for their Maintenance.....	225
Improvement and Extension of the System by Gustavus Adolphus. Resources of the Country; Extraordinary Means.....	226
Loans, Sales, and Monopolies. Commercial Associations.....	227
Influence of the Government on the National Character. Contemporary Account of the People by a Belgian Merchant.....	228
Strength of the Army. Measures for the Improvement of the Mines, Forges, and Manufactories.....	229
New Towns Founded. Rise of Gottenburg. Regulation of Foreign Commerce and Inland Traffic.....	230
New Administrative Offices. Supreme Court erected.....	231
Its Functions and Influence. Royal Interference with the Course of Justice. Rarity of Litigation.....	232
Condition of the People during a period of War. State of the Church; Proposition for a General Consistory..	233
State of the University of Upsala. The King's Solicitude for its Prosperity and the Promotion of Learning.....	234
His Munificent Grants to the University and Schools.....	235

CHAPTER XVI.

GUSTAVUS II. ADOLPHUS. THE DANISH, RUSSIAN, AND POLISH WARS. A. D. 1612—1629.

Military Position of Old Sweden. Theory of the War-like Measures of Gustavus II.....	236
Campaign of 1612 against the Danes. Desperate Engagement in Smaland. Elfsborg taken by the Danes.	237
Danish Invasion of Gothland under Christian IV. and Rantzou defeated. Attempt on Stockholm. Peace signed; its Conditions.....	238
Alliance with the Netherlands. Affairs of Russia. Embassy from Novogorod to solicit a Swedish Prince for their Czar.....	239
Campaign of 1615. Peace of Stolbova; The King's opinion of the Terms.....	240
Internal State of Russia, described by Memoirs from Swedish Agents. Polish War. Connexions and Intrigues of Sigismund, King of Poland, against Gustavus Adolphus.....	241
His Preparations for active Hostility. Humanity of Gustavus towards the Inhabitants of Livonia and Esthonia, the seat of War.....	242
Articles of War issued for the Swedish Army. Courts-Martial.....	243
Military Discipline and Punishments. Muster of the Army before Gustavus and his Family on the Meadow of Orsta. Embarkation of the King, and Sailing of the Fleet for Livonia.....	244
Siege of Riga; Surrender of the Town. Death of the King's brother, Duke Charles Philip.....	245
Campaign of 1622. Three Years' Truce. Campaign of 1625; Reduction of Livonia and Courland.....	246
Winter's Campaign; Battle of Wallhof. War removed into Prussia in 1626.....	247

	PAGE
Occupation of Pillau and other places. Occurrences in Livonia. Home Affairs.....	248
Second Campaign in Prussia. Actions before Dantzic..	249
The Poles supported by the Emperor. Armistice and Negotiations for Peace.....	250
Third and Fourth Prussian Campaigns. Junction of the Imperialists with the Poles.....	251
Battle of Stum. Mediation of France and England. Six Years' Truce.....	252

CHAPTER XVII.

GUSTAVUS II. ADOLPHUS. THE GERMAN WAR. A. D. 1628—1632.

Overtures of the Protestants of Germany to Gustavus Adolphus. Views of the King as to Swedish Intervention in the Conflict between the Catholics and Protestants.....	253
State of Germany; Political Changes.....	254
Power and Designs of Wallenstein. Importance of the Baltic Harbours.....	255
Danger of Stralsund; the King determines to rescue it. Its Siege by the Imperialists; Conclusion of an Alliance.....	256
The Estates engage to support the King in his Measures. Discussion of a Plan of Operation for the War.....	257
The King's Argument for an Offensive War. Interruption of Good Understanding with Denmark.....	258
Apprehensions of Hostility from that Quarter; Precautions against it.....	259
Diet of 1629. Deliberations in the Council. Negotiations for Peace at Dantzic. Intrigues of Richelieu. Preparations in Sweden. Assembly of the Fleet. Number and Composition of the Army.....	261
The King takes leave of the Estates, and embarks for Germany, May 30, 1630. Voyage to Pomerania. Landing on the Isle of Usedom.....	262
Occupation of Stettin. Cruelties and Oppression of the Imperialists. Position of Affairs at this Juncture. Strict Discipline of the Swedes.....	263
The King joined by several German Princes; his Embarrassments from deficient Supplies.....	264
Plans for the Ensuing Year. Winter of 1630. Continuance of Operations.....	265
Treaty with France. Reduction of Pomerania. Storming of Frankfort-on-the-Oder.....	266
Efforts to relieve Magdeburg frustrated. Its Capture. Barbarities of the Imperialist Forces.....	267
Pusillanimous Conduct of the Protestant Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg. Exigencies of the Army. Entrenched Camp at Werben.....	268
Repulse of Tilly's Assault. Ravages of the Plague. The Saxon Troops join the Swedes.....	269
Battle of Leipsic. Complete Defeat of the Imperialist Army under Tilly.....	270
Defence of the Policy of the Operations subsequent to the Victory. Question as to their direction against Austria, or to Upper Germany.....	271
Plan for a Defensive War; its Abandonment. Rapid Successes on the Mayne.....	272
Progress to the Rhine. Tilly declines Battle. Collision with the Spaniards at Oppenheim.....	273
Entry into Mentz. Compacts with the Protestant States of the Empire. Proposals of Peace.....	274
Backwardness of Saxony and Brandenburg. War in Bavaria. Passage of the Lech.....	275
Occupation of Augsburg and Munich. The entrenched Camps at Nuremberg; Wallenstein against Gustavus.....	276
The former threatens Saxony. State of Affairs at the break-up from Nuremberg.....	277
Positions of the hostile Armies. Plans of Wallenstein; his Irruption into Saxony; Measures for its Defeat.....	278
The King overtakes Wallenstein, and is deserted by the Elector of Saxony and the Duke of Brunswick.....	279
The hostile armies in presence of each other on the field of Lutzen. Their Stations, and probable Strength 230	

	PAGE		PAGE
Order of Battle and Preparations. The King's address to his Troops.....	281	Campaign of 1643 broken off. Rupture with Denmark. Resolution for War.....	314
Desperate Charge of the Infantry; temporary Repulse. The King's Fall.....	282	Torstenson's Instructions for Operations against Denmark. He evades the Imperialists.....	315
The Duke of Weimar takes the Command. Arrival of Pappenheim with Reinforcements to the Imperialists.....	283	Account of Denmark in this Age by a Swedish Minister. Its Military System.....	316
Final Attack and Triumph of the Swedes. Recovery of the King's Body.....	284	Public Revenue. State of Norway. Description of the other Provinces.....	317
Reception of the News in Sweden. The Duke of Lauenburg suspected as the author of the King's Death.....	285	The Nobility, Clergy, and Burgesses. Reduction of Jutland. Design on Zealand.....	318
Inquiry into the Probability of the Charge; its Groundlessness evinced.....	286	Maritime Operations and Engagements. Defeat of the Imperialists under Gallas.....	319
Reflections on the Life, Character, and Intentions of Gustavus Adolphus.....	287	Naval Victory. Peace of Brömsebro. Cessions by Denmark. Grants to Oxenstierna.....	320
CHAPTER XVIII.		CHAPTER XIX.	
CHRISTINA'S MINORITY. THE GUARDIANS. A. D. 1633-1645.		CHRISTINA'S GOVERNMENT AND ABDICATION. A. D. 1644-1654.	
Correspondence of the Chancellor with the Council of State upon the King's Death.....	288	Assumption of the Government by the young Queen. Diet of 1644. Report made by the Guardians to the Estates.....	321
Views of Gustavus Adolphus as to the Organization of the Ministry. Proposed Alliance and Match with Brandenburg.....	289	Approved by the Queen. Sentiments of the Estates as to the Constitution.....	322
Oxenstierna's Draught of a Constitution. Diet of 1633. Acknowledgment of Christina.....	290	Youth and Education of the Queen; her Learning and Accomplishments.....	323
Regency of Guardians appointed; their Oath. Pretensions of the Polish branch of the Vasas revived.....	291	Her Character and Manners described by Chanut, the French Ambassador.....	324
The Chancellor's Form of Government adopted by the Diet. The five Administrative Colleges. Prefects and Judges.....	292	Concluding Period of the War. Invasion of Bohemia by Torstenson. Great Victory of Jankowitz.....	325
Obligations of Official Persons to render an Account in yearly Courts of Inquest.....	293	Want of Co-operation obliges him to retreat. Effect of his Successes. Congress of Osnaburg.....	326
Character of Oxenstierna. His Memorial to the Council. Financial Measures recommended by him.....	294	Instructions of the Chancellor to the Swedish Commissioners at the Congress.....	327
His Suggestions for the Improvement of the Towns, and the Abolition of Burdens on Trade.....	295	Desolate Condition of Germany. Wrangel appointed Commander-in-Chief.....	328
His Views upon the Conduct of the War. Negotiation with the Saxon Court at Dresden.....	296	Campaign of 1646. Junction with the French under Turenne. Truce concluded with Bavaria.....	329
The Chancellor appointed to the Supreme Directory of the War. Protestant League of Heilbronn.....	297	Instructions of the Ministry to Wrangel. Campaign of 1647. Last year of the War.....	330
Project for investing the Chancellor with the Electorate of Mentz, and marrying his son to the Queen.....	298	Devastation of Bavaria by the Allies. Peace of Westphalia. Acquisitions of Sweden.....	331
Mutiny among the Officers of the Army of the Danube. Dissensions of the Swedish and German Generals.....	299	Immediate effects of the Peace. Consequences of the Alienation of Crown Estates.....	332
Operations on the Weser and in Suabia. Ratisbon taken by the Imperialists.....	300	Liberties of the Yeomanry endangered by the increased Power of the Nobility. Evil enhanced by the excess of the Royal Bounty.....	333
Duke Bernard of Weimar and Horn defeated at Nördlingen. Bad Faith of Wallenstein. His Assassination.....	301	Count de la Gardie, the new Favourite. The Queen's Displeasure with the Oxenstiernas.....	334
Inquiry into the extent of his Guilt. Dissensions of the Protestant States of Germany.....	302	Temporary Retirement of the Chancellor. Causes of the Decline of his Influence.....	335
Peace of Prague. Change in the Prospects of the War. Negotiations with Denmark and Poland. The Swedish Ministry inclined to Peace.....	303	Jealousy towards the Nobility among the other Estates. Efforts of the Clergy to procure an extension of their Privileges.....	336
Rising Influence of France. Policy of Richelieu. Visit of Oxenstierna to him to settle terms of Alliance.....	304	Uneasy state of Public Feeling. Controversy on Popular Rights.....	337
Fruitless Efforts of Oxenstierna for Peace. John Baner, the new Commander-in-Chief.....	305	Claims to New Privileges by the Nobility refused. Solemn Protest of the Three Unnoble Estates calling for the Resumption of Crown Lands.....	338
The Saxons take part actively against Sweden. Operations on the Oder.....	306	Imminent Danger of Civil War. Suit of Prince Charles Gustavus for the Queen's hand.....	339
Invasions of Bohemia and Bavaria. Baner's Retreat from Ratisbon, and Death.....	307	Its Rejection. She proposes to the Council that the Prince be declared her Successor.....	340
Ratification of the Alliance with France. Oxenstierna's Home Administration.....	308	Announcement of her purpose to abdicate. Its Causes, Political and Personal. Bent of Thought and Speculation in this Age.....	341
New Levy. Inquiry into Abuses. New Division and Allocation of the Army.....	309	Influence of Foreign Opinions and Literature. Intrigues to precipitate the Queen's Abdication.....	342
Reforms in various Departments of the Public Service. Torstenson General-in-Chief.....	310	Their Detection and Punishment. Dissipation and Profuseness of the Court.....	343
Military Discontents after Baner's Death. Dangerous Jealousies among the Generals.....	311	New Favourites. Popular Disaffection. Appanage settled on the Queen. The Abdication.....	344
Invasion of the Emperor's hereditary Dominions. Advance to Vienna, and successful Retreat.....	312	Departure of the Queen from Sweden. Her subsequent Conduct.....	345
Reinforcements arrive from Sweden. Second Battle of Leipsic.....	313	SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.....	346

HISTORY OF THE SWEDES.

INTRODUCTION.

THE SCANDINAVIAN NORTH, almost entirely unknown to the cultivated nations of antiquity, did not, until a late period, find a place in history. Thule, of which Pytheas received information in Britain, about 300 years before the Christian era, as the most northerly region of the earth, yet not wholly unsettled, nor without tillage, was in all likelihood Western Scandinavia. Report spoke of an island of prodigious magnitude, comparable to a continent, not far from the Scythian shore, on the amber coast; referring probably to the southern portion of the great peninsula. These dark rumours, however, were soon lost in oblivion, or were thought to be fabulous; and if the Greek had learned some truth from them, it did not long dwell in the memory of the Romans. Pliny was well acquainted with these accounts, and had himself visited the shores of the North Sea; yet he relates, as a novelty, that 'immense islands had been of late discovered, beyond Germany; of these, the noblest was Scandinavia, of yet unknown magnitude; the inhabitants styled it another world¹'. He speaks of Nerigon, (Norige, Norway,) as an especially large island, without conjecturing that it might be only a part of the former. It is not till half a century after the birth of Christ that these names appear, and shortly afterwards Tacitus tells us of 'the communities of the Suiones in the Ocean, strong in men, arms, and ships.' The geographer Ptolemy, in the second century, knew of Goths and Danes inhabiting the southern division of Scandia. These well known names resound to us in the voice of antiquity, with more that are unknown, and that, for us, must remain unknown.

Intercourse with Pagan or with Christian Rome, with the old Empire or the Popedom, brought most of the nations dwelling in western or northern Europe on the stage of history; and when at length, in right of culture, they became domesticated there, Roman influences had already intervened between them and their earliest recollections, of which little that was primordial remained. This is true, not only of the nations whose language was Romanized, but in a great measure even of those Germanic peoples, who preserved their own. All we know of Pagan Germany comes to us through Rome; its antiquity is without really aboriginal recollections; and if attempts have been made in more recent times to supply this deficiency by art, yet can we by no means affirm that they have succeeded. We desecrate a temple wherein learning

worships its own idol, but we miss the voice of the people.

The youngest brother of this great stock, is he, whose destinies we have taken upon us in part to relate; the youngest, reckoning from his appearance in history, but the one who has sojourned longest in the house of his fathers, and should have most to tell of its ways. Of alien influences he knows least, and extraneous impulses, in times foregone, he more frequently imparted than received. Old Rome, in her decline, was to him, perhaps, better known than ever he was by herself; and a thousand years of the Christian era had sped away, before he, the terrible foe of Christendom, was numbered among the sons of the Romish church.

The recollections, then, which Scandinavia has to add to those of the Germanic race, although of later date, are yet the most antique in character, and comparatively the most original. They offer the completest remaining example of a social state, existing previously to the reception of any influences from Rome, and in duration stretching onwards so far, as to come within the sphere of historical light. Thus the history of the North resembles its physical nature, in whose rocks and mountains the primitive formations lie open to the day, while in southern lands these are covered by more recent deposits.

We have pointed out the relation of the northern history generally to that of the kindred races. We will add some remarks upon the mutual relations linking the elder history of the three northern kingdoms; taking occasion also shortly to comment upon the sources whence it is to be illustrated, in so far as our subject demands.

Scandinavia was first laid open to the rest of Europe by Christianity. Missionary accounts of the progress of the gospel among races whose names had long been the terror of Christendom, as well as the peaceful intercourse gradually following upon the conversion of the north, at length shed light upon these remote, and, till then, little known countries, which even by the first Christian teachers were likened to a new world². After a connection with the church of Rome had led to acquaintance with their learning and language, this was applied by the clergy, here as in other parts of Europe, in the composition of Latin chronicles. In those labours Denmark stood foremost, and the history of her middle age is generally more copious than that of her sister lands. Saxo alone is worthy many

¹ Pliny, Hist. Nat. iv. 13, (ed. Bipont, 27.) *Alterum terrarum orbem.* (Compare also ii. 108, iv. 16. TRANS.)

² *Transeuntibus insulas Danorum alter mundus aperitur*

in Sveoniam vel Normanniam, quæ sunt duo latissima aquilonis regna, et nostro orbi fere incognita. Adam. Bremen. de Situ Daniæ, c. 60, ed. Lindenborg.

writers. For times near his own he is an unexceptionable witness; in describing those more remote, he exhibits, under a learned and ornate garb, the shape in which the reminiscences and fables of the heathendom survived among the people in the twelfth century. From him we learn the wealth of that store of national remembrances extant from ancient days, and the old popular ballads, in which Denmark's middle age is most rich, show us the form usually adopted for the transmission of these remembrances. Saxo drew with greedy hands from the living well of popular tradition. Nothing which such materials could supply is left untold; nothing seems to him incredible. He appears only perplexed how to arrange all this into a regular history of the kingdom from the earliest times; wherein he succeeded accordingly.

What Denmark is for the history of the Christian middle age in the north, Norway is for that of declining heathenism; less, however, owing to its own literary records than to those of the Icelanders, who may with reason be denominated a people of saga-writers. Scandinavian colonists, for the most part men of birth and consequence, discontented with their lot at home, or retreating from the oppression of the powerful, had founded a new republic, in the period from 874 to 934, upon this distant island. For 400 years they maintained their independence, and continued in active intercourse with the mother country, especially with Norway, whence most of the settlers had come, and to whose domination the island was eventually subjected. In Scandinavia itself the Icelanders were regarded as being pre-eminently the depositaries of the old poetry of the north, and having the most ample knowledge of its antiquity; the earliest Scandinavian chroniclers attest this unanimously. In Iceland was longest practised that venerable Scaldic art, whose origin was ascribed to Odin and the gods; although, being inspired by Paganism, it assumed a character always more artificial, when the faith which had given it vitality became itself extinct. For a considerable time after the introduction of Christianity, the Scald, who was also, according to ancient custom, the historiographer, still maintained his place at the courts of the northern kings; and this office, we find, was in almost all cases filled by natives of Iceland. The songs of the Scalds, originally committed to memory only, were therein the more solicitously preserved. When a song was recited, some one of the company learned it by heart, and there are examples of the usual honorary being refused, if the maker did not remain at court sufficiently long for that purpose³. To these songs were attached narratives, which constituted, equally in popular assemblies and in courts, a universal and highly valued source of enjoyment. Thus were formed the elder Icelandic legendary histories (sagas) of the chief insular families, and of the northern kings, more especially the Norwegian. They rested on the testimony of the Scalds, and are easily distinguishable by their character from the later and purely fictitious sagas. Somewhat more than two hundred and forty years

elapsed from the settlement of Iceland, ere the sagas began to be written; and as the more old are interwoven with lays of Scalds, the notation of the songs was at least not later. Thus the oral transmission of ancient recollections, in rich store, we may well suppose, and nurtured by the care of art, passed soon away into a regular literature, betimes remarkable for its exclusive use of the mother tongue, and in the same language which was then spoken in all the three kingdoms of the north. Its most important name is that of SNORRO STURLESON, born in the year 1178, judge (lagman) in Iceland, earl (jarl) in Norway, and contemporary with the last party conflicts of Icelandic freedom, of which he was the partaker and the victim. He wrote the *Chronicles of the Norwegian kings*⁴, or, as he himself says (for he is rather collector and compiler than author), embodied in his work ancient legends of the sovereigns of the north, after the Scaldic songs, the genealogies of princes and chieftains, and the narrations of well-informed men. The so-called younger or prosaic Edda also bears his name, although this collection of mythes of gods, and explanations of the types and metres of the heathen poetic language, was gradually formed by the labours of several writers. It was intended for the instruction of the young Scalds, and shows that the old poetry of the Icelanders was cultivated in the end as a learned art. The old mythic odes cited in the younger Edda—among which we distinguish the song of the northern prophetess (Völuspá), and the so-called high song (Hávamál), ascribed to Odin, are for the most part extant. They are to be found in the elder, poetical, or Saemund's Edda, so named from the priest Saemund the Wise, who died in the year 1133, and is supposed to have been its compiler. The Edda of Saemund contains likewise several heroic ballads⁵, the fragments of an epic cycle, having its root mainly in recollections of the great migration. Hence remains of this saga are found among many nations, though in a shape modified by Christianity, and no where, save in the north, retaining their original Pagan form. These mythic and heroic songs of the northern heathendom are older than any of the Icelandic poetry, and from this cause anonymous; for otherwise the Icelanders are very exact in stating the names of all the Scalds since the colonization of the island. In compass of thought and depth of feeling, in audacity of conception and peculiarity of character, in rude but grandiose simplicity, they are far superior to all the poetical efforts of the Icelandic court poets.

Sweden, in respect to its history, stands in nearly the same relation to Scandinavia generally, as the latter to the rest of Europe. It came latest in contact with the European world. Of its heathen period there remain no such complete accounts as those of the latter days of heathenism in Norway; its middle age receives less of the light of history than that of either Norway or Denmark. In its more recent annals it has cast both into the shade, and obtained, what neither of them possesses, fame and rank in the history of the world; only for a moment indeed through its great Gustavus Adol-

³ Müller Sagabibliotek, Snegle Halls Thatter.

⁴ Norriges Konungasagor.

⁵ Of Völund and Helge, of Sigurd and Brynhilda, Folsungs and Niflungs. See the whole second part of Saemund's Edda.

We find the same subjects more copiously and prosaically treated in the *Folsunga Saga*, the *Norna Gests Saga*, the younger Edda, and the *Vilkina Saga*.

phus, yet long enough for uddyng remembrance. Still the oldest legends which tell of the north, reports rather than remiunscences, relate to Sweden. The name of Suiones in Tacitus already denotes a powerful people; that of the Goths sounded over all the earth. With Sweden Snorro begins his chronicles of the ancient kings. In old Svitliod Odin and the gods had ruled over Manhem, the home of men. The Asce, immigrating from the east, greeted the land with this name, which perhaps was not unknown to Pliny.

In the first part of this history following we propose: I. To consider the accounts transmitted to us of the ancient period of Sweden, down to the preaching of Christianity in the north, or the middle of the ninth century. II. To give a summary

view of the state of the country and its inhabitants at the end of the heathen age. We will then, III. describe the transition to Christianity, and its influence on the old form of society, with the contests of the Swedes and Goths for domiun, to the middle of the thirteenth century; IV. the age of the Folkungers, to the middle of the fourteenth; then, V. the reigns of the foreign kings, and the union of the northern crowns, till the times of the Sture, or the middle of the fifteenth; VI. the Sture as administrators and popular leaders, till the massacre of Stockholm in 1520; at which point we will, VII. pause to contemplate the condition of the land and people at the end of the catholic period. In the next part we will proceed to the more recent history of Sweden, beginning with Gustavus Vasa.

CHAPTER I.

TRADITIONS OF THE NORTH.

OLDEST TIMES. LEGENDS OF NORTHERN MIGRATIONS. MYTHOLOGY. CHRONICLES OF THE KINGS. SWEDES AND GOTHs. VARANGIANS AND NORTHMEN.

If it like us to be contented with probabilities on a topic in which certainty is unattainable, Scandinavia is by no means to be placed among the latest settled countries of our quarter of the globe. Its situation on a great inland sea, which receives vast streams from the continent, could here create no exception from the conclusion of universal experience, that maritime countries receive inhabitants before the interior of a great continent, and that the sea and large rivers are the mother's milk of primal cultivation. The Mediterranean and the Baltic have nursed, each after its own fashion, the infancy of the elder European nations, and those historically the most important.

Around the Mediterranean flourished the civilization of the classical world, which had its birth in Asia. For this the Alps, with their continuations, long formed a wall, beyond which its circle of vision did not extend. Savage races, most of whom subsequently disappeared, partly of Celtic origin, had descended from those heights into Italy, and carried devastation to Rome, to Greece, and to Lesser Asia, or wandered beyond the mountains in wastes and interminable forests⁶. On the islands of the Baltic, again, and its southern coasts, we perceive indisputably the earliest European dwelling-places of the great Germanic race⁷. Here also these are not without recollections of the east, although to southern Europe they were in a manner unknown, until the Romans, as they approached nearer to Lower Germany and the North Sea, instead of the nomadic hordes who now and then animated the wilds of the inner highlands, fell in at all points with numerous and brave nations, indomitable from the firm and martial structure of their institutions. Then the name of Germans was first heard. Rome, unable to subdue their tribes, admitted the danger

into her own bosom by purchasing their services with money or land, till at length, whether from this or from other causes extrinsic, or led by the spirit which urges nations evermore towards the south, they broke through the mountain bulwark. And now the waves of the great migration, rolling over the corruption of the old world, prepared a new scheme of culture, of which the natural energy of the north laid the foundation, and the Christian religion supplied the nutriment.

If the Thule mentioned by Pytheas were, as may be conjectured, a part of the Scandinavian peninsula, it had already inhabitants and agriculture several centuries before the birth of our Saviour. Certainly the condition which Tacitus describes a hundred years after Christ, supposes cultivation to have long subsisted. The states of the Suiones—so he was informed—were powerful by the number of their people, their fleets, and arms; their vessels were especially serviceable for rivers and coast navigation; riches they held in honour; the sea encompassing them prevented sudden attacks by their foes⁸. What he adds therewithal, that the Suiones were ruled by a single person with unlimited power, and even that arms were not, as with the rest of the Germans, free to general use—this, so unlike all we know of the manners of our ancestors from other sources, seems only to be explained by supposing that the governing persons also exercised a higher power, founded upon religion, which was not unlimited, but might well appear so to distant observers. Here we are reminded, that the appellation 'monarch'⁹ given to the early Swedish rulers, by no means implied, in the north, the possession of unrestricted power. It in general denoted him who held the supreme authority among a whole people, here consecrated by

⁶ Deserta Helvetiorum, Bojorum, Getarum, which at a later period were partially occupied by the Germanic populations immigrating from the north.

⁷ Teutons and Goths (Guttones) inhabited the Baltic

coasts from the time of Pytheas. Compare Mannert, Geography of the Greeks and Romans.

⁸ Germania, c. 44.

⁹ Envaldshöfding, sole ruler. T.

the belief of a divine origin, and the inheritance of priestly sanctity. This authority, derived from a warlike religion, was yet favourable to peace in the intestine relations of the people. By it the use of arms might be interdicted, a regulation observed within the places of sacrifice, which were kept under the seal of peace. Common participation in the great sacrifices was a sign as well as a bond of peace among the different communities of ancient Suithiod. Of these many are enumerated, both in domestic and extraneous accounts, and the so-called monarchy of Tacitus embraced, as he himself mentions, several states. It is remarkable that, according to the same historian, the Goths, of all the German tribes, most nearly resembled the Swedes in respect to this disposition of supreme power¹.

Through the migration of the Germans to the south, Scandinavia, unknown before, at once attained widely greater consideration, and by them its renown was diffused as the parent land of many nations. The Goths and Lombards even declared that they had themselves come forth from this far extending region. Such is the account given us by their own oldest historians, of whom the one appeals to the historical ballads of his people², and the other shows throughout his whole exposition that he based his narrative upon similar ballads³. When after the emigration of the Gothic tribes, the Franks and Saxons became powerful in Northern Germany, and thence extended their dominion further, the same tradition is repeated; both derive their origin from the northern nations⁴. The notion of Scandinavia as a cradle and workshop of nations⁵, recurs in like manner perpetually for centuries onwards in history. It gained strength from the predatory expeditions of the Northmen, and is not yet extinct in the Alps, where the inhabitants of Haslidade still assert their Swedish descent.

A tradition, bruited in so many quarters, demands some explanation. Nothing authorizes us to conclude that the northern countries have ever been more populous than they are now; rather the contrary might safely be laid down. But it is not the less certain that Scandinavia formerly contained, if not a great, yet a redundant population, larger than the land was able to support, and that this warlike multitude, of whose lofty stature, strength, and fecundity so many witnesses speak, deemed themselves therefore necessitated to live, and in great part actually lived at the cost of the rest of the world. Piratical expeditions formed the business of the summer. Every year the seakings went forth with the first open waters; and the great spring sacrifice in ancient Sweden was always offered for victory. From the same cause proceeded those dreadful consequences, which, according to the accounts we have, followed upon a bad year; famine, civil conflicts, immolation of kings to propitiate the gods (for this was the fate of two of the Yngling line), and migrations in quest of new dwelling-places.

We are told of the Norman expeditions, that on account of the redundancy of population, an old law or custom obtained in the north for those of the young, on whom the lot should fall, to seek their fortune abroad. It is said also that the father usually drove out his sons who had grown up to years of manhood, with the exception of one who inherited his estate⁶. The Swiss legends of migration contain the same statement, in which those of the Lombards and Goths also agree. It is worthy of remark, and confirmatory of the foregoing, that no account of these migrations makes mention of any very large mass of folk, as having come out of Scandinavia Proper. The Northmen were at all times more formidable from boldness than numbers in their warlike enterprises. The Lombards are first noted as a not very numerous band of Scandinavian youth, driven out by lot from an island of small extent⁷, and with low shores, whence it is conjectured to have been one of the Danish isles⁸. The Goths are said to have issued from Scandinavia in three ships only⁹. Certain it is that not until these had united with their kinsmen who dwelt on the southern shores of the Baltic, and afterwards probably with an elder branch of the same stock on the Mæotis, did they grow up into that mighty people, who made themselves the terror of Rome.

Thus even in this most famous emigration, according to the tradition, whether literally understood or not, the numbers were by no means large. But if all this places the movements themselves in a new and truer light, the question will still remain how the leaders of these warlike migratory swarms, even if impelled by the same headlong passion for adventures which, in the Norman expeditions of a later age, was able to found new empires with inconsiderable means, should have been hailed by the consent of whole nations as fathers of their race. Now if, in the olden time, the descent of the kings was held ascribable to their people likewise, and was traced up to gods adored by both, whose chief abode was deemed to be in the north, the question would receive an answer consonant with the spirit of the ancient sagas. Scandinavia would be termed in the elder legends of the migrations the parent-land of so many peoples, as being the principal seat of a widely-spread worship, the nursery of princely families, who claiming to be descended from divine ancestors, and appearing at the head of wandering tribes, had either themselves really come out of Scandinavia, or were derived by the saga from that central home of ancient Paganism. Every thing shows that the accounts of the northern extraction of so many populations are connected with the belief that their kingly houses were sprung from ODIN. With the tradition of the northern kindred of the Saxons another was intertwined, that the same ODIN whom they revered in common with the Northmen, was also the father of their

⁴ Witichindus, de rebus gestis Saxonum. Hrabanus Maurus in Goldast. Rer. Alaman. Script. ii. 67. Nigellus, de baptismo Harald, in Langebek, Script. rer. Dan. i. 400.

⁵ Officina gentium, vagina gentium.

⁶ Dudo and Willelmus Genueticensis, in Duchesne, Script. Norm. pp. 62, 217. Saxo, l. ix. p. 171, ed. Steph.

⁷ Paul Warnefrid, c. 2, 7.

⁸ Or Scania, as is said in the popular songs of Gothland upon the outset of the Lombards.

⁹ Jordanes, c. 17.

¹ Gotoes regnantur, paulo jam adductius quam cætera Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem. Germania, c. 43.

² Jordanes de rebus Geticis.

³ Paulus Warnefridi de Gestis Longobardorum. In neither case has ill-applied learning been able to hide the living fountain from which the author drew his narration.

royal line. Anglo-Saxon authors, some of whom wrote while the north was still Pagan, denominate him 'the prinigenial Woden, from whom the kingly families of well-nigh all the barbaric tribes derive their origin'; 'the prince of the barbarian multitudes, whom the deluded northern heathens, Danes, Normans, Swedes, to this day worship as God'.¹ According to the chronicles of the northern kings and the Edda, the same 'Woden, whom we call Odin,' had set his sons to rule over Saxonland; the Edda adds, also over Frankland, and derives from thence the famous lineage of the Folsungs. Although among the Franks, who embraced Christianity earlier, no confirmation of this legend remains, it is nevertheless probable that the 'race of gods,' mentioned among them, was that of Odin.² We have irrefragable testimony that Woden was adored as a god by all the German nations³, and this is besides expressly stated of the Vandals, Lombards, and Suevers⁴. The last-named tribe was a branch of the Goths. *Anses*, which is rendered by demi-gods, was the term applied by the Goths of the south to their kingly lineage, celebrated in the same songs which perpetuated the memory of their Scandinavian extraction⁵. The word is the same in all its meanings with the northern *Asar*; the formal variation being merely one of dialect, which reappears similarly in other instances⁶.

All these nations, therefore, traced their royal families to the same gods, and were connected by the same religion. Yet we would by no means maintain that the whole northern mythology, as it has been transmitted to us, was ever common to the Germanic race. Much of it belongs exclusively to the north, some equally to other nations, especially the Anglo-Saxons, and in the end it received from the later court-Scalds and the Icelanders a kind of over-elaboration, which however is observable more in an artificial poetic phraseology than in the substance. In its essential features, and the themes of which it chiefly treats, it is a lore as venerable for age as rich in interest, a not unworthy exponent of the views embraced by a great and noble race of men in their first contemplations on the universe. Its historical compass and extent of diffusion are attested by its own oracles. The Odin of the north is also explicitly represented as the god wandering far among the nations, who adore him, according to a declaration ascribed to himself by an old bard⁷, under many names and in various guises. In the Scalds he appears under the most different appel-

lations, taken, among many others, from light, from fire, the Runes, the shades of the dead, victory, the battle-field, and the Gothic name. But in his loftiest significancy, he is father of all, father of gods and men, father of time; the earth born of night is his progenitress; the earth irradiated by the sun is his daughter and spouse, when with his brethren he has subdued and disposed Matter, typified by the body of the giant Ymer, slain in the abyss. The twelve divine *Asæ*, a bright and beautiful kin, form his council of gods. In conjunction with him they are also the first priests, the first lawgivers and judges upon earth, builders of the first temple and the first towns. Their chief city is Asgard⁸, of ancient days, lying in the centre of Midgard⁹, or Manhem, the world of men, divided by a wall from Jotunhem, the home of the giants, at the end of the earth, where, under the uttermost root of the world-tree, in the realms of darkness and of cold, the dwarfs too have their abode.

There was a happy time, when the gods invented the arts most indispensable to man's life, wrought metals, stone, and wood, possessed abundance of gold, showed in all things their divine power, sported and were merry; until their bliss was disturbed by the arrival of certain giant maids from Jotunhem, the peace made with the race of giants was broken, Odin hurled his spear amidst the people, and the first war was kindled. Then began the victorious, but direful, strife against that evil race, of which some scenes are celebrated in Pagan odes yet preserved¹. When the gods retired to heaven, it was continued by the heroic families of earth who sprung from them. During this struggle, Odin calls home the fallen to himself in Valhalla, in order with them to advance to the last combat of Ragnarauk (the twilight of the gods). Then at length are burst the bonds which chain the powers of nature, subdued in the beginning of time. Cold and heat, from whose intermixture this world arose, send their demons out of Nifelheim and Muspelheim to a war in which the gods themselves are overthrown. Then after the conflagration of the world, a new earth arises, verdant with self-sown fields, the home of a race whose lives are unweary by toil;

All evil vanishes away.

Back comes Balder,

And dwells with Höder²,

In Odin's triumph-hall,

Bright in the sacred seat of high-throned gods.

Understand ye yet, or how?

¹ In the Grimmsal of the elder Edda, strophe 49.

² Lit. The Court of Gods. T.

³ The Gothic Midjungards in Ulphilas. (Lit. Midyard.)

⁴ As in the Hóstlöngr of Thiodolf, scald to Harald the Fair-haired, the same whose ballads form the basis of the *Ynglingasaga*.

⁵ The blind demi-god, who without fault of his own had slain Balder the Good, Odin's gentlest and wisest son, whom afterwards the tears of gods and men, and all things, could not free from Hel's subterranean dominion. See a fuller view of the northern mythology in the *Svea Rikes Häfder* (Inquiries into the Ancient History of Sweden) of the author. (Nifelheim is the source of cold, the home or world of fogs (*vegeþan*, Ger. nebel) and shade; Muspel or Muspelshem (of which the etymology is uncertain), the heaven or empyreal world, nearest to the heaven of blessed light, whose inhabitants, at the ruin of our world, are to devastate it with

¹ William of Malmesbury, Ethelred.

² Nec de deorum genere esse probatur, is the answer of Chlodwig to his wife, when she first exhorts him to acknowledge the God of the Christians. Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 29.

³ Wodan sane, quem adjecta litera Gwodon dixerunt, ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab universis Germaniae gentibus ut deus adoratur. Paul Warnef. c. 9.

⁴ Id. c. 8. Vita S. Columbanii, in Duchesne, Script. Franc. i. 556.

⁵ Jordanes, c. 13.

⁶ As, in the old Northern speech God, also hero, or a man endowed with god-like qualities, means likewise a beam, column, prop. The Irminsul (universalis columna), adored by the Saxons, was the trunk of a tree. The Gothic *anses*, demi-gods in Jordanes, would give in the nominative singular *ans*, which in Ulphilas likewise signifies a beam. *Ans* is changed into *As*, as *Gans* to *Gas*, *Anst* to *Ast*, and so with other words.

It is the voice of the northern sibyl, in the prophecy of Vala, to which we have chiefly listened throughout the foregoing exposition. But this receives manifold confirmation from the ancient odes, as well as from the characteristics and types of the Scaldic poetry.

Such is an outline of that old religion of the north, which may well be left to its own witness. In esoteric force, in depth and significance, it is inferior to no theory of human origin on the beginning and end of things which found acceptance in the world of antiquity. To some of these the present approximates, for such systems have generally much that is common, but on no one is originality of character more clearly stamped. Those who are acquainted with the oriental mythology, can hardly doubt that this lore was derived from the east; nor can we fail to observe that the adoration of nature, which it expresses, agrees with that ascribed by Tacitus to the ancient Germans. Here, as with them³, this nature-worship is peculiar in its kind, penetrating with prophetic vision into the inner mystery of the perishableness of this sensible world. Hence that notion of immortality so deeply rooted in the minds of our forefathers, which the Greeks and Romans ascribed equally to all the northern races, "happy in their error," as a Roman poet professed to think⁴. Without doubt the most recondite and essential feature of this creed was its defiance of annihilation, even in the worship of a transitory universe, and of gods whose reign was not to be eternal. Thus is explained the freedom asserted by the inhabitant of the north, even towards his deities, and that principle of tragic irony which pervades this whole mythical scheme. That gloom and terror which lies at the core of every form of heathenism, even when concealed, as with the Greeks, under a blooming exterior, in the north stalks forward undisguised, and breaks out every where, in its heroic poetry as well as its divine. As *this* concludes with the ruin of the gods, in conflict with the insurgent powers of universal nature, so does *that* celebrate in all its manifold shapes but one master theme, the deeds, the crimes, and the fall of famous chiefs, and kingly dynasties. We refer here chiefly to the heroic songs of the old Edda, those fragments, petrified as it were by time, of a gigantic poetry, each a hieroglyph, revealing to us from the by-gone times of the north the heroic deeds, recollections, and manners of the great migrations in the full energy of primeval paganism. The period to which they belong is discovered even by the multitude of national names which find a place in them. For just as the old mythic songs afford but one general appellation, which denotes both the people of the gods and the Goths⁵, so in the heroic songs, on the other hand, the names of many races occur, Swedes, Norsemen, Danes, Franks, Saxons, Lom-

bards, Burgundians, Goths, Huns, Finns. Of their own destiny these songs predict that "they will endure in all lands," and that, by comparison with the fates they celebrate, "every man's heart shall be lightened; every sorrow of woman shall be assuaged."

Their antiquity is also declared by the fashion in which they expound the northern mythology. That peculiar adoration of nature which was its basis, the form it first assumed, and preserved at all times by preference in the popular belief, is much more distinctly set forth in these old heroic songs, than in the scalds of a later age of heathendom. The sun, the day, the godlike powers of light, the night, and the many-nourishing earth as the daughter of night, sacred waters, stones, and birds, are invoked together with the *Asæ* and *Asyns*⁶, and are the objects of vows, prayers, or worship. To die is beautifully called "to pass away to another light." The transmigration of souls appears as an older doctrine that once obtained belief⁷. We find Odin reappearing in more than one age, a conception probably founded upon that doctrine.

The chronicles of the kings⁸ represent ODIN and the *Asæ* historically as founders of the northern monarchies; they likewise claim to know whence these fathers of nations themselves derive their origin. They came from the bounds of Asia, out of the land of Asahem, beyond the Tanais, in which lay the city of Asgard, a great place of sacrifice, where lived ODIN, a victorious chief, surrounded by twelve priests of sacrifice, who were styled *Diar* (gods) and *Drottmar* (rulers), and were judges among the people. The immigration took its course through Gardarike (as the Western Russia of modern times is called by the scalds⁹), into Saxonland, Denmark, and Sweden, where Odin took up his abode, near by ancient Sigtuna, upon the Maelar lake, built a temple to the gods, and sacrificed after the manner of the *Asæ*. His chiefs were named after the gods, and like them were honoured; they received dwelling-places which had their appellations from the heavenly mansions of the deities¹, and the land was called Manhem, to distinguish it from Godhem, the country of the gods. From Odin and the *Asæ* all the knowledge and art of the northern regions was said to be derived. But as Odin in the mythology is highest of the gods, so in the chronicles he is the greatest and most revered of the oldest priestly rulers. His people believed that he determined victory in combats. His warriors went forth into the battle like men frenzied, without armour of fence, and neither fire nor iron could wound them; this was called the Berserkers' race². Odin was fair to view, so that he gladdened part of the country about the river Duna was called in his day Cholmogorod by its inhabitants. T.

¹ Niord in Noatun, Heimdal at Himingbiorg, Thor at Thrudvang, Balder at Brejðablik. Upsala, where Frey dwelt, is the only historical name, but it is also applied generally to a temple or palace.

² In the Narrative of the Burmese War, by Major Snodgrass, London, 1827, it is mentioned that a division of the Burmese army, during the war of the English against this nation, was called "The King's Invulnerables," who were thought to be secured against wounds by enchantment, and before the fight incited themselves to frenzy by opium, provoking the enemy by war dances. Some of the hill-

fire. By the combination of these principles it was formed; by their hostility it will be destroyed. See Finn Magnussen, *Veterum Borealiū Mythologiæ Lexicon*, 518, 523. TRANS.)

³ *Deorumque nominibus appellat secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident. Germania*, c. 9

⁴ *Felices errore suo.* ⁵ Gothiód—Gotar—Gotnar.

⁶ Minor gods and goddesses. T.

⁷ See the proofs of this in the *Svea Rikes Häfdar*.

⁸ The *Konungasagor* of Sturleson, which contain the *Ynglingasaga*, now known to the English reader by Mr. Laing's excellent version. T.

⁹ Or Holmgard; under which word Ihre mentions that

all hearts when he sat among his friends; but he appeared terrible to his foes. He was eloquent, so that all he said was believed to be true, and all his discourse wore the garb of poetry. He first practised and taught the art of song, the mystery of the Runes, and the knowledge of divination. For the rest, his human character is portrayed not dissimilarly to his mythological; he is at once god, hero, poet, lawgiver, and the Asiatic Shaman or magician, frequently transforming his outward shape. In Sweden he established the same law which had been observed by the Ase. He enjoined that the bodies of the dead should be consumed with fire; the more property was heaped with them upon the funeral pile, the richer should they arrive in Valhalla. In memory of distinguished men, sepulchral mounds, now called by the people *kin-barrows* (*átte hógar*), were to be erected; and memorial stones (*bauta-stenar*) besides, to every man who had shown himself valiant. Three sacrifices yearly he commanded them to offer; one towards winter for a good and prosperous year, a second at mid-winter for the harvest, the third towards summer for victory. Over all Suithiod the folk paid tribute to Odin, for which he was bound to defend the land from hostile assault, and to sacrifice for a good harvest. Odin died a natural death in Suithiod, and on his death-bed he caused himself to be gashed with spear-points. Afterwards, to do this was called to give oneself to Odin, or mark oneself for him. With that he devoted to himself all men falling in battle, and said that he would repair to the land of the gods, and there entertain his friends. But the Swedes supposed that he had gone to Asgard of ancient days, and would there live for ever. They believed in him and sacrificed to him, and often when war impeded, Odin, as they deemed, revealed himself, dispensing victory to some, and calling home others to himself; both seemed to them a good and happy lot.

After Odin, Niord assumed dominion, and maintained the sacrifices. He was born in the land of the Vaners on the Tanais, and before the journey to the north had been received with his children among the Ase. During his sway there were happy times, so that the people believed him to be the dispenser of prosperity to men. In his days most of the gods died. Niord too died a natural death, and caused himself to be marked for Odin. The Swedes burned his body and lamented over his grave.

Frey his son obtained the supreme power after him, and was, like his father, rich in friends and the gifts of the year. He erected the great temple in Upsala, under which he deposited all his property, and chose this place to be his chief town. Thence arose the Upsala estate (*Upsala öde*), first a possession of the temple, then of the Swedish kings³. In Frey's time was peace, when in all lands the years were plenteous. The Swedes looked upon Frey as the author of their felicity⁴, and tribes living near the Chinese frontier were led on by three young and beautiful females of high rank, who pretended to the power of making the English bullets harmless; all three were slain. These, therefore, were Oriental Berserkers and Valkyrias. (Of *berserk* there are various derivations; the most obvious is probably the true: *bar*, bare; and *serk*, shirt. T.)

³ Upsala-audr, (from *uppsalir*, the lofty halls, as the temple

worshipped him on that account more than other gods. Frey fell sick. Then his men erected a great barrow, and when he died, they placed him secretly within it, but they told the Swedes during three years that he was alive, and they bore the yearly tributes to the mound. Peace and prosperity nevertheless continued. When at length it became known to the Swedes that Frey was dead, and yet the times of abundance did not cease, they believed that it would always continue so, while Frey remained in Suithiod. For that reason they would not burn his body, but called him the god of the world, and sacrificed to him for peace and the blessings of the year. Among other names given to him is that of Yngve, which became a poetical appellation for king in general, and hence, in after times, the oldest Swedish dynasty was styled the Ynglings. Freya, his sister, who survived him, and superintended the sacrifices, was the last of the deities.

Fiolner, son of Yngve Frey, is the first Yngling. We have seen that in the chronicles as well as in the mythology, on the establishment of the power of the gods a period of prosperity ensues. This, however, ends under Fiolner, the first purely mortal ruler, and two daughters of the giants are again the cause of its interruption, as the younger Edda adds. Being female slaves in the house of the Danish king Frode, they sung in the mill, and the burden of their strain was of gold, and peace, and happiness. But when the king urged them too harshly to labour, they sang of war⁵, and turned the mill-stones about so swiftly that they broke in pieces. War came; the king fell; and so ended the peace of Frey. But Fiolner, before the happy time departed, had closed his days in the lap of abundance. At a feast with king Frode, he fell, in his drunkenness, into a vat of mead, and met his death "in the windless lake," as the old poet sings.

According to an ode of Thiodolf, the court-scald of king Harald the Fair-haired, in which the ancestors of that monarch to the thirtieth degree are celebrated, the Ynglingasaga, whence we have taken the preceding sketch, was written in Iceland. Snorro Sturleson placed it at the head of the old chronicles, and augmented it, as he states, by the relations of intelligent men. The poem contains short accounts of the Swedish kings of this race, corroborated for the most part by the citation of the scald's own words. We give in an appendix its catalogue of kings, but can by no means venture to make a record in which truth and fiction are so closely intermingled, the foundation of a chronology. As in all mythical systems, the regal stock is traced by the poet to the gods; it is also clear from the sequel that the older sagas, from which he borrowed his account, formed a kind of poetic whole. Again we perceive the same theme which the heroic lays of the north delight to commemorate, the fall of a famous dynasty from inborn discords, foredoomed by a curse denounced of old. This itself was called, and *audr*, property,) means the domain of the temple, the *τέμενος* of the Greeks.

⁴ Frey, called by Saxo Frö, is the Moeso-Gothic Frauja, the Anglo-Saxon Frea, the old German Fro, and means lord. (Frode is another form of the name. The *Frode fred*, or peace of Frey, is the golden age of Scandinavian mythes. *Frode* in modern Swedish means fitness or fertility; *frö* is seed. T.)

⁵ The song is quoted in the Skalda, and is called *Grot-tasaugr* (mill-song).

destiny of woe was sealed when the sons of king Wisbur, in order to wreak revenge on their father, submitted to the conditions proposed to them by the sibyl Huld, queen of the witches of Northland, whose power still dwells in the popular memory⁶. Then it was decreed that the line of the Ynglings should in days to come be extirpated by their own swords. Thereafter the throne is dyed by the blood of brothers and sons, shed by their nearest relatives, until by the crime of Ingiald Illrada against his own kindred, the Yngling dynasty of Sweden is overthrown. As it approaches this event, the saga throws some light upon the condition of the land and its inhabitants. A portion of the narrative we will give in its own words. Braut Anund was of all the kings happiest in friends, and during his time were good harvests and peace. In those days Sweden was still a great forest land, with wildernesses, the passage of which required many days' journey. King Anund bestowed much labour and cost in uprooting the woods and cultivating the cleared spots. He caused roads to be laid down over the wilds. Open glades too were then found in the forests. There were formed large shires (bärads), and the land was settled far round about, for the numbers of the people overflowed. In every shire of Suithiod, king Anund caused houses to be built, and made progresses of pleasure throughout the land. He was called Braut Anund, because he made ways to be levelled (bryta) throughout Suithiod. When once in harvest-time he was travelling between his houses with his court, a rock falling overwhelmed him in a mountain glen, and buried him with his train.

Thereafter Ingiald, son of Anund, assumed sovereignty over the Swedes. The Upsala kings were lords paramount in Sweden since Odin ruled over the land; but there were at the same time many shire kings. He that bore sway in Upsala was monarch (enväldshöfding) over the whole dominion of the Swedes until Agne died; then first was the realm divided among the brothers. After his time, realm and kingship were ever the more dismembered as families spread into new branches, so that when Ingiald became sovereign, his state was sorely diminished. He caused therefore a great banquet to be set out in Upsala when he was to enter upon his inheritance after his father. He built a new hall, large and splendid, as for the king's palace⁷, and named it the hall of the seven kings. Then sent Ingiald over all Suithiod, to bid kings, and earls, and other men of great place to his feast. Six kings came and took their high seats in the new hall, where their attendants were likewise gathered together. It was then the custom, at a funeral feast held for king or earl, that he who gave the banquet and was to take the inheritance, should sit on the footstool before the high seat, until they drunk the toast which was called the Brage-beaker⁸. Thereupon must he stand up to the Brage cup, make a vow, and drink out the goblet. Then he was led to the high seat which his fathers had filled, and now he had com-

pletely entered upon his heritage. So it came to pass that at the drinking of the Brage-beaker, king Ingiald rose up, took the great deer-horn, and vowed to enlarge his realm one-half towards all the four winds of heaven, or therewithal to die, whereupon he drank off the horn. The vow was fulfilled when at even-tide he caused the six kings to be seized and burned.

This was the burning at Upsala, of evil renown. With several other kings Ingiald dealt no better, for he set governors of his own over their dominions. Twelve kings in all, he is said treacherously to have put to death. For this reason he was called Illrada (the ill-ruler), and it was said that he had been made cruel by eating a wolf's heart in his childhood. His daughter Asa shared her father's surname and qualities. He had given her in marriage to Gudrod, king of Scania. At her instigation Gudrod murdered her brother Halfdan, but was afterwards himself murdered by Asa, who fled for safety to her father. Thereupon Ivar Widfamme assembled a host, and marched into Sweden against Ingiald, who knew himself to be detested, and too weak to offer effectual resistance. At the approach of Ivar's army, therefore, Ingiald and Asa made all their people drunk with liquor, and then set fire to the king's palace, which was consumed with themselves and all who were therein⁹.

After Ingiald, continues the Yngligasaga, the Upsala power went from the family of the Ynglings, so far as their line can be reckoned in unbroken succession, for the whole people of Svea rose against king Ingiald's kith and kin. His son Olave found a refuge in the wastes of Vermeland, where he rooted out and burned down the forests, and thence received the name of Trätälja (the wood-cutter). His posterity went over into Norway, which was first united into one kingdom by Harald the Fair-haired (härfager), a descendant of the Swedish Ynglings.

The chronicles, it will be observed, in two respects modify the point of view from which we set out. They give us a historical instead of a mythical Odin, and for the renowned Gothic emigration, an account of the establishment of the Swedish monarchy by an immigrating race.

When in the seventeenth century the Icelandic sources of information upon northern antiquity became better known, our historiographers set aside at once the expeditions and achievements of the Goths, on which our mediæval chronicles dwell, grounding their system of ancient Swedish history chiefly upon the Yngligasaga, the rather that a domestic catalogue of our kings, framed in the fourteenth century, agreed with the testimony of that poem¹. Odin and the Asæ they pronounced to be the human archetypes of the gods of the north; although those, on the contrary, appear in the saga itself as priests and representatives of deities who were already acknowledged. Hence it is also stated, that the Asæ whom king Gylfe received into Sweden, after he had made trial of their wisdom, took to themselves the names of the old

⁶ She is called Dame Hylle.

⁷ *Uppsals* is here the name of the palace. Upsala forms the genitive plural of this word.

⁸ Brage-bägar or Brage-full. This was a solemn cup drunk upon making a vow to perform any feat of gallantry, or to the health of any person held in peculiar reverence. Brage was the god of eloquence and poetry. T.

⁹ This is said to have happened at Ränninge, now a hamlet on the isle of Fögd in the Maelar lake, where an extraordinarily large ring-wall of heaped up stones is still called Ränningeborg.

¹ Catal. Reg. ii. Script. rerum Suecic. med. ævi, t. i.

demi-gods², and there were traditions of more than one Odín, nay, of a false Odín, who arrogated to himself the consideration and power of the true³. That pagans were even found who had little reverence for Odín, although, it is said, they were worshippers of Thor; that Odín had temples in Sweden indeed, but neither in Norway, nor in Iceland, which was chiefly settled by Norwegians, although at the sacrificial feasts cups were quaffed in honour of him before any of the other gods; all this seems to prove that the Odín of history had not succeeded universally and completely in transferring to himself the veneration which in the older religion was paid to the father of the gods.

More recent inquirers have denied all historical weight to the beginning of the Ynglingasaga, and refused to see in the immigration any thing but a learned fable, and the more, that the preface to the new Edda gives sufficient ground for suspicion by tracing the ancestors of Odín through the Trojan heroes up to Noah. The importance of Odín as a fabulous divinity has been recognized, while it has been considered that to enter upon the question of his historical personality would not repay inquiry. But this opinion places its supporters at variance with the mythology itself, in which ODÍN is undoubtedly both a godlike hero and a prophet among the people; a view that wants not confirmation from other quarters, and is connected by other testimony than that of the Ynglingasaga with the belief of his oriental extraction. Tacitus had already heard that in Northern Germany a wandering hero was worshipped from the most ancient times, on whom, according to usage, he bestows a Roman name⁴. Paul Warnefrid relates that the same Odín, to whom the Lombards, like the rest of the Germans, paid divine honours, had sojourned in Greece (a name commonly given by the Northerners to several eastern countries), before his arrival in Germany. The Anglo-Saxons point to a Troy, instead of the Oriental Asgard; in Saxo this is called Byzantium. With the Franks a similar learned garb, not only for their own but the northern legends of descent was so usual, that an old chronicler relates how the Northmen who ravaged France themselves declared that their people were of Trojan extraction⁵.

Again, the name ASÆ is historical in the east. Strabo places an Asia, in the narrower sense, on the eastern side of the Mæotis, and in the same quarter, a people whom he styles Aspurgians, literally the inhabitants of Asburg or Asgard. The Alans were a people nearly akin to the Goths, who formed a junction with them on the Black Sea, and also boasted of a royal line whose ancestors were gods. Arabian geographers of the tenth century

speak of this people as dwelling northwards of the Caucasus, under the name of Alans or ASÆ⁶. They extended formerly to the Tanais, where their remains, blended with those of the Goths, are mentioned by travellers in the fifteenth century, as still settled. It is added, that they styled themselves ASÆ, and in their own estimation had been denizens of this region longer than the Goths, who had come in as conquerors⁷.

Now if Gornus were in fact anciently seated (as may be proved) upon both sides of the Baltic, of whom a great branch afterwards moved in a southeasterly direction towards the Black Sea, and there formed a union with their kinsmen of the ancient stock; it is at least not improbable that an intercourse was carried on conversely between these and the Northerners, by which the tradition of eastern descent may have been originated or revived in Scandinavia. Later examples of such communication, attested by history, are not wanting. A band of Herulers, also a Gothic people, appearing first on the Black Sea, marched at the end of the fifth century from the Danube to Scandinavia, and the division which remained in the south afterwards sent thither in order to procure a prince of their royal blood. The fact is related by a contemporary witness⁸.

It is not, however, the arrival of the Goths in Scandinavia, but that of the SWEDES, which is described in the Ynglingasaga; races nearly allied indeed, and now blended, yet in the olden time separate, and first united under a common spiritual head. The chief seat of their worship was placed among the Swedes, a preference which they owed to ODÍN, and the great sacrifices instituted by him in Upsala. This prerogative was already acknowledged in the days of Tacitus, since in his account the Suiones stand for the whole commonwealth. If we allow a reasonable time for the establishment of this superiority, the Swedish Odín may be fairly removed to a period beyond the Christian era. To this conclusion the Anglo-Saxon genealogies cannot be adduced as repugnant, seeing that they are so little in unison as to derive their princes, who crossed over into Britain during the latter half of the fifth century, sometimes in the fourth, sometimes in the tenth, twelfth, or thirteenth generation from the same Odín⁹. Among his ancestors they enumerate a god bearing the Gothic name¹; who is himself, perhaps, referrible to one still older. Probably the arrival of the Swedes in Scandinavia occasioned the emigration of the Goths. At all events, the latter does not ascend to the antiquity to which Jordanes, by confounding the Goths with

⁶ Histoire des Mongoles, depuis Tchinguiz-Kan jusqu'à Timour-Lane, Paris, 1824, i. 693, 696. By D'Osson.

⁷ Viaggi fatti da Vinetia alla Tana, Vinezia, 1545; by the Venetian Josephat Barbaro, who resided sixteen years, from 1436, in these regions. See also the travels of the Franciscan Jean du Plan Carpin, who was sent in 1246 by Pope Innocent IV. to the khan of the Mongols, where this people is named Alans or ASÆ (Alains ou Asses). Voyages en Asie. Hague, 1735, i. 53. Procopius in the sixth century calls these Alans a Gothic nation, and Jordanes, who was of Alanic extraction, styles himself a Goth.

⁸ Procopius, de Bello Goth. l. ii. c. 14, 15.

⁹ Compare the Anglo-Saxon genealogies in Suhm's Tables to the Critical History of Denmark.

¹ Geat, quem pagani jamdudum pro deo venerati sunt. Compare Langebek, Script. Rer. Dan. i. 8.

² Epilogue to the Edda.

³ Saxo.

⁴ Ulysses; "interpretatione Romana," as Tacitus expresses himself in another place in respect to the appellations of the German gods. Ascburg on the Rhine was said to have been founded by this Ulysses, and named after him. In Ptolemy, also, this name appears upon the Lower Rhine, and it is believed to be still extant in Asburg, a village not far from Xanten on the left bank, the site of a Troja Francorum, according to the statement of Fredegarius, in the second chapter of his summary of the Chronicle of Gregory of Tours. If we rather derive the name of Ascburg from Ask (ash), this was the sacred tree of Odín.

⁵ Dudo, in Duchesne, Hist. Norm. Script. p. 63.

Getes and Scythians, removes it, but is to be assigned apparently to the commencement of the Christian era².

In our judgment, the Goths who gave their name to the southern and earlier settled portion of the peninsula, are the elder people in Scandinavia. That the Gothic kingdom possessed the higher antiquity, was an old belief in Sweden³; and in the Edda it is said that the name of Gothland was older in the north than either the Danish or Swedish dominion. Further up in the mid region of the land, the kingdom of the Swedes was founded in Suithiod, properly so called, for the name has both a wider and a narrower application⁴. Still higher towards the north was Jotunhem, the abode of wild and wandering tribes. The poets style them Jotuners, giants (jättar), mountain wolves, sons of the rock, the hill-folk, the folk of the caves of earth; eumies of the Ase, they gathered round the altars of old Forujoter, which Thor, the thunder-darting, is said to have overthrown. Their leader is called the chief of the Finns (Finncjöföding)⁵, and their country afterwards Finnmark, embracing the northerly part of the peninsula. The hills and woods of Kolmord and Tived formed the boundary between Suithiod Proper and the Gothic kingdom, as they do now between Swedeland and Gothland; hence these provinces were formerly known as the land north and south of the forest (Nordan och Sunnanskogs). The separateness of the two peoples appears clearly marked even subsequently to the introduction of Christianity. The annals of our middle age are occupied in great part with contests between the Swedes and Goths for the possession of a right to give a king to the whole country. Even at the present day the dialects of the Gothic provinces are distinguished by broader and fuller verbal forms, and a more plentiful use of diphthongs; in Upper Sweden, on the other hand, words and sounds are more abbreviated, though the latter does not hold without some exceptions. The dialect of the Dalecarlians on the one side, and that of the Scanians or Smalanders on the other, exhibit the two extreme points of variation.

The Ynglingasaga does not reckon Gothland as part of the dominion of the Ynglings⁶. A line of independent Gothic kings is mentioned, descending from Gaut (a name of Odin), from whom Gothland is said to have received its appellation⁷. Icelandic writers know in general little of these Gothic kings, although domestic traditions refer to kingly families much more numerous in Gothland than in Sweden Proper. Nor have all these disappeared from history without leaving any trace of their existence. In them probably we may discern the many kings of Sweden, unknown to the Icelanders, of whom Saxo tells us; for all cannot have been the product of his invention, and the vicinity of Denmark would naturally make its inhabitants better acquainted with the kings of Gothland.

On the subject of the ancient relations between

the Swedes and Goths, we have the testimony of an Anglo-Saxon poem preserved to us; the unknown author of which, though a Christian, is yet demonstrably older than the Icelanders, while he agrees with them in the peculiarities of the northern poetic language, in references to the mythes of the Edda, and in his portraiture of northern manners. The scene of this poem lies in Denmark, Gothland, and Suithiod, and episodically also in Jotunhem, the king of which is named Finn; its hero is a Gothic champion, Beowulf, the relative of Higelac (Hugleik), king of the Goths, and his first achievement is an expedition to Denmark for the delivery of its king, Hrodgar, from the danger which menaces him. The latter is the only personage whose name at least may be recognized in the old catalogues of the Danish kings, which style him Hroar; in the Anglo-Saxon as in northern sagas he is brother of Helge, son of Halfdan, descendant of Sköld, whence in both the kings of Denmark are termed Sköldingers. In the Ynglingasaga, Helge, brother of Hroar, is contemporary with Adil, the Upsala king. Consequently the otherwise unknown persons and events of which the poem speaks, must belong to the times of the Yngling family in Sweden, although to the Icelandic saga neither of the Swedish kings here mentioned is known. These are represented as Skilfingers by family; and in the Edda, Skilfing is a name of Odin. They are at war with the kings of the Goths, and from the relations here subsisting between these and the Swedes, generally hostile in their tenor, it results, that community of descent and religion in both nations did not prevent mutuality of either independence or enmity⁸.

"IVAR WIDFAMNE" (says Snorrio) "brought all Sweden under his own sway. He made himself master also of the Danish kingdom, and a great portion of Saxonland, besides the eastern lands and the fifth part of England. Of his lineage were the Swedish and Danish kings who came after." The dynasty which now succeeded in Sweden, therefore, takes its name from Ivar, although descended from him only on the mother's side. It is called also the line of Sigurd, from Sigurd Ring, or that of Lodbroc, from the famous Ragnar. Its history is obscure; even the order of succession of the kings cannot be determined with certainty. Respecting the earlier times only broken notes of legendary song have reached us, which soon become indistinguishable amidst the sanguinary confusion of the Norman expeditions. These accounts relate chiefly to the fight of Bravalla (the Brafeld), of yore so famous in the north, and the exploits of Ragnar Lodbroc and his sons. Upon this battle a fragment of an Icelandic saga is preserved. Herein we find Ivar Widfamne, as king of all Sweden, busying himself with designs for the subjugation of Zealand, by sowing dissension and bloodshed in the royal house of Denmark. His daughter Aud, queen of that country, flies from the face of her

² Compare Svea Rikes Häfder, i. 111.

³ Chronica Erici Olai, Decani Upsaliensis.

⁴ In the historical sagas it is called "Suithiod Sjalf," Suithiod Proper.

⁵ These outlines are wholly taken from the old heathen poems Höstlänga and Thorsdrapa.

⁶ Ynglingasaga, c. 29, 43.

⁷ Id. c. 38.

⁸ We follow Grundtvig's edition of this Anglo-Saxon poem: Bjowulfs Drape. Et Gotisk Heltedigt fra förrige aartusinde. Copenhagen, 1820. Thorkelin, who entitles it, Poema Danicum dialecto Anglo-Saxonica de Danorum rebus gestis, sec. iii. et iv. Havn. 1815, has mistaken the sense in several passages, and gives a false view of the whole, whence we were debarred from quoting this highly interesting poem before we became acquainted with the labours of Grundtvig.

father with her young son Harald to Gardariki³, the king of which, Radbard, becomes her second husband, and Ivar collects a great army from Sweden as well as Denmark, in order to take his revenge. King Ivar was then very old. On his arrival eastward in the Carelian gulf¹, where the dominions of king Radbard commenced, and the landing was to take place, Ivar had a dream, for the interpretation of which he applied to his foster-father Hordr, who having come, climbed a precipitous rock, and refused to go on board to the king, obliging the latter to hold a parley with him from the ship. Hordr said that his great age had rendered him unfit to interpret dreams, but it appeared to him that the Danish and Swedish kingdoms would soon fall asunder, and that Ivar, insatiable in conquest, would die, without being able to transmit his power as an inheritance to his posterity. The king further asked of his ancestors among the Asæ, and received for answer that he was abhorred both by his own forefathers and the demi-gods, who compared him to the snake of Midgard. Ivar in wrath called out that Hordr himself was the worst goblin of all, and challenged him to go in quest of the great serpent. Both the old men threw themselves headlong into the sea, one against the other, and vanished. As this enterprize came to nothing by the king's death, HARALD, son of Aud, was supplied by his step-father with men and ships, repaired to Zealand, and was there received as king. In Scania, which had formerly belonged to his mother's kin, he found support; and thence marching to Suithiod, he subdued all Swedeland, and Jutland besides, which is said to have been possessed by his grandfather Ivar. Harald was at this time fifteen years old; by the charm called Seid he had been made invulnerable against all sorts of weapons. Because he was a great warrior, men called him Hildetand (from *hildar*, war, and *tand*, tooth).

Aud, the mother of Harald, had, in her latter wedlock, a son named Randver, married to a Norwegian princess, and father of SIGURD RING. In his old age, Harald Hildetand is said to have appointed the son of his step-brother king in Upsala, and to have given him all Suithiod and West Gothland, reserving to himself Denmark and East Gothland. In respect to the war between these kings, the Icelandic fragment on the fight of Bravalla² agrees generally with Saxo. The latter specifies as the source of his information a song still remembered in his day, and ascribed to the old warrior and bard Starkother, who is himself said to have taken a share in the combat; his narrative itself also bespeaks a poetic origin. Odin appears in the form of Brune, a councillor possessing the confidence of both Harald and Sigurd, who instigates the kinsmen to war. Harald lent all the readier ear to his incitements, that his great age made his life a burden both to himself and to his subjects. Better for him, he deemed, to die in battle than on a sick bed, that he might arrive in Valhalla with an ample retinue. He sent therefore messengers to king Sigurd Ring that they should meet one another and fight. Great preparations were made; Sigurd assembled an army from all Suithiod and West Gothland, and many

Norwegians gathered beneath his banner, so that when the fleet of the Swedes and Norsemen passed through Stock Sonnd, where Stockholm now lies, the number of the ships was two thousand five hundred. King Sigurd himself marched southwards by the Kolmörker forest, which divides Suithiod from East Gothland, and when he had come out of the wood to the bay of Bra, he found his fleet waiting his arrival, and pitched his camp between the forest and the sea. King Harald's power was from Denmark and East Gothland; many troops from Saxony and the countries east of the Baltic also joined him, and his army was so large that their barks covered all the Sound between Zealand and Scania as with a bridge. The hosts encountered on the shores of the Bra wick. The most eminent champions on both sides are enumerated, and among them shieldmaids and Scalds. The names, arranged alliteratively by Saxo, as they were in the ballad he followed, are nearly the same in his account as in that of the Icelanders, and the agreement extends also to various minor features. King Harald, old and blind, is borne in a chariot into the battle; he inquires how Sigurd had planted his battle-array, and being told in the wedge-like formation³, cries out, 'I had thought that there were only Odin and myself who understood that.' At length, when victory appears to have declared for the foe, he causes his horses to be urged to their utmost speed, seizes two swords, and cuts desperately among their ranks, till the stroke of a mace hurls him dead from his car. Odin himself, in the form of Brune, was the slayer⁴ of Harald. The empty chariot tells Sigurd that the old king has fallen; he therefore orders his men to cease from the fight, and searches for the body of his relative, which is found under a heap of slain. Then he causes a funeral pile to be raised, and commands the Danes to lay upon it the prow of king Harald's ship. Next, he devotes to his ghost a horse with splendid trappings, prays to the gods, and utters the wish that Harald Hildetand might ride to Valhalla first among all the troops of the fallen, and prepare for friend and foe a welcome in the hall of Odin. When the corpse is laid on the pyre, and the flames are kindled, and the chiefs of the war walk round lamenting, king Sigurd calls upon every man to bring gold and arms, and all his most costly ornaments, to feed the fire which was consuming so great and honoured a king; and so all the chieftains did. But Sigurd Ring was king after Harald Hildetand, over Suithiod as well as Denmark, and his son Ragnar grew up in his court the tallest and goodliest among men.

Ragnar Lodbroc is the most renowned hero of the Norman expeditions; but before we pass to the exploits attributed to him or his sons, it will be proper to glance at the less known expedition of our forefathers to a different quarter.

The oldest military enterprises of the Swedes were directed to the east. Ingvar, a king of the Yngling line, as well as Ivar Widfamme, Harald Hildetand, and Ragnar Lodbroc, are said to have warred and made conquests in Easterweg (Osterväg), or the east realm (Osterrike), as the countries

³ Part of modern Russia, lying over against Gothland. T.

¹ The Gulf of Finland. T.

² Bravalla, lit. brave, *braw*, or fair field. T.

³ Tacitus speaks of this order of battle among the Germans; *acies per cuneos dispositur*.

⁴ "Baneman."

beyond the Baltic are denominated. The Yngling-asaga makes the Swedes renew their acquaintance with the regions whence Odin came. Svegger, an Upsala king, is said to have visited his kinsmen in that part of the world, and to have chosen himself a wife in the land of the Vaners.

Vaner, like Jotuner, is the mythical appellation of a foreign race which is opposed to the people of Manhem, that is, to men; for the northern mythology, in this resembling every other, sets out by elevating the people who acknowledged its creed into the representatives of humanity; and this is the reason why the indigenous names of so many nations mean nothing else than folk or men pre-eminently⁵. But just as Manhem has a less extensive sense, and then takes the name of Suithiod, so both the alien races above-mentioned, although in the mythology they lie, as it were, without the domain of humanity, and appear in forms of phantasy, have yet some historical significance. We have seen that Jotun and Finn are to be explained as one and the same type, and a key to the import of the term Vaners may be found in the interpretation which refers the name to the Slavonic stock. According to this view both these mythical denominations belong to the two alien races, with whom our forefathers came oftenest into collision. By the Finns, the Russians are still called Vaners (Vänälaiset), and with this an old name of the Slavons, Venedi, Veneders, corresponds. Vanadis, as Freya is called, would then mean the Vendish goddess; and it is worthy of remark, that the Slavons of Dalmatia worshipped the good Frichia, and the Morlachers at the present day still sing her praises in their nuptial ceremonies⁶. The Swedes again are called by the Finns Russians (Ruotsalaiset), probably from Roslagen, Rodeslagen, Roden, as the Swedish coast lying nearest to Southern Finland was anciently called; and this Finnish appellation for the Swedish people receives a remarkable historical confirmation.

Frankish annalists inform us that in the year 839, ambassadors arrived from the emperor Theophilus of Constantinople to the Frankish emperor Lodovic the Pious. With these came certain persons, who, according to their own statement, belonged to a people called Rhos. They had come as ambassadors from their king Chacanas (Hakon?) to the Greek, and wished to return to their country by the route they had now taken. Lodovic, it is added, found on closer examination that these men

⁵ Thus the Germans said that they were sprung from Man (Mannus), son of the god Thuisco, who again was born of the earth. (Tacit. Germ.) In the latter name probably lies the word Thiod, Thiot, Teut, people; from which the old national name of Teutons, and the modern one of Teutsche, are derived. Tuisco is the first Teuton.

⁶ Karamsin, History of the Russian Empire, i. 69, 71. In the Bohemian language *Freg* is the name of the goddess of love. Hallenberg, Remarks on Lagerbring's History of Sweden, ii. 233.

⁷ Comperit eos esse gentis Sueonum. Annales Bertiniani.

⁸ From wara, vare, pactum.

⁹ Jordanes de Reb. Get.

¹ Id. Suthans is the Swedish name in the old Gothic form, agreeing with Godans, Thiuthans, and from this it is plain that the *t* is a radical letter in the name; although the Icelanders say Svjar, the Anglo-Saxons Sveon, which is the Suiones of Tacitus. But as the Anglo-Saxons write the name of Sweden both Sveoland and Svedland, Sveon would appear to be contracted from Sveodan. The name itself then may

were Swedes⁷. Nestor, the oldest Russian annalist, about the year 1100, relates that daring and gallant conquerors, named Varangians, had come across the sea, and made the Finns and Slavons tributary to them. After two years, the natives drove out their masters, but in the end, weakened by intestine quarrels, they voluntarily determined to subject themselves to their sway. They sent therefore across the sea to the Varangians, who were called Rus, declaring to them "our land is broad and good, blessed with every desirable thing, and wanting order alone; come, be our princes, and reign over us." Three brothers, with their families, were accordingly chosen, who took with them a numerous train of followers, and went to the Slavons, the eldest, Ruric, settling in Novogorod. 'After these new comers of the Varangians, and from that time (says Nestor) the land took the name of Russland, and the inhabitants of Novogorod are still of Varangian descent; before they were, and were called, Slavons.' This is said to have happened in the year 862.

These Russian Varangians are the Varangians of the Byzantines, the northern Varangers; according to the literal meaning of the word, soldiers who serve by agreement or bargain⁸, and the name is thus synonymous with *federati*, as the Gothic soldiery in the service of Rome from the time of Constantine the Great were called. It is by no means improbable that the inhabitants of the north had early taken part in this military service, as we have historical proofs of an intercourse subsisting between Scandinavia and Southern Europe as early as the first part of the sixth century. A Scandinavian king visited the great Theodoric in Italy⁹. Costly furs were brought to Rome through many nations from the people of Suthans¹ in Scandinavia. Procopius, the historian of the Gothic war, had spoken with the natives of this land of the extreme north. He gives it the name of Thule, an enormous island, inhabited by several nations, among whom the Gauts were the most numerous, but the Scridfinns the most savage².

It is certain that the later Byzantine historians, who first make mention of the imperial body-guard, under the name of Varangians, a people who are said to have been from an early period in the service of the emperors, allege that the Varangians were natives of the remote north, and had come from Thule, which in Procopius incontestably denotes Scandinavia³. Assuredly, too, the Varangians of

be derived from the Icelandic Sveit, or the Anglo-Saxon Sveot, (read, suit,) which means an army, and Suithiod would thus be literally the host-folk. (See Note A.)

² Procop. de Bel. Goth. l. ii. c. 15, ed. Maltret, Paris, 1662. In the Latin translation of Grotius the name Gauts has disappeared, in consequence of an incorrect reading. Paul Warnefrid says the Scridfinns were so named from their art of sliding (*skrida*, to skir,) on incurved pieces of wood used by them in the chase. He describes this skating, and the reindeer, from the information of persons who themselves knew the country. He had also seen one of the rough jerkins of reindeer skin, such as we call a lappmudd, used by these Finns.

³ The name Fargani, Varangi, first appears with the Byzantines in the year 935, but they are said to have served from of old in the body-guard. They are said to have come partly from Thule, and partly from England; but most of even the Englishers appear to have been Danes, of whom Oedericus Vitalis relates that many quitted England on the Norman conquest, and took service at Constantinople. The Danish

Russia were Swedes⁴, although it is not very probable that their power could have been established, as we are told, at one blow. This improbability is heightened by the fact that, contemporaneously with the assumed foundation of the Russian empire by Ruric, they were already powerful enough to appear in the guise of enemies before Constantinople⁵. Nestor himself intimates that the track from the country of the Varangians to that of the Greeks, which he describes, had been long in use⁶. This is the same which is mentioned by a Greek emperor in the tenth, and by the first historian of northern Christianity in the eleventh century⁷. Both this way down the Dnieper to the Black Sea, and another more to the eastward by the Volga to the Caspian, were continually traversed by the Swedes after the foundation of the Russian monarchy for the purposes of war and commerce. This is proved irrefragably, as well by the multitude of Runic stones in Sweden, erected to the memory of travellers to Greece, as by the large number of Arabic coins, especially of countries lying south-east of the Caspian Sea, and of the ninth and tenth centuries, which are found on Swedish soil. The sea-kings of the Ros and their squadrons threatened Constantinople by the Black Sea on more than one occasion, and they concluded with the Greek emperors a treaty in which the names are purely Scandinavian, hardly one that is Slavonic being found. History also knows that the same people even waged war with the Arabs on the shores of the Caspian Sea⁸. An Italian bishop, ambassador at the Greek court, was contemporary with another expedition which was undertaken against Constantinople by Igor, or as he is termed both by the bishop and the Byzantine writers Ingvar (Ingvar), the son of Ruric. We have it confirmed by his authority, that those who were called Russians by the Greeks, were in reality Normans, a name at that time common to the Scandinavian populations⁹.

The results above stated may serve to throw light on the question, in how far the testimony or silence of the Icelanders should of itself determine what belongs or does not belong to the older history of Sweden. Of all this they know nothing. What they have preserved to us is highly valuable, but must be explained and employed solely in connexion with the accounts we derive from others. It is thus we have treated their mythology and their Ynglingasaga. Their allusions, whether in the earlier or later Sealds, to the old connexion of Scandinavia battle-axe, as it was called in England, was the principal arm of the Varangians, who are hence called axe-bearers, *πελοκροφόροι*. Compare Stritter, *Varangia, Memoriae Populorum*, ex Script. Byzant. t. iv.

⁴ According to both Schlözer, the critical editor of Nestor, and Karamsin, in the seventeenth century the tradition was still preserved in Novogorod. When there was a question of electing the Swedish prince Charles Philip to be czar, he was recommended by the Archimandrite Cyprianus on the ground that Ruric had been a Swede. Wilekindi, *Thet Svenska i Ryssland Tijo ahrs krigs-historie*, Stockh. 1671. (History of the Ten Years' War of the Swedes in Russia.)

⁵ Schlözer maintains, without any ground, that this attack, of which the Byzantines themselves speak under the year 866, was made by an unknown people named Ros, who afterwards disappeared. But Nestor declares them to have been the same people, as is to be seen by the name of their leader Askold; and a Byzantine writer says, that these Ros were

with the east, and of Sweden, from its position, in particular, can be regarded as valuable and important, only after a historical groundwork has been laid. This eastern theatre of achievement for the old northern champions, albeit from distance of space and time the most obscure, is yet not altogether lost to history. That of the west is better known, for here the expeditions of the Northmen shine out through the gloom; although the crowd of enterprises incessantly renewed perplexes the order of events. One example of this confusion is presented in the actions of Ragnar Lodbroc and his sons, as they are related both in the Icelandic sagas, and by Saxo, Denmark's Latin saga-writer, as also by foreign annalists.

In the saga of RAGNAR LODBROC, we find his father Sigurd Ring mentioned only as king of Denmark, where Ragnar is made to succeed him. King Eisten, or Östen, according to the *Hervararsaga*, a son of Harald Hildetand, reigns in Upsala over Sweden. He is depicted as powerful, wicked, and a great sacrificer; the chief object of his adoration is a cow, the lowing of which is said to have scared his enemies. He is represented at first as being on terms of good understanding with Ragnar. This chief, by encountering and overcoming a terrible serpent, had won Thora, daughter of Herraud, who is called earl, or by some king, of Gothland. From the rough breeches in which Ragnar was clad when he performed this exploit, he is said to have received his surname of Lodbroc. After the death of Thora, Ragnar, resolving never again to take a wife, chose out men to govern his kingdom conjointly with his sons, and returned to his original pursuit, the victories and perils of the sea-king's life. Once in time of summer, as it befel, he entered with his ships the harbour of Spangarh in Norway, and landed his meat-urveyors to bake for his men. But these came back with their bread burned, excusing themselves on the ground that they had seen a maiden of such surpassing beauty as to render them incapable of minding their work. She was called Kraka, was the fairest among women; and her hair, like silk, so long, that it reached down to the ground about her. Ragnar fiuds favour in her eyes, and she becomes his wife. After she has born four sons to him, he visits king Östen in Upsala, where he is persuaded to betroth himself to the daughter of the Swedish king. On his return, Kraka discloses to him that she is really Aslaug, daughter of the famous Sigurd Fofnibane, by Brynhilda, and relates the in- of Frankish, that is, generally Germanic race. Stritter *Rus-* sia, ii. 697.

⁶ Schlözer's Nestor, 88.

⁷ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, de Administ. Imp. in Stritter, l. c. 982. Adam of Bremen, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. c. 13. In the narrative of the emperor, the cascades of the Dnieper are mentioned with both the Slavic and the Russian (Scandinavian) name. Afterwards, in Russia as in Normandy, the rulers were blended, in language and manners, with the governed people.

⁸ Des peuples du Caucase, from Arabian authors, by M. C. D'Ohsson. Paris, 1828. In this expedition, which took place in the time of Igor, they drew their boats from the Don to the Volga, at the point where the distance between the streams is least. This expedient was common in the enterprises of the Northmen.

⁹ Luitprandi Episcopi Cremonensis Historia, l. v. c. 6, in Muratori, tom. ii. He was twice ambassador to Constantinople, in the years 946 and 968.

cidents both of her mother's life and her own, as they are represented in the old *Volsungasaga*. In proof of the truth of her story, she predicts that the son of whom she is pregnant, will be born with the mark of a snake round the eye, which accordingly came to pass. Ragnar believed her; and nothing came of the Swedish marriage, but a war instead with king Östen. This is carried on by Eric and Agnar, sons of Ragnar by his first marriage, of whom the latter falls in battle; the former is made captive, and by his own desire thrown upon spear-points, on which he sings his death song. Their loss is avenged by the other sons of Ragnar, conjointly with Aslaug; she herself takes part in the war, which ends with the fall of king Östen. Ragnar's sons next spread desolation far and wide in the southern lauds, and their renown is noised throughout the whole world. They molest even Italy, and plan a march to Rome, but turn back, deceived by erroneous information. Ragnar is incited by the fame of his sons' actions to repeated voyages of adventure; and in order to augment his own glory by braving dangers, he attempts a marauding enterprise on the English coast with only two ships. Here his crew are cut off in a fight with king Ella; he himself is taken captive, refuses to tell his name, and is thrown into a pit of snakes, where he chants a song on his own deeds and on the expected joys of Valhalla, and dies smiling under the bites of the serpents. His sons, of whom Biörn Ironside reigned in Sweden, exact revenge for his death, and die in a manner worthy of their sire; one causing himself to be burned on a pyre made of the skulls of his slaughtered foes, the other ordering his barrow to be erected on that coast of his kingdom which was most exposed to hostile assaults.

The poetical contexture of this saga discovers itself at once by the circumstance, that Ragnar Lodbroc, by marrying the fair unknown, is made the good-son of Sigurd Fofnisbane, an old champion celebrated in fable, while the songs of the *Edda* and the *Volsungasaga* give us stories respecting another daughter of Sigurd Fofnisbane¹, which with nearly the same circumstances and names are found in Jordanes, taken from old Gothic legends. The death-song ascribed to Ragnar, and mentioned betimes by Saxo, is still extant, but disagrees with the saga in many particulars. Saxo, who has devoted wellnigh a whole book of his history to the actions of Ragnar, also differs considerably, although, no doubt, in this as in other cases, the popular legends so rife in his time lie at the foundation of his highly decorated narrative. Scattered fragments of legends relating to this hero long

¹ Svanhild, in Jordanes *Sonilda* (de Reb. Get. c. 24.) Compare in the *Edda* the songs "Godrunar-hvata," and "Hamdísál en forna," where her death is avenged on king Jormunrek by the brothers Saurle and Hamdir, as in Jordanes the brothers Sarus and Ammius exact the same revenge on king Hermanaric.

² Other songs of the Feroes are echoes of the heroic odes of the *Edda*. The whole cycle of Sigurd Fofnisbane's saga consisting of ballads, some of which contain more than 200 stanzas, has been lately recovered, in some parts more copiously than even in the elder saga, from the recitations of the people of these lonely islands, which received their inhabitants from Scandinavia. Odin from Asgard, Frigga, and Loke, appear in other popular songs of the Feroes. See *Færøiske Quæder* on Sigurd Fofnersbane og hans æt, samlede og oversatte af Lyngbye (*Lays of the Feroe Isles*, upon

continued to dwell in the popular memory. In the southernmost part of Norway, where Spangarhed, the place at which Ragnar found Aslaug, is situated, Torfæus and Schöning heard ballads on their story. The hill on which she is said to have tended her flocks bears her name, and the people of the Feroe islands in the present day still sing lays of Ragnar and Aslaug².

If we compare the northern saga with the accounts which foreign chronicles give us of more than one RAGNAR, of a Lodbroc who was killed in England, and of the terrible and protracted devastations inflicted by Lodbroc's sons both in France and England, the memory of the most destructive period of the expeditions of the Northmen in the ninth century appears, in these countries as well as in the north, to be bound up with this name; while the impossibility of chronologically reconciling the different narratives, shows at the same time that the exploits of several persons have been cumulatively ascribed to one. Ragnar himself probably belongs to the eighth century, towards the end of which, a statement in the English chronicles gives some reason for supposing that his dismal end may have happened³. The name and exploits, however, have been transplanted likewise to that which succeeds, while the saga, on the other hand, places him in connexion with the heroes of a bygone age. It is also easy to conceive that the wars waged by his sons, or other descendants so termed, might have been incessantly retold anew, since the desolating incursions of the Northmen continued for so long a period to harass Europe.

In the ninth century the terrors of these invasions were at their height. Their causes were partly the weakness and divisions of the European states in that age, and partly the foundation laid about the middle of this century for an extension of monarchical power in the northern kingdoms, which drove out larger swarms of warlike adventurers. The evil, however, was in its essence one of far higher antiquity. It had already found a channel in the great national migrations, until when these ceased, and Christianity began to change the manners of the barbarians, while the north remained as of old, the warlike attitude of Scandinavia towards the rest of the world became more conspicuous and alarming.

Earlier probably than to France, England, and Ireland, countries in which the Northmen eventually attained more or less sway, their expeditions were directed to Scotland, where the dialect of the Lowlanders still bears the most striking resemblance to the northern tongues. Yet the inhabitants of that region cannot be derived from any

Sigurd Fofnersbane and his race, collected and translated by Lyngbye). Randers, 1822.

³ In the year 794, a king of the northern heathens (his name is not mentioned), who had some time before plundered the monastery of the isle of Lindisfarne, on the coast of Northumberland, near the Scottish border, was taken and put to a cruel death. *Princeps eorum crudeli necesse est occisus ab Anglis*. Roger de Hoveden, *Annal*. The death-song composed in Ragnar's name, in which he recounts his achievements, informs us that, previously to his capture by the Englishers, he had ravaged the firths of Scotland, and mention is made just before of 'the sword-games of Lindis-seire.' Another legend makes Ragnar a man of princely birth, who was fraudulently put to death in England in the middle of the ninth century. Matthew Westm.

Anglo-Saxon immigration of such old date known to history, and must be regarded rather as being of Scandinavian descent. The poems of Ossian attest the presence and wars of the Scandinavians in Scotland, and Lochlin, the name by which that bard designates their country, is the same under which it is mentioned in the Irish annals⁴.

Before we quit this subject, it will be proper to touch upon a tradition which still survives in another region. In the inner valleys of the Alps, severed from the rest of the world, dwells an inconsiderable tribe which still asserts its Swedish extraction. At present this legend is confined to Hasslidale, in the canton of Berne, but it was once general among the inhabitants of Schwytz; and in old times it was still more widely diffused. King Gustavus I. mentions it in a public ordinance as a proof of the former dense population of Sweden, and Gustavus Adolphus refers to it in his negotiations and letters to the Swiss. The written record of this tradition is not very ancient⁵, and abounds in chronological and other errors. Setting aside these, its contents may be thus described. The legend begins by assigning the usual cause of northern emigrations, namely a famine, as the motive of the journey; but the points of departure are both Sweden and Friesland. The pilgrims march from a place called Hasle, along the banks of the Rhine⁶; in their progress a Frankish army is encountered and defeated, and they at length arrive in the Alps, where they form a settlement, because the land seems in their eyes to resemble their own country. In our judgment this event falls within the age of the northern expeditions; in the first place, because Friesland really was, during the greater part of the ninth century, subject to the Northmen, and their ordinary domicile, whence their expeditions issued. Next, because a contemporary Norman chronicle⁷ relates that in 881 they ascended the Mosel, and wintered in a fortified camp at a place called Haslow⁸, from which they broke up in the following

spring, defeated a Frankish army that was brought against them, and carried their devastations along the Rhine. Old chronicles mention that they penetrated as far as Worms. Thirdly, because, according to the saga of Olof Tryggvason⁹, the sons of Ragnar Lodbroc took part in this expedition; for this must be the same in which, as Ragnar's saga relates, they arrived at Wiflisburg¹, in Switzerland. And, fourthly, because, as so many circumstances agree with the Swiss tradition, its concluding allegation, that a settlement followed, is by no means improbable. The acknowledged end of the Norman expeditions was not merely plunder, but the acquisition of a new home²; and this the smaller portion of the Norman army might have remained to select in the valleys of the Alps, while the rest returned upon hearing the rumour that the emperor Charles the Fat was collecting a great army on the Rhine to oppose them.

Even Swiss historians see in the inhabitants of these Alpine dales a peculiar race³, and there also recurs the old Swedish federative system. It is plain from legends which still survive among them, as to the manner and order in which they first peopled the land⁴, that their settlement in it is comparatively new, and it is also known that for a long time they were few in number⁵. That at the end of the ninth century there were still heathens in these regions to whom it was necessary to preach Christianity, will cease to awaken surprise if the opinions we have advanced respecting their origin be admitted to have congruity to truth.

For the share of the Swedish name in this Swiss legend of migration, besides that this may be couched in the appellation of Normans, then common to all the people of the three Scandian kingdoms, it is to be remembered that those Northmen who accompanied Biörn Ironside (a son of Ragnar Lodbroc, and, according to the northern saga, a Swedish king), are also called in extraneous accounts West Goths, and consequently in part came from Swedish West Gothland⁶.

⁴ Annals of Ulster, in Johnstone's *Antiquitates Celto-Normannice*. Copenhagen, 1786.

⁵ 'Extract from a parchment manuscript of the year 1534, preserved in Upper Hasle, in the canton of Berne, in Switzerland, and enrolled also among the records of the land-registry there, concerning the northern origin of this branch of the Swiss.' Published by the author, after a manuscript communicated from the spot, along with the 'East-Frison song of the Upper Haslers,' in a Dissertation: *De Colonia Succorum in Helvetiam deducta*. Upsal. 1823.

⁶ Hasle is a common name in Sweden, often denoting old battle-fields, for it was formerly usual to mark the scene of a combat by hazel-stangs, which was called hazeling the field (att hassla vall).

⁷ Duchesne, *Script. Nor.*

⁸ Haslou and Haslac in the Chronicles. Now the hamlet of Elsloo, in the neighbourhood of Maestricht, on the way to Ruremonde.

⁹ Ed. Copenhagen, 1825, i. p. 138.

¹ Also called Avenche; the ancient Aventicum.

² Ut acquirant sibi spoliando regna, quibus possent vivere pace perpetua. Dudo, in Duchesne.

³ 'They (the first Schwytzers) were a peculiar race, and may after so long a time be best recognized in the remarkably handsome people of Upper Hasli, and the neighbouring highlands.' Müller, *History of Switzerland*, i. 419, n. 7.

⁴ 'The old men of the highland valleys still tell how in former centuries the people moved from mountain to mountain, and from valley to valley.' Müller, i. 421. 'This the old shepherds stated to us in the years 1777—1780.' Ibid. n. 15.

⁵ 'At first the Swiss, few in number, dwelt far from one another in the waste places of the mountains. In the whole land there was but one church, and afterwards two.' 'Then the valleys of Schwytz, Uri, and Unterwald, became gradually independent of each other, from the increase both of churches and courts; yet they kept united against foreigners.' 'The country people of Upper Hasli, and their neighbours in the mountains of the highlands, were at last alienated from this ancient confederation.' Müller, i. 436. 'Tradition says of the Unterwalders that they were the last to be Christians.' 'At the end of the ninth century Wigger is mentioned as the apostle of Switzerland.' Ibid. n. 37.

⁶ Visigothi. Compare Langebek, *Script. Rer. Dan.* i. 525.

CHAPTER II.

LAND AND PEOPLE FROM THE HEATHEN PERIOD.

VIEW OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE PROGRESS OF SETTLEMENT. POLITY AND MANNERS.

WITH the ninth century, the light of history rises more bright over the north. In the dawning of this light which, emanating from a new age and the approach of Christianity, casts its rays even upon the last days of the heathen period, let us inquire: what were the land and the people in times of old? To this question we will attempt an answer, not drawn from uncertain conjectures, which might have free play upon a boundless field, but founding ourselves upon the testimony of a definite age, historically known at least in its general character. Subsidiary evidence may be deduced from other sources; we will seek for it in the exterior nature of the north, and in the graves of our forefathers. The former, with us, does not easily change its original aspect, while the latter cover our land, marking the old dwelling-places of its inhabitants, and the shades of the barrows are yet to be summoned forth by the spell of love and knowledge. We will consult nature as well as memory, and search the laud of the dead that we may judge of that of the living. Thus we may perchance succeed in combining many scattered features into the picture of a whole which may be consonant to the truth, and may contrive, from what is known, to shed some light upon the more remote, the darker, the unknown.

First, in what form does the land reveal itself to our view through the twilight of the old sagas? Commencing with the south, SCANIA at this time presents an already ancient cultivation, surpassing even that of more southerly adjacent countries. Originally, as the name seems to intimate¹, a marsh-land, where the ure-ox, the elk, and the rein-deer once roamed in primeval woods, of which the roots are still dug up in the dried mosses of the levels, it was famed for the fertility of its soil,

¹ Skaun, in Icelandic, means a marshy country. The word indeed is pronounced Skæn, while Skane, on the other hand, was formerly pronounced Skaune, as the inhabitants still do; but such vocalic changes are not unrequent. Thus the word *gang* was formerly written *gaung* and *göng*; the word *lang*, both *lång*, *laung*, and *löng*. The old name is Skán-ey, the island of Skane, Scania insula in Adam of Bremen, since it is surrounded by the sea on three sides.

² Scania armata viris, opulenta frugibus, divesque meribus. Adam. Bremens. de situ Danie.

³ Terra salsuginis et vastæ solitudinis. Porro, cum omnes tractus Germaniæ profundis horreat saltibus, sola Jutland cæteris horridior. l. c.

⁴ A Seland in Sceniam trajectum multo brevissimum in Halsingeburg, qui et videri potest. l. c. 57. Halsingaborg is mentioned (about 993) in Nial's Saga, c. 83; and in the same decennary also Hlostad (Ystad), in Scania. Torfæus, Hist. Norv. iii. 3. Helsingör is without doubt the same Halseiri in Denmark, which is called in the Fœreyinga Saga, c. i., the greatest market of the north. *Halsa* means to take in sail and lie into the land. Hence, and not from

the variety of its staple wares, and the number of its martial inhabitants², while the interior of Jutland was still a wilderness³, and Germany was covered with dense forests. In the Sound, of the shortest passage across which at Helsingborg we find ancient mention⁴, every summer of the ninth century saw the fleet of the Islesmen⁵, which drew an ample freight of fish from the teeming coasts, or brought back meal, wheat, and honey from the then celebrated Scanian fair which was held in the autumn. About the same time Lund is mentioned as a place of considerable trade, surrounded with a wooden barrier, where gold or other property gained by piracy was stored up for security⁶, although itself a mark for the attacks of the sea-robbers who swarmed every where in these waters.

SCANIA, from which Ivar Widfamne is said to have issued to conquer both Sweden and Denmark, was at first a kingdom in itself, but is reckoned as belonging to the Danes in the oldest short description of the northern countries at the end of the ninth century⁷. Afterwards it is called the fairest part of Denmark, although sometimes severed from its dominion, bearing the yoke reluctantly, successfully resisting the whole Danish force, and excelling Zealand and Jutland in men and weapons⁸. Halland and Bleking are distinguished as offshoots of Scania⁹, stretching towards Norway¹ and Gothland, and were comprehended under that name², sometimes even after the Danes established their dominion in this quarter. Halland is spoken of towards the end of the heathen age as a poor district, offering small allurements even to the rapacity of the sea-robbers³; in the eleventh century, oak and beech woods abounded⁴. In the ninth, Bleking is still reckoned as belongiug to

any migration of Helsingers, the name Halsöre or Helsingör, Halsingborg or Helsingborg, as well as Halsehamn to the north, on the point of the Scanian promontory named Kullen.

⁵ Eyrafloti. Egils Saga, Havn. 1809, p. 78, 79.

⁶ Civitas Lundona, aurum ibi plurimum, quod raptu congeritur. Ad. Brem. 56.

⁷ Narrative of the Travels of Ottar and Ulsten, given in the Anglo-Saxon translation of the History of Orosius, ascribed to king Alfred; last edited by Rask.

⁸ Viris et armis præstantior esse probatur. Helmold Chron. Slav. l. i. c. 85.

⁹ Hallandia et Blekingia ab integritate Sconie, seu rami duplices ex unius arboris stipite promeantes. Saxo, Præf.

¹ At the time, that is, when Norway extended to the Göta-elf. Gotelba fluvius a Nordmannis Gothiam separat, says the Scholiast upon Adam of Bremen, de Situ Dan. 60.

² The Knytlinga Saga speaks of Halland in Scania (Halland & Skåney).

³ Var land ecki audigt. Egils Saga, p. 246.

⁴ Knytlinga Saga, c. 28.

Sweden⁵. The barbarians of Bleking⁶ were dreaded pirates, by following which trade they amassed wealth and had abundance of captives. At the same time the islands of Oeland and Gotthland are already Swedish possessions⁷. Travellers passed from Scania to Gothland through deep forests and precipitous hills, and it appeared doubtful whether the journey by land or the voyage by water was attended with greater dangers⁸. The mountainous district bordering upon GOTHLAND, and considered as forming part of it, was anciently called Smaland (small land)⁹. Eastern Smaland stretched to the sea, and sent forth pirate chiefs¹. Möre is named a part of it so early as the ninth century². Mention is made betimes of Calmar as a port³, and afterwards as a place of trade. The middle and southern portion of Smaland was called Verend; it was girt round by the densest forests, but a fruitful country, abounding in game and streams peopled with fish, swarming with bees and honey, adorned with rich fields and meadows⁴. Western Smaland, towards the borders of Halland, was long called the Finn waste, the Finn weald, the Finn moor, and also Finland⁵. This Finn wold appears in old times to have stretched for a great distance, and to have embraced those wide forests separating West-Gothland from the present Bohus-län, and covering Dalsland, which then was only known by the name of the Marks, that is, the woods, as far as the present frontier of Norway. Formerly that country stretched to the Göta-elf. In the eleventh century it was maintained that the ancient border⁶ had been the Göta from the sea to Lake Vener; then the Marks⁷ to the forest of Eda; and lastly, the Kölen mountains. Yet the boundary was disputed, and it could not be otherwise, when the wilderness was still the frontier. The Swedish kings extended West-Gothland to Swinesund along the sea; the Norwegians on the other side claimed all the land to the westward of Lake Vener. The borderers, independent of both parties in their forests and mountains, gave little heed to these pretensions. The people of the Mark country, who had come from West-Gothland,

ultimately preferred subjection to Sweden, were regarded as belonging to West-Gothland, and in later times were denominated West Goths, west of the Vener.

The district now bearing the name of Bohus-län was formerly called Raurike⁸, or Elfvar-fylke⁹ (river-district), Alfhem¹ and Wiken². The wick and elf-men³ were, from the very character of their country, Wikingers, a hardy and stubborn race, who lived by the sea, and bore no good reputation. Here in the interior the saga placed the descendants of the demous (Troll) and elves (Alfvar), more hateful than all other men. Here by the Trollhætta, whose cataracts still roared in solitude, Starkotter had fought in the days of old with the demon champion Hergrim and won Ogn, daughter of the Elfin, who preferred death to becoming the property of the victor. Trade joined with piracy was carried on at an early period along the coast of Wiken, and the great stream of the Göta, which pours the water of so many floods from the Vener into the sea, presented facilities for both which were not neglected. Of the island Hisingen which the river forms at its mouth, one half was in possession of the Swedes, the other in that of the Norwegians. On the island of Brenn, which lay somewhat further to the south, and was formerly a haunt of the sea-chiefs, much dreaded by trading vessels, or upon the Dana-holms, which lay near thereto, the boundaries of the three northern kingdoms met, so that old West-Gothland reached from the Göta-elf southwards to the sea. Ships ascended the stream to Konghall⁴, which had its name from the frequent conferences of kings held there, or even higher, to old Lödöse⁵. The wick-men drew their supplies of corn and malt from abroad⁶; here were vended salt, herings, and wadmal or home-woven woollen cloth⁷, necessities which were conveyed inland; so that the West Goths were malcontent, when hostilities with Norway broke off this intercourse. Falkeping, of which mention is made thus early⁸, and Skara, probably a place of sacrifice in the heathen time⁹, North Mark in Vermeland, where the wood of Eda now begins.

⁵ Travels of Ottar and Ulfsten, where it is called Bleking's Island, Blecinga-ey.

⁶ Barbari qui Pleichani dicuntur. Ad Brem. l. c.

⁷ Travels of Ottar and Ulfsten (or Other and Wulfstan).

⁸ Words of Adam of Bremen, l. c. "Per ardua montium, per abrupta petrarum, per condensa silvarum," says the legend of St. Sigfrid, speaking of the same way. Historia S. Sigfridi. E. Benzellius, Monumenta Hist. vet. ecclesiæ Su. Upsal. 1709, p. 4.

⁹ The plural ending Smälönd, (pronounce Smaulönd, as the Smalanders still do), was formerly usual.

¹ Nials Saga, c. 30, 33.

² Travels of Ottar and Ulfsten.

³ Kalmar naze. Heimskringla, Saga of St. Olave, c. 128. This in 1020. A hundred years after Calmar is called a trading town. Heimskr. Saga of Sigurd Jorsalafarar. c. 27.

⁴ Historia S. Sigfridi (written about 1205). Benzellius Monumenta, 4.

⁵ Finneye in the Knytlinga Saga, Finwid in the West Gothic Laws, Finhid on the Runic stones, Terra Finlandiæ in Eric Olavson. The inhabitants, whom Saxo calls Finenses, are manifestly the same Finwidi, inhabitants of the Finn wold, who, Adam of Bremen says, dwelt with the Vermelanders between Norway and Sweden, and belonged to the diocese of Skara.

⁶ So said the peasants to the messengers of St. Olave, about 1019. Heimsk. Saga of St. Olave, c. 59.

⁷ That is, Dalsland, and probably also the contiguous

⁸ This name applied to the country from the Göta-elf to Swinesund. Heimsk. Olof Tryggvason's Saga, c. 130.

⁹ Elf, river, whence the name of the German Elbe. Also elf, or goblin. T.

¹ This embraced all the land between the Raum-elf and the Göta-elf. Hervara Saga, c. 1.

² The whole country about Opslo Bay, in Norway, and thence to the Göta, was formerly called so.

³ The inhabitants are styled, Wikwerir, Wikweriar. Heims. Saga of Harald the Fair Haired, c. 35, 44. Elfarar, Nials Saga, c. 78. Elfwagrimar, the bad grim elves. Saga of Magnus Barefoot, c. 8.

⁴ Now Kongelf.

⁵ Lying in Aleharad on the West-Gothic side. "To the trading town at Liodhusum is four days by the river." Rimbegla. Both Konghall and Lödöse are mentioned in the tenth century. Nials Saga, c. 3, 83.

⁶ Egils Saga, c. 81.

⁷ The Icclander Rut, the favourite of the Norwegian queen Gunnhild, who was called Mother of Kings, sent to her at Konghall 100 ells of wadmal in 961. Nials Saga, c. 3.

⁸ Saxo, when enumerating, after Starkotter's Ode, the warriors at the fight of Brawalla (l. vii. p. 144), mentions, together with Findar of Wicken (Findar maritimo genitus sinu), Bersi, born in Falköping (apud Falu oppidum creatus).

⁹ The trading town at Skörum or Skaurum (Saga of St. Olave, c. 70, 96) is mentioned early in the eleventh century.

were trading stations in inner West-Gothland, which must have received their wares from Wiken.

But what was the appearance of this commercial route at the end of the tenth century? It passed through a great forest, two days' journey long¹, partly over rocky mountains. The wares were packed cross-ways upon horses. The journey was dangerous, the way easily missed, and the forest was the haunt of footpads (*stigmán*) and robbers. Even peasants were sometimes known hardened enough to take part in this bloody work, and if the stroke of the axe announced to the tired wanderer some lonely clearing or the vicinity of an inhabited place, the night's lodging granted to his prayer was sometimes paid for with his life. In the midst of the wood was a safety-house (*sälohus*) as it was called², one of those otherwise untenanted lodges for travellers and their goods, which were maintained where roads, especially those frequented by traders, penetrated rough and uninhabited wastes.

Such was then the condition of the frontier tracts interspersed between the cultivated districts. In the list of these WEST-GOTHLAND is to be reckoned, as undoubtedly one of the earliest settled provinces of Sweden. At the end of the heathen age we find the West Goths disputing supremacy with the upper Swedes (*Upp-Svear*), but soon becoming the more powerful from their adoption of Christianity. The ascertained populousness of their territory in the succeeding period, makes it probable that its occupation could not be recent, although in old times broad woodlands, hard to pass through, are said to have existed, and the forest region of West Gothland, still considerable, was much more extensive in the thirteenth century, embracing districts where we now see the high level, the heath, or the ploughed field.

EAST-GOTHLAND, during the heathen times, lies more dark, and in Scandinavia generally, during this period, the shadows deepen towards the east. The neighbourhood of the Western Sea supplied the means of intercourse with the rest of the world, at least that part of it upon which, in the north, historical light most falls. On the inner side, by the Baltic, reigned obscurity; beyond it thick gloom. Thus we know less of East than of West Gothland in old times, and even if the saga lays here the scene of any important event, it is silent on the condition

of the country. The oldest East-Gothic settlements were perhaps in the midmost tract, one of the most fruitful in Sweden. East-Gothland's southern forest district stretched formerly much higher up from the hilly territory of Smaland. It was a solitude difficult of access; for no stranger ventured beyond the forest of Holaved³. Its northern woody and hilly district above the Motala stream was long a wilderness, as both the nature of the country, and the scantiness of ancient remains plainly indicate. Here lay the great Kolmörker forest⁴, now the Kolmard, which, continued by that of Tiwed, and stretching westwards to the shores of Lake Vener, increased in breadth and difficulty in the interior of the country. So late as the year 1177, king Suerre, journeying from East-Gothland to Vermeland, wandered in its wide and unknown wilds for six or seven days, without finding a refuge against hunger and cold. Still later, the Tiwed is said to be 'twelve rasts broad.'⁵ On the East-Gothland side, nearer the Vetter lake, the wood was for a long time so difficult to pass, and like all the frontier forests so notorious for robbers, that in the Christian age travellers who wished to pass into Nerike, used to commend their souls to God, in the chapel which formerly stood at Husby Fell⁶. Hence in former times the great forest was ordinarily traversed by its eastern border on the coast, where the road from Norrköping to Stockholm now runs. Here where from a rising of the Kolmard the noblest prospect over the fertile and well-watered plains and woods of East-Gothland opens to the view of the traveller from the north, Sigurd Ring, in the eighth century, descended with his army to contest with Harald Hildetand the field of Bravalla, formerly the most renowned of northern battles. Here, in the eleventh century, was the usual passage, by a long circuit, from West-Gothland to Upper Sweden. Travellers went from Scania upwards, not through East-Gothland, where the hilly region of Smaland presented the greatest difficulties, but through West-Gothland to Skara, a distance which was traversed in a week. For the journey thence to Sigtuna by Telje, three weeks more were required, so that the whole occupied a month⁷. As, according to the accounts, such a journey was performed partly in boats, and great wastes which intervened had to be crossed⁸, the route probably lay on the side of West-Gothland

¹ See the Account of the journey made by the West Goth Audgils, in company with Halfred Wandrada Scald, in 997, from Konghall to the interior of West Gothland, in Olof Tryggvason's Saga, Skalhott edition, part 2, c. 31; and from this source, in Torfæus, Hist. Norv. ii. 476.

² Such a safety-lodge, roomy enough to afford quarters for the night to twelve travellers with their wares, is mentioned as existing on the way between Trondhem and Jemtland. Heimsk. Saga of St. Olave, c. 151. It was regarded as a duty of succour, obligatory on the traveller, to leave behind him at least split wood, in order that those who came next might be able to warm and dry themselves without delay. Olof Tryggvason's Saga, l. c.

³ The eastern boundary towards Smaland, when the latter formed a province in itself, went 'to the middle of Holaved.' Uplands Lagen (Law of Upland), Kon. B. ii. Holveden means the hilly wood, from the old word *hol*, hill, which the Dalecarlians still use in this sense.

⁴ Kolmirkr, Myrkwidr, the black or mirk wood. See the Fragment on the Fight of Bravalla, s. 120. The name now used is Kolmarden, which is found in the law-book of West Gothland.

⁵ Rimbegla, p. 332. A rast is a length of road equal to

what a man usually travels without resting, and answers to what the peasants understand by the old wood mile (*skogsmil*), about half a Swedish mile (three English miles).

⁶ Broocman, Beskrifning öfver Östergötland, p. 176. The intrenchment to be seen on a hill in the parish of Hammar, Nerike, as old persons relate, was erected as a defence against the attacks of the East Goths. (Palmköld Collections.)

⁷ A qua (Scania) ferunt diebus septem perveniri usque ad civitatem Gothorum magnam Scarane. Ad Brem. l. c. 60. Si per terram eas Scania per Gothorum populos et civitatem Scaranen, Telgas, et Birkam, completo mense pervenies Sietonam. Ibid. 62.

⁸ So is described the journey of Ansgar and his companions, who after their shipwreck were probably obliged to take this long way by land. Cum gravi difficultate pedibus per longissimam viam incedentes, et, ubi ingruerbat, interjacentia maria navigio transeuntes, tandem ad portum regni ipsorum qui Byrcæ dicitur pervenerunt. Vita S. Ansgarii, c. 10. The Lagman Edmund also, in the time of Olave the lap-king, takes his way from Skara to Upper Sweden and Upsala through East Gothland. Heimsk. Saga of St. Olave, c. 96.

across lake Vener, then along the stream of the Motala to Brawick, and thence over the Kolmard.

We now stand on the boundary between Sweden Proper and Gothland (Svea and Götaland), a division which is as old as our history. The Kolmard and the Tiwed still separate them, and from this circumstance in former days, the kingdom was divided into the land north and south of the forest⁹. Although the great woodland formed the border, the old line of demarcation, perhaps from that very reason, differed as much from the modern, as the cultivation of early from that of later times. The day has been when the great forests of Tiwed and Kägla nearly met¹, when Nerike depressed between hill-peaks connected them, and the whole extent of its low lying, rich grassy meadows consisted of moor and moss²; when Sudermania, varied with so manifold beauty of bay, lake, hill and dale, was little else than a group of islets, the chief seat of the sea-kings³ of Upper Sweden, and a border land in the occupation of both Swedes and Goths; and it is perhaps on this account that the oldest historian of Christianity in the north⁴, reckons it as belonging to East-Gothland, thus extending Gothland to Lake Mælar. As a people anciently of several different stocks, congregated in a border-land on the sea, the Sudermanians show fewest provincial peculiarities. Yet the settlement of their country is old, as is evinced by the abundance of memorials remaining from the times of heathenism.

Nerike⁵ is of more recent occupation; yet it was probably settled by Braut Anund, and is perhaps the scene of the death of the greatest king of the Yngling line⁶. Through Nerike, by lake Hielmar, and the place where Örebro, formerly Öoresund⁷, now lies, Sigurd Ring marched over the Kolmard to the fight of Bravalla.

On the west, Suithiod Proper was encompassed by old GOTHLAND, which stretched along the border of the former in indefinite extension towards the

⁹ Sweden Proper was called the land north, Gothland that south of the forest. Nordanskog, Sunnanskog. Landslagen (the land's law), of 1442. K. B. c. 1.

¹ There is an old saying that the Tiwed once filled up the distance of ten miles between Mokyrka, south of Mariestad, and Mosas, near Örebro. Lindsög, Beskrifning om Skara Stift (Description of the Diocese of Skara), iv. 67. On the East-Gothland side also a similar tradition is current, that for a long time there was no church between Ask, south of Motala, and Mosas in Nerike. (Broocman, Description of East-Gothland, 681.) The forest filled up the interval. The traditions confirm each other.

² A district of this character, still too marshy for cultivation, traverses great part of the province.

³ Before Olave Haraldson entered Lake Mælar with his ships, he had to fight with the Vikings of Södermanland. At Sotaskär (Sota Rock), he overcame the Viking Chief Sote. Saga of St. Olave, c. 5. The name is still extant in the Hundred of Sotholm. Wingaker in Södermanland was formerly called Wikingakir; the old district of Wingaker embraced both the parishes of that name with Österaker and Malm. This district, which is even now so well watered, still communicates with the sea by Nyköping river, which carries off the vale-streams of the great lakes Yngarn, Langhals-n, and Bawfen. These, with branches running deep into the country, form one of the great systems of water communication in Sweden.

⁴ Adam of Bremen. He derived much of his materials from the relations of the Danish King Sueno Ulfson (magnan materiam hujus libelli ex ejus ore collegi. Hist. Ecc. p. 48), who passed several years of his youth in military service in Sweden. Ib. 31.

north. VERMELAND, where Olave the Treefeller (Trätälja) when the hate of the Swedes had driven him from his refuge in Nerike, first laid the axe to the root of the primitive forest, was held both in old and modern times, to belong to Gothland in the wider sense, in so far as it was taken into account at all. For Vermeland was a debateable territory between the Swedes and Norwegians⁸, subject to both kingdoms alternately, which proves that the settlers of Olave confined themselves to the western part of Vermeland, bordering on Norway. The first occupiers kept close to the streams which took their course to lake Vener, through the wide-extended valleys of the country, and soon arrived at well-being⁹. Between the dales were forests and mountains; the whole of eastern Vermeland was a wilderness. The settled districts were separated from Norway by the waste wood¹, in the recesses of which robbers lurked in ambush for those who undertook the dangerous office of carrying the tributes of Vermeland to the king of Norway². Towards Gothland, forests alone formed the frontier on the eastern as well as the western side of the Vener. This great lake, on whose banks rose the holds of the sea-kings, its proximity to the coast of Wiken, and to Norway, with the border conflicts and adventures which its shores often witnessed, allured the eye of old poetry betimes to this region; and the waves of the Vener, its ice-fields, as its islands, were the scenes of many a combat whose memory the sagas have sung. Above Vermeland, in the eleventh century, Skridfinns or Finn-Lapps still wandered in the wilderness³; for the name of Dalecarlia was not yet known.

We now ascend to old SWEDELAND, which has given its name to the monarchy of Sweden (Sverige), formed in the age of Paganism by the junction of Swedeland and Gothland⁴. Swede-

⁵ Explained as Nederrike, the nether realm. T.

⁶ It is related in the Ynglingasaga, c. 39, that King Braut Anund with his train, visiting his manors in time of harvest, was killed by a land-slip between two precipices, at the place called Himmelshed (Himminheidur, heaven's heath). An old Swedish catalogue of kings states that Brattonum was slain by his brother Sigward at a place called Himmelshed in Nerike (in Nericia—loci vocabulum interpretatur cœli campus. Cat. Reg. ii. Script. Rer. Suec. s. i.); and the Lesser Rhyme-Chronicle gives the same account, but calls the place Högahed. So the great ridge in Nerike is named, which commences at Tarsta in the parish of Skyllersta, and goes through the parish of Sweeneyvad. The wood is called Bröten (from *braut*, way). Braut Anund is said to have been buried near the high stone half a mile south of Sweeneyvad on the road.

⁷ The place was also formerly called Eyrarsund and Eyrarsundsbro. Hence, it is plain which Öresund is meant in the description of the march of Sigurd Ring, in the fragment of the saga on the battle. Compare Svea Rikes Häfder, I. 539.

⁸ Inter Normanniam et Svoniam Vermelani. Ad. Brem. l. c. 61.

⁹ Ynglingasaga, c. 46. (Among these streams is the Verm, whence the name of the territory. T.)

¹ Eida Skog. The name still remains in the parish of Eda in Vermeland, and Eidskong in Norway, through which the road into that country has long passed.

² See the minute account of such a journey from Vermeland, about 944, in Eigils saga c. 74. 543. Saxo relates another, l. vii. 140.

³ Ad. Brem. de situ Dan. 61.

⁴ Land's Law of king Christopher, K. B. c. 1. Sverige, c. 2

land, Suithiod, (in the Latin of the middle ages Svedia, Suecia, Sueonia,) has therefore a double import, and was from an early period applied, sometimes only to Upper Sweden as distinguished from Gothland, Gauthiod, Gothia, sometimes to the whole realm of SWEDEN⁵. In the latter acceptance, which is undoubtedly derived from the former, Gothland is included, and with it Bleking. In the ninth century, king Alfred says, the Swedes (Sveon) had on the south the Baltic, on the east (across) the Sarmatians, to the north beyond the desert, Quenland, north-westward the Skridfinns, and westwards the Norsemen. The country of the latter was long and narrow, broadest in the south and east, decreasing in width towards the north; it was mountainous, all that could be used for cultivation and pasture lay upon the sea; to the east, in equal extension with the cultivated land, lay rocky mountainous wastes of varying breadth⁶, so that for crossing them, in some places two weeks, in others six days, were required. In this wilderness dwelt the Finns. Beyond the mountains and the wilderness which was parallel with Southern Norway, lay Sweden (Svealand) stretching to the north as far as Quenland⁷. The eleventh century gives us the following picture; 'To those who have passed by the Danish islands (so the historian of Christianity in the north expresses himself), another world opens itself in Sueonia and Normannia, the two most extensive kingdoms of the north, almost unknown to our part of the world. Respecting these the Christian-minded king of the Danes⁸ has related to me, that Norway may with great labour be traversed in one month, but Sweden hardly in two; which he, as he said, had himself found, during twelve years warfare in these lands under the Swedish king Anund Jacob. Both countries are encompassed by very high mountains, especially the land of the Norsemen, which surrounds with its Alps that of the Swedes. There are many populations in Sweden; they are remarkable for strength and skill in arms, and are reckoned among the stoutest warriors both by sea and land; hence they appear able with their power to break all the rest of the north. Of the people of Sweden, the West Goths are next to us, whose land borders on Scania; the East Goths are other. The Goths stretch their borders as far as Birca; then (from Lake Mälär upwards) the Sveons over a vast extent of country to the land of the Quens⁹. A hundred and fifty years

later, Snorro writes in reference to the establishment of Christianity in Swedeu; 'The Swedish dominion (Svia-welldi) has many divisions. One is West-Gothland, with Vermeland and the Marks, and what lies near, and this realm is so large, that under the bishop who is set over it there are eleven hundred churches¹. Another landlot is East Gothland, which is also a bishopric; to this now belong Gottland and Oeland, and all these together make a still larger bishopric. In Suithiod Proper is a landlot, which is called Södermanland; this is a bishopric. Next, that which is called Westmannaland or Fiadrundaland is a bishopric. Tiundaland makes the third division of Suithiod Proper, the fourth is called Attundaland, the fifth Siöland (Sealand) and what is adjacent thereto, all eastwards to the sea. Tiundaland is the principal and best cultivated part of Suithiod. To this the whole kingdom is subjected; there is Upsala, there the king's seat and that of the archbishop, and hence the name Upsala Öde. For so the Swedes call the estate of the Swedish kings; they name it Upsala Öde.² Comparing these descriptions, the first shows the name of SWEDEN extending generally to the whole kingdom; the second uses it likewise in the narrower sense, for the regions above the Mälär Lake, according to the third it embraces the districts around the Mälär.

But however ancient that name may be in the first-mentioned larger application, it must have been yet more so in the narrower; and the accounts remaining leave us at no loss where to seek for the oldest Suithiod. In the land upon the MÄLAR, but above that lake, the first Swedish kingdom was founded, whose leaders traced their progenitors to the gods. Here Odin erected his court, and first sacrificed after the manner of the Asæ, where the place now called old Sigtuna lies, says the Ynglingasaga (one of more modern date therefore existed when it was written); and he took possession of the land round about, yet not very far, only so that the land itself, as well as the temple, was named SIGTUNA³. Here was the oldest "property of the kings of Sweden," as the Upsala estate was called after Frey, the dispenser of fertility, removed the place of sacrifice to UPSALA. Under his sceptre the peace of Frey and plentiful years prevailed in all lands, so that in his days the country people were richer than before through the seasons and the peace; hence the Swedes also worshipped Frey as the god of harvests, and paid

as it was still written in the sixteenth century (for example in the chronicle of Olave Peterson), is contracted from Svea Rike. Instead of Sverige, the softer pronunciations Sverige, Sverge, became usual. (Note, that hence is taken the old Scottish name of Sweden:

Swadrik, Denmark, and Norraway,
Nor in the Steiddis (States) I dar nocht ga.

Dunbar, Bannatyne Poems, p. 176. Trans.)

⁵ Sueonum et Gothorum populi, in Adam of Bremen. Gauthiod is the Gautigoth of the Gothic historian Jordanes, ære hominum genus et ad bella fortissimum.

⁶ In the original, vilde moras, wild morasses. But *mor* in Anglo-Saxon means forest as well as morass and mountain, or wilderness generally.

⁷ Travels of Ottar and Ulsten.

⁸ King Sueno Ulfsøn, before-mentioned. His father, earl Ulf, was a Swede by birth (Saxo, l. x. p. 103), and brother-in-law of king Canute in Denmark. When the latter, after the fight of Helgea, caused earl Ulf to be assassinated, the son

fled to king Anund Jacob in Sweden in 1031. Saga of St. Olave, c. 163. Saga of Magnus the good, c. 23.

⁹ Supra eam (Sconiam) tenso limite Gothi habitant usque ad Bircam, postea longis terrarum spatiis regnant Sueones usque ad terram feminarum. Ad. Brem. That the *terra feminarum* which suggested to this author the fable of the Amazons, arose from a misapprehension (quinnornas land, the country of women, instead of Quenarnas land), we have elsewhere shown. Svea Rikes Häfder 1. 422.

¹ An amount demonstrably too great. According to the West-Gothic Law, the number of the churches in the diocese of Skara, which included also Vermeland and Dalsland, was 592. Smaland and Nerike are not named. The Ynglingasaga (c. 46) does not reckon the inhabitants of the latter among the Swedes. One of the editors of our old laws suggests to me that this statement has crept in from a clerical error, xi. instead of vi. Yet the Rimbegla has the same number.

² Ynglingasaga, c. 5.

him higher reverence than the other deities. From this point cultivation was extended over regions which formerly lay waste, and from the oldest Suithiod, also called Manhem, arose the Folklands (Folklanden)³, the domicile of the Swedes properly so called. Afterwards, when their name and power was more widely spread, these possessed the right of giving a king to the whole realm, and when this privilege was invaded by the claims of the other provinces, they still continued to give the first vote in the election of a king, whensoever a Swedish elective diet was convoked, up to the days of Gustavus Vasa. The Folklands, which for so many centuries preserved this relic of the prerogative of the old Sweons, comprehended Tiunda, Attunda, Fierdhundra, and in general what was anciently called UPLAND, which however, in the wider sense, denoted all the settled region above Lake Mälär, at the time when even Westmanland seems to have been one of the Folklands⁴. The inhabitants were called Upper Swedes (Upp-Svear) in the heathen period; a proof that they were not the only Swedes, but that others were already settled beneath them, that part namely of the population of Sudermania and Nerike, whose Swedish forefathers had passed the forests of Kägäl and the Mälär. The Folklands were the chief seat of the Swedes, as the Gothlands were of the cognate race. Between both, Sudermania and Nerike were border tracts, which received their inhabitants from both sides, the former perhaps, through its sea-kings, from many different quarters. They were called Gothic or Swedish as the points of view differed, but were at length considered as belonging definitively to Swedeland. They were never included among the Folklands, from the list of which WESTMANLAND also disappeared, when by the extension of cultivation it was parted from Fierdhundra, and formed a province in itself.

Legends of horrors in the night of paganism are blended with these earliest accounts of the occupation of old Suithiod. The same Frey who reaped perhaps the first harvests of the land, is said to have also introduced human sacrifices. Of the old king Ane it is related, that to protract a life which had already lasted its full space, he sacrificed nine of his sons, one after another, to Odin. According to their numerical succession he is said to have named the Hundreds of his kingdom, and Tiundaland received its name, because the tenth son, whom the people rescued, had been destined for the same fate. We find, however, that afterwards in the Christian age, Tiundaland contained ten

hundreds (hundari), Attunda eight, Fierdhundra at first probably four; and here doubtless we discover the true origin of the names, which thus appears to be of earlier date than the introduction of Christianity. The division into Hundreds, or Härads, arose out of the oldest structure of society among our forefathers. Tiunda, as well as Attunda and Fierdhundra, are already mentioned under the Yngling line. The divisions of former days are not in all cases the same with those of later; but the Hundreds composing the three old Folklands may still be ascertained, if we compare the detailed statements we possess respecting them, from the earlier half of the fourteenth century⁵, with the nature of the country and with earlier accounts. The earliest settlement in UPLAND was made where Odin founded that Sigtuna which the Chronicles of the Kings call the former; whence the neighbouring district was called at first Sigtuna, afterwards Habo Hundred, anciently the first in Tiundaland⁶, and defined by natural boundaries, being even now almost wholly an island surrounded by the Mälär lake. Beyond the narrow bay of the Mälär called Skarfven, which already receives this name in the old sagas, and on which Sigtuna rose, the oldest cultivation of Upland stretched south and north, from Arland to Oland⁷, originally terms denoting arable land and wilderness. Out of the first, in the confused acception, was formed the hundred of Arland⁸, now Erlinghundra, which was reckoned as belonging to Attundaland. The latter, still the extensive hundred of Oland, was formerly called Olanda-mor, or the untilled wood, and extended north to the sea⁹. Its middle and northern part contained the mining district (bergslag) of Upland, still thickly wooded, in which cultivation, thus produced, was of late origin; its southern part was cleared so early, that a saying of the country makes the boundary of Tiundaland go on the one side through the present parishes of Skefthammar and Vendel, and mentions Öresundsbro and Stäket as border points on the other side. We attach weight to this tradition, as agreeing with lines of division fixed by nature herself. This northern boundary still forms the general line of demarcation between the chief agricultural district of Upland and its hilly woodlands, and is at the same time the ridge which separates the waters flowing to lake Mälär on the south, from these which run to the Baltic on the north; the southern border-points, on the other hand, rest upon lake Mälär. Between these boundaries lay old Tiundaland, and its ten Hundreds can still be pointed out within these limits, although those of the north were not then so extensive as

whence *ärja* to plough; found often in similar compounds, as for example, *ar-bot*, *ar-madr*, &c. Oland (lit. un-land) is the opposite of Arland, and the meaning is still preserved in the adjective *oländig*, incapable of tillage. The country people use both *ländig* and *oländig* to mark the quality of the soil.

⁸ In the Register of Upsala, both Arland, and the Hundred of the Arlenings, or Arlanders.

⁹ Olanda-mor, in the Register of Upsala, properly answers to the parish of Morkarla in the Hundred of Oland. The forest went through Danemora and Tegelsmora, as the names, and through Lufsta and Hallnäs, as the situations evidence. *Mor*, in old Swedish, is a forest. The Morakarl (inhabitant of the parish of Mora in Dalecarlia) still says 'ga till moren', to go to the wood, where the cattle-stalls stand.

³ The term Folkland first appears in the law book of Upland, K. B. I. But the three shires which made the Folklands are already named in the Ynglingasaga. The district of Dronheim in Norway was also divided into Fylkes called Folklands; both words indeed mean the same. (Olof Trygvason's saga, ed. Skalh).

⁴ Hence, the law book of Westmanland speaks of the *ting* or court of the Folklands, Manhelgs, B. civ., and of a survey of the Folklands, B. B. L. II.

⁵ In the Registrum Upsaliense; a collection of deeds formerly belonging to the cathedral of Upsala, made in the year 1344 by command of archbishop Hemming and the chapter of Upsala, up to the present time only partially printed.

⁶ It holds this place in the Registrum Upsaliense.

⁷ From *ar*, year, in the meaning of *aring*, year's growth,

they afterwards became¹. Above the northern frontier, the productive territory of Upland stretched, not in a due northerly direction, where the present mining district appears for a long time to have been almost wholly untitled, but sideways to the westward, along the stream which runs from lake Temnar to the sea. Here, in the heart of the forest, a settlement was formed, within the heathen age, at Tierp, following, as old remains prove, the course of the water with scattered habitations. Here must be placed the common-wood (*Almännings-skog*), which separated Tiundaland from Gestriland. In this manner the coast too was gradually occupied. A roaming life, the parsimony of nature, and the piracy of the Finlanders, long made it impossible for the inhabitants to submit to the regulations of civic order and fixed partition. The eight districts of Attundaland reached in the eleventh century to the sea; that of Sea Hundred (*Sehundari*) indicates the Sealand of which Snorro makes mention. Yet to this name, more general as used by him, a definite meaning attaches only in so far as it marks a portion of old Suithiod distinct from the Folklands. Lying eastwards on the sea, as his words imply, it is Suithiod's coast territory, Roden, a name remaining in Roslagen, as its import is preserved in the still subsisting division of this tract into ship-cantonments². The islets south of lake Mälär appear to have been formerly included under it; Tören, now Södertörn, mentioned in the *Ynglingasaga*, and by the scald Thiodolf³, was in later times still reckoned part of the jurisdiction (*lagsaga*) of Upland. The four Hundreds of Fierdhundaland are undoubtedly the three lying between Örsundsbio and the Saga stream, with Thorsaker in the west. With the advance of cultivation, the limits of this shire extended; after three other Hundreds had been added to the four oldest, it appears to have been once called Seven Hundredland⁴, and embraced old Westmanland as far as Westeras⁵. Beyond, to the end of lake Mälär and the forest of Käglan, all that part of Westmanland which was cleared and brought into cultivation was called and formed Two Hundreds⁶. What is here said of the course and extent of cultivation in old Westmanland, is confirmed by memorials remaining from the heathen age. Tracts of ancient occupancy in Sweden are every where marked by the barrows which indicate the graves of those who once tilled the soil. These, common in the Folklands, are also numerous in Westman-

land, especially from Thorsacre onwards, in the south, and near the boundary of Upland. Farther on, they follow the shores of the Mälär, ascending the water-courses. In this shire they are scattered over the south and middle districts; in the forests of the north none are found⁷.

Thus did the ancient inhabitants of Sweden establish themselves on both sides of the MÄLAR. This spacious and noble lake, branching with so many arms, and garlanded with isles, into whose basin, to use the words of the saga, all the running waters of Suithiod fall, in their progress to the sea (whence it is also sometimes called a bay or outlet of the Baltic), formed in the heart of the kingdom the principal channel of internal and external traffic, of friendly as well as hostile intercourse. Its entrance was in all times narrow⁸; its interior is studied continuously with island groups, presenting several good harbours, of which BIRCA was formerly the best known. This, we are told, was a town lying in the centre of Sweden, not far from the temple of UPSALA, the most famous of all among the Swedes; in the place where a bay of the Baltic or Barbaric Sea stretching towards the north, forms a desirable haven for the nations dwelling round; the navigation was very dangerous to those who were careless or little conversant with the localities, for the inhabitants, exposed to the frequent assaults of sea-robbers, had, by sinking masses of stone for a great distance, made the passage dangerous both to themselves and the enemy; yet here was the safest haven in the Swedish rocks, and the ships of the Danes, Norsemen, Slavons, and Sembers, as well as of other people of Scythia, used to assemble here to a staple, and barter their wares⁹. From Scania to Sigtuna or Birca was five days' sail¹. Lastly, it is expressly said, that Birca was situated near Sigtuna², and from thence to Upsala was only one day's journey³.

This description is not suitable to the little island Björkö, in the Mälär, where, from the resemblance of names, our antiquarians have wished to find manifest traces of the old town, although the author from whom we have extracted the above account adds, that when he wrote (in 1072), Birca was desolate and razed to the ground, so that hardly a vestige of it was to be seen. But we may appeal to witnesses who had seen it two hundred years before, in the days of its prosperity. Ansgar, the apostle of the north, visited it twice; his successor and biographer, Rimberty, also saw it⁴. They call it the

⁷ The parish of Enaker, stretching to the Dal-elf, is an exception.

⁸ Saga of St. Olave, c. 6.

⁹ Birca est oppidum Gothorum, in medio Sueoniæ positum, non longe ab eo templo, quod celeberrimum Sueones habent in cultu deorum, Upsala dicto; in quo loco sinus quidam ejus freti, &c. *Ad. Brem. Hist. Ecc. l. ii. c. 48*. Birca, here called oppidum Gothorum, is styled by the same writer in another place Birca Sueonum (*de situ Dan. p. 54*). The Sembers are the inhabitants of Samland in Prussia.

¹ A Sconia Danorum navigantibus ad Bircam quinque dierum habes iter. Scholiast to Adam of Bremen *de sit. Dan. p. 59*, not. 80.

² A Sconia Danorum per mare velificans quinto die pervenies ad Sictonam vel Bircam, juxta enim sunt. *Ad. Brem. l. c. 62*.

³ Sictona civitas distat ab Ubsola itinere unius diei. *Ibid.*

⁴ Compare Vita Ansgarii per Rimbertym, and Vita Rimberty, which Adam of Bremen had before him. He mentions that Rimberty also had been in Birca. *Hist. Ecc. i. 50*.

¹ They are enumerated in the Register of Upsala, with two others, afterwards added.

² These are of old standing, for some are mentioned in the Register of Upsala, and in a diploma of 1280. Rodslag and Skeppslag have the same meaning, for the Chancellor Axel Oxenstiern, in a protocol of the Council, of the year 1640, says, 'Rodslagen was so called, because rookarlar (Oarmen) or mariners dwelt upon the coast; for our forefathers were wont to assign to the seamen particular districts, which they called skeppslag.' *Palmköld, xiv. Topog. v. 22, p. 1157*.

³ In the relation of Ague's death, c. 22. With the origin of the name I am not acquainted.

⁴ Siuhunda, a name preserved in the district of Siunda or Siende.

⁵ Western Aros. Aros is the mouth of a stream. Eastern Aros is the mouth of the water of Fyris in Lake Mälär at Upsala. Western Aros is the mouth of the Swart water (Swarta) in the Mälär at Westeras, which thence received its name.

⁶ Tuhundra.

port of the kingdom of Sweden, a village where were rich traders, abundance of goods of all sorts, and many treasures. Near Birea there was then certainly another town or castle with some fortifications, although of no great strength; in this there were temples of idols, or, as the pagans said, 'many and powerful deities'; there the inhabitants and traffickers of Birea sought a refuge from hostile assaults, and sacrificed to their gods or 'evil spirits', for help against peril. The town here not named is evidently SIGTUNA, which, as has been shown, lay near Birea; the same Sigtuna where the Ynglingasaga makes Odin establish sacrifices, and build his court, and which, according to the Edda, he chose for his 'castled town'.⁵ This word may be viewed partly as a translation of the name, since *tun* means fence, enclosure; but of what nature the fortification was, may be judged from what has been mentioned above of the wooden retrenchment surrounding the town of Lund. The name Birea, also, which we first hear of in authors of Saxon birth⁶, though writing in Latin, was probably derived from the Anglo-Saxon form of a northern word⁷ of similar meaning. Here there was not only vicinity of place, but community of names; and it is not otherwise to be explained how the old Icelanders should never speak of Birea, although it probably was not yet destroyed, when they began to visit the coast of the Mälars; and in any case, the memory of a town then so celebrated could not be lost for them⁸. Remark therewithal that they mention two Sigtunas; for one of them is called the "former," and it is in this quarter we must also seek for Birea.

In almost all the metallic districts of Sweden, mining operations first paved the way for agriculture; this applies in great part even to the Mine-Canton of Upland, and still more extensively to those of East Vermeland, Nerike, and Westmanland. For although this whole mountainous tract, interposed between the greatest water-courses and lakes of Sweden, was anciently not without inhabitants, who lived dispersed in the forests; yet the commencement of its cultivation may be dated from the opening of the mines during the Christian middle age; nay, it is mostly far more recent, dating from the new impulse given to mining pursuits under Charles IX., and the great Gustavus Adolphus. All this is a new country, and so too, comparatively, are the districts of Sala Silfverberg and Stora Kopparberg. The southern part of the province of DALARNA (Dalecarlia) is of older settlement, although it does not appear under the same name. As the great streams generally drew to their banks the oldest population, so was it with the mighty Dal-elf, here united in one channel. Near its waters cultivation existed since pagan days, as the historical Sagas inform us, and in part even

⁵ Borgstad.

⁶ Adam of Bremen, and Helmold, who in his *Chronicon Slavorum*, 100 years later, copies the former in reference to Birea.

⁷ *Borg*, castle, Anglo-Saxon *Byric*, latinized into *Byrica* or *Birea*.

⁸ Icelandic Scalds visited the Mälars so early as the time of Eric the Victor, and shared in the fight of Upsala against Styrbjörn in 983. (*Svea Rikes Häfder*, 1, 204, 206.) At least 47 years before, Birea was still in existence, for Unni, archbishop of Bremen, died there in 936. *Ad. Brem. Hist. Ecc.* i. 51. If the town had been destroyed in the interval (this probably happened in the next century), it could not have been yet forgotten.

earlier, as always where sepulchral mounds are seen⁹. Here likewise is the Jernbäraland (iron-bearing land) of the heathens, and the present Eastern Mine-Canton¹, the oldest of the Swedish mining districts, in so far as the term is applicable to days so remote. Jernbäraland extended thence to Western Dalecarlia, and the name was even given to the Eastern division. Thorsang (Thors Haugh) is, doubtless, one of the oldest places in DALECARLIA; and there are relations yet existing which describe how the inhabitants spread their farms into the highlands of Kopparberg, Falun, Sundborn, and Svärdsjö. Over these tracts lay the course of St. Olave's expedition in the spring of the year 1030, through Helsingland and Jemteland to Norway. He marched out of Upland through the forests, and came to Jernbäraland, thence through woods and wildernesses, often across great floods, between which the boats were carried; huts were erected for the night campings, which long afterwards were called Olave's booths. A still more adventurous journey was made 150 years later. On his flight from Southern Norway, king Sverre² marched with a band of robbers, who chose him for their captain, through the twelve-mile wood (*tolfmila skog*)³ to Eke's hundred in Vermeland⁴; then, through a still larger wood in Western Dalecarlia, to Malung, a place which had even then a name, and inhabitants who lived by the chase⁵. Thence the road lay over a country of incredible difficulty, at the breaking up of the ice, through fifteen rasts of wood and wilderness, where the travellers lived on the flesh of the reindeer and birds, till they arrived in Jernbäraland, which is here Eastern Dalecarlia, perhaps Elfdal or Mora. What aspect did this remote territory, afterwards so celebrated from the actions of Gustavus Vasa, present during the twelfth century? The people were still heathens; they had never seen a king in their country, and scarcely knew, it is said, whether such a one was a man or a beast, never having quitted their forests to mingle with other men. Yet they gave Sverre a good reception, and aided him on his journey, which lay through wildernesses, forests, and morasses, over streams and lakes, from Jernbäraland eighteen rasts to Herjedalen, and farther over Jemteland to Drontheim (Trondhem); during which the adventurers had often nothing for food but the rind and juice of trees, with berries, which had been covered by the snow throughout the winter. This was in 1177; and in the following year, Sverre again proceeded with a band of retainers through Jernbäraland. The peasants now made retrenchments to oppose his passage, saying they were not used to such kingly progresses, and wished to know nothing of them. Yet he got through, and arrived this time at Alfä in Helsingland.

⁹ There are no barrows to be found northwards of the Dal, except in Näsgård parish, and in eastern Dalecarlia none, so far as is known to the author, except in Mora.

¹ Österbergslagen. (For some further account of Dalecarlia, see note B. at the end. T.)

² Sverre's Saga, c. 12.

³ It is still so called, as the frontier forest towards Dalecarlia is called the ten-mile wood. (The Swedish mile is somewhat more than six and a half English. TRANS.)

⁴ Elks Herat. So the Copenhagen edition.

⁵ Molung. The name is supposed to have been given from the snaring of the marten, which is here called *mol*. The inhabitants still subsist by the preparation of skins.

Sweden's southern region was inhabited by Goths as far back as our information reaches; of the occupancy of the middle division by the Swedes an account, half mythical, half historical, has been preserved; the settlement of the northern part, which is still proceeding at the present day, falls entirely within the range of history; although heathenism was not extinct when the old nomadic inhabitants of this vast territory already began to be driven back by the new settlers. All that portion of the present province of NORRLAND which lay along the coast from the mouth of the Dal⁶ to above Norrbotten, was still called in the fifteenth century by the general name of Helsingland. In the west, nearer the mountains, lay HERJEDALE and JEMTELAND. Of the first settlement of these countries the *Chronicles of the Kings* give the following account. 'Ketil Jamte was the son of earl Anund of Sparabo in Drontheim (or Trondhem). He fled before king Östen Illrada eastwards from the mountains of Kiölen; he cleared the woods and cultivated the ground in the district now called Jemteland. Eastwards to him fled many who dwelt in Drontheim, by reason of the troubles, when king Östen was vexing them with taxes and set his dog called Saur over them to be king. Thoror Helsing was grandson of Ketil; after him Helsingland is named. There he tilled the land, and when Harald the Fair-haired grasped the whole dominion for himself, many from Drontheim and Naumdale again joined him. Further settlements were made eastward of Jemteland, and pushed on through Helsingland to the sea, those who abode there becoming subject to the king of the Swedes, and carrying on a trade with Sweden.' Haco the Good, king of Norway, established a commercial intercourse between his subjects and the settlers of this region⁷. This addiction to trade is noted as characteristic of the first Norrlanders; and for this they continue to be remarkable at the present day, cattle-breeding and the chase supplying their materials of exchange. So permanent are relations which spring out of the nature of the country. Of

the settlement of Herjedalen, again, the following relation is preserved: 'Heriulf was banner-man⁸ to king Halfdan the Black, father of Harald the Fair-haired, and stood high in his favour. At a feast, he struck another courtier so rude a blow in his anger with a silver-mounted drinking-horn, that the horn broke, and the man whom he struck died. For this cause was Heriulf, who thence had the surname of horn-breaker, banished from the land; he was well received in Sweden by king Eric Edmundson, and was for a long time his man. At last he enticed the king's sister Ingeborg to love, fled with her, and settled in the wild valley south of Jemteland, which after him received the name of Heriulf's dale, or Herjedale⁹. The people of this district still show the spot where the fugitive pair are said to have dwelt, and the mound where Heriulf's ashes and treasures were buried, near the stream of Herje, four miles west of the church of Lillherdal parish¹. They still tell of a daughter of this personage, and four sons, two of whom slew each other in a quarrel respecting a fishery. Two sons of Heriulf are mentioned as under-kings in Norway, and one of his grandsons was among the first colonists of Iceland. Elk hunting² and the chase were the first, and long the principal occupations of those who fixed their abode in these territories; they traded with their furs to Norway, with whose inhabitants both their extraction and vicinity of situation disposed them to amity. But eastwards on the sea, observes Snorro, the Swedes had settled HELSINGLAND³, and generally the original population ascended from the sea the waters of the valleys. In GESTRICLAND, it followed partly the sea, and partly the stream of the Gafel (from which the fishing village and town of Gæfic received its name) to the lake Storsjö⁴, the country round which, especially in the parishes of Ofvansjö and Thors-acre, was occupied in the heathen age. From Helsingland Proper, Gestrícland was, and is still, separated by the forest of Odmord, formerly so large, that although in the fourteenth century a new parish had been formed within its bounds⁵,

bore an axe, a tree, a bow and an arrow, with the words, 'Sigillum Communitatis Terræ Dalecarlorum.' This was lost in Finland, in the time of Steno Sture the elder, when that leader was encamped there with the Dalecarlians against the Russians; upon which the province received its present armorial bearings, two dale arrows crossways. So the crossed arrows of Nerike refer to the chase of its forest animals, the three burning mountains of Westmanland to its mines, and the goat of Helsingland to the cattle-rearing of this province.

³ Saga of Haco the Good, c. 14.

⁴ Not to be confounded with the Storsjö (great lake) of Jemteland.

⁵ The Forest (Skog) parish of Southern Helsingland was anciently a wood commonable to six adjacent parishes in Helsingland and Gestrícland, which had their cattle-stalls in it. These pasture-lands being soon cultivated, and dwellings erected upon them, were transferred by the occupiers to their children, while they themselves inhabited their own granges in the old parishes. Contests soon arose between the new settlers and the old proprietors, the latter of whom claimed a right to the clearings, although these had been already alienated by will and paid tax to the crown. The new settlers therefore prayed that they might be allowed to form a separate parish, which was granted to them by king Magnus Ericson. The land-marks were now fixed by a judicial writ, issued at a general ting or court held at the South Hill of Helsingland in 1343. It is preserved in the church of Mo. (Georgii et Justus Dissertatio de Halsingia,

⁶ Quas regiones fluvius Elf distinguit a Sueciâ. Erius Olai.

⁷ Saga of Haco (Adalsten's fosterson), c. 14.

⁸ Merksman.

⁹ Schöning, Norges' Hist. 1. 435.

¹ Hülphers, Dalresa, on Herjedalen, p. 43, 47. In the vallies of Liung and Liusne, parish of Hede, there are barrows called goods-mounds and heathen-mounds, in which hoards of silver are said to have been found. Only two barrows are mentioned by Hülphers in Jemteland, and a single Runic stone upon the isle of Frösöe, in memory of Östmader, son of Gudfast, who is related to have introduced Christianity here. Dalecarlia had but one Runic stone, which was formerly at Hedemora. Among eleven such in Helsingland, there are five which are marked with the so-called Helsing-Runes.

² Jemteland bears on its arms an elk with a wolf at its gorge and a falcon on its back. The arms of the provinces, although of late origin, yet often throw light, by the representation of natural objects, on the pursuits of the inhabitants and their relations with each other. Gestrícland also bears an elk on its arms, although its earliest seal has a crowned bust with a drinking-horn reversed in the hand, and the inscription 'Sigillum communitatis Gestríkrie.' It might be supposed from this, that the province had its name from the time when the Upsala kings first visited it in demand of guestrites (gästning), which was one of the most ancient methods of levying tribute. The oldest seal of Dalecarlia

the traveller was yet obliged to rest in a safety-lodge in the midst of the wood, an arrangement probably subsisting from the heathen age. This, like every other border forest, was notorious for the acts of robbery and violence perpetrated in it; the boundary line was formed by the Mordback (murder-brook)⁶. To this point the law of Upland was obeyed, beyond it that of Helsingland. That places of common interment and sacrifice were the points of union for the first settlers is shown by the old appellations; Mound of the South path, Mound of Sundheath (from which Gustavus Vasa addressed the Helsingers), Mound of the North path⁷. These names were also given to lands belonging to the estate of Upsala, by which the divisions of Helsingland were formerly regulated. The north-western part of Helsingland is probably that which was peopled by Norwegians from Jemteland and Herjedalen, who having passed the forest, advanced here and there to the sea-shore. Agriculture was more anciently practised in the southern part of Helsingland than in either of these provinces, but the rearing of cattle, the chase, the fisheries of the Baltic, and the sea fowl (for wild geese are the oldest Helsingers)⁸, no doubt at first supplied the most available means of subsistence. This was to a still greater extent the case with the provinces of MEDELPAÐ and ANGERMANLAND, lying to the north, in which the population adhered yet more closely to the coast. In the former, deriving its name⁹ from its situation between the considerable streams of Niurunda and Indal, the southerly valley of Niurunda, as ancient remains prove, was settled before the inner dale, or district of Indals-elf¹. The herring and sprat (*strömming*) fisheries upon this coast are as old as the name of the parish of Silanger². Employment was furnished to the Angermanners (men of the creeks or rocks) by the salmon fisheries³ among the clusters of islets formed by the Angerman river, the largest in Scandinavia, at its mouth, where Hernösand is spoken of in the fourteenth century as a haven and staple. Where the road enters West Bothnia the last barrow is perceived⁴. Heaps of stones, such as are sometimes

found in the mountainous districts of other parts of Sweden, are beyond this point the only grave marks, and the names of the rivers now become Lappic⁵. Salmon-fishing in the spring and summer allured the Norwegians across the mountains to the mouths of these streams; a few remained throughout the winter; the number of inhabitants received accessions of Swedish incomers, and the Lapps were driven from the sea-coast. In the former half of the fourteenth century, the settlements thus begun reached to Skeldepth⁶, now Skelleft river. Above this limit stretched the wastes of Lappmark, though the trading peasants (*Bircarls* as they were called) visited this upper region, especially Tornea, to fish and trade with the Lapps; whence the archbishop of Upsala at this time extended the limits of Helsingland, which formed part of his diocese, into Finland, as far as the Ulea stream in East Bothnia. Settlements existed as far as the Umea, or perhaps further along the Western coast, from heathen times, but these are here proportionably more recent than in other quarters.

Northern Scandinavia was called FINNMARK. This, according to an ancient authority, was a territory of vast size, having upon the west, north, and east, the sea, with many great firths; in the interior, wild regions of mountains and dales, with enormous waters; also near them spacious forests, and the great ridges which are called the Keels⁸, running along the waste. Finnmark commenced, in the ninth century, above Halogaland in Norway, and extended across to the White Sea, almost as far south on that side as Halogaland on the other, or to the sixty-fifth degree. The Norwegians levied tribute from the wild inhabitants of Finnmark, till the Swedish settlers were numerous enough to follow the example in Swedish Lappmark. Such phrases as Finn-tax, Finn-faring, Finn-trade⁹, indicate the relations subsisting between them and their neighbours. Of these and of the aspect of the country, the manner of life and adventures of a northern settler of former days, old accounts still remain. From the most ancient of them¹ we

Ups. 1772). From this example may be learned the history of the progress of cultivation in Norrland, nay, throughout Sweden. Pasturage was every where the beginning of cultivation. New settlements (*nybyggen*) were made, and new granges (*hemman*) detached from the old. This is at the present day the course of settlement in Norrland.

⁶ Said to have had its name from the murder of St. Stephen, the apostle of the Helsingers, if it was not, rather, from the word *mor*, wood, which is found in the name Kolmord, Ödmord (waste wood).

⁷ Sunnastigshögen, högen i Sundheden, högen i nordstigen.

⁸ Helsing, from *helsi* (collar), is the name of a sort of wild duck or goose with a ring round the neck.

⁹ Medelpad, in the country itself, is pronounced Melpa, which appears only a careless utterance of Midelfva. Midelfvaland is the land between the rivers. Two streams are shown on the armorial bearings of the province.

¹ In Southern Medelpad many barrows and Runic stones are to be seen. In Angermanland not a few of the former are found along the river Angermanna, but only a single Runic stone is mentioned.

² This parish has two herrings on its seal, and the name was formerly written Sillanger. (Asp and Genberg, Dissertat. de Medelpadia antiqua et hodierna. Holm. 1734; Hülphers on Medelpad.) Our oldest antiquarians derived the name from *süll*, happy, and found here the islands of the blessed.

Angr means wick, tongue of land, layer of rocks, or generally a narrow, broken place; hence the name of Angermanland. (*Sill*, herring.)

³ Angermanland has three salmon in its arms.

⁴ In the parish of Umea, and hamlet of Klabböle, there are said to be barrows, which some think of natural formation.

⁵ So the names of the Ume, Lule, Pite, Raune, Kalix, and Torne streams. In the Lappic, Ume-äno (from *wuome*, wood, and äno, elf or stream); Luleäno (eastern elf), Pitomäno (perhaps the forbidden or sacred river, from *pjetton*, prohibition); Rauna-äno (reinder river, from *radn*, reinder-calf, or *radno*, the young doe); Kalas-äno (from the Fennic kala, fish, or the Lappic kala, ford). Torne, formerly a fishing village, now a town, seems to have had its name from a tower (torn) built there; whence its arms have that figure. Tower in Lappic is *torne*, probably borrowed from the Swedish. The river is called by the Lapps Torne-äno. It may be mentioned as an example of priestly invention, that the parish of Kalix, from the similarity of name, carries a chalice (kalk) in its arms, although the name is incontestibly has the Lappic or Fennic origin above stated.

⁶ In the Lappic *Sildut*, *forss*, waterfall or torrent.

⁷ An account of the Bircarls is given in Scheffer's History of Lapland, p. 63. Oxford, 1674. T.

⁸ Kälarna. Saga of Egil, c. 14.

⁹ Finn-skatt, Finn-färd, Finn-köp.

¹ Narrative of the Travels of Ottar and Ulftien.

quote a passage containing a description of a voyage from Halogaland to the North Cape and the mouth of the Dwina on the White Sea. The Norseman OTTAR, who left Norway about the year 870, said to his lord king Alfred of England, that he dwelt among the most northerly of all the Norwegians, on the Western Sea, but that the land stretched much farther towards the north; that here all was a waste: only the Finns sometimes made a stay in certain places, for the chase in winter, and the fishery in summer. Once he resolved to search how far the land extended towards the north, and whether men dwelt beyond this wilderness. Then, he sailed towards the north along the land, having the desert country the whole way on the starboard (to the right), the open sea on the larboard (to the left), till after three days he arrived as far northwards as whale fishers ever used to pass. He sailed yet three days to the north; there the land bent along with the sea to the East, for which reason he was obliged here to wait for a north-west wind, and then he sailed four days to the East along the coast. Here he waited for a due north wind, since the land and sea now curved towards the south, and in this direction he sailed five days along the land, till he and his followers came to a great stream. Beyond this, the whole country appeared to be cultivated, and this was the first inhabited land they had met with since their departure from home, for the whole intervening coast lay waste, and they observed only some hunters, sea-fowl catchers, and fishers, who were all Finns. This was the condition of the wilderness of the Terfinns; but upon the great flood dwelt the Biarmers, in a well-settled country. Ottar did not dare to land there, but some of the inhabitants came on board to him. Their speech seemed to him like that of the Finns,—which he therefore understood,—and the Biarmers told him much, both of their own and the surrounding countries; how much of it was true he knew not, because he had not himself seen it. He had visited the country, partly from a desire to see it, but chiefly on account of the walruses, whose tusks furnished the finest bone, and of these he gave some to king Alfred. Their skins were very useful for ships' ropes, and this whale fish was much smaller than others, not above seven ells long. But in Ottar's own land was the best whale fishery; there, whales were found forty-eight ells long, and the largest fifty ells. Of such he said, that with six ships he had killed sixty in two days. He was rich in such possessions as were their wealth, that is in the wild animals called reindeer. When he came to the king he had 600 unbought tame reindeer, and among them six decoys, on which the Finns, who caught wild deer with them, set a high value. He was one of the first men of his country, yet he had no more than twenty cows, twenty sheep, and twenty swine, and he ploughed a small piece of arable land with horses. The greatest means which those of the country possessed, consisted in the tribute paid by the Finns, in skins and feathers, whalebone and cordage, the latter prepared from the whales' hides and seal skins. Every one paid according to his substance; the chief men paid fifteen martens' skins, five reindeers, one bear's hide, ten sacks of feathers, and besides, a jerkin of bear or otter skin, with two ships' ropes, one of morse hide, the other of seal skin.

If we substitute the salmon and seal fishery for that of whales, we observe also in this description the Norrland peasant of former times on the gulf of Bothnia, his manner of life, pursuits, and the relations in which he stood to the Lapps. The kings of Norway, since the time of Harald the Fair-haired, claimed exclusively the produce of the tributes and trade of Finnmark, and were able to maintain this claim along the coast². The Biarmers were a Fennic people, and, it would appear, more civilized than their cognate tribes. The description of their country shows that they practised agriculture. Old Biarmaland stretched from the Dwina to the Volga and Kama, and was the seat of an extensive trade. Caravans from Bokhara brought thither the wares of the east. A voyage to Biarmaland was regarded as a very gainful enterprize in the north, partly on account of the traffic, in which the furs of the sable, the beaver, and the minivere were exchanged, and partly on account of the plunder collected on the way, for a trading voyage was often also a piratical expedition. The sacred place of this people was situated at the mouth of the Dwina in a great forest; their deity was called Jumala, the name by which the Finns and Lapps now designate the Supreme Being. This idol had on its knee a large silver cup full of silver money, and a costly chain round the neck. Here too was their place of interment, in the hillocks and soil of which much gold and silver was stored; for when the rich were buried, a part of their wealth was consigned to the tomb along with them. Round the sanctuary was a palisade with the gate closed; and six men kept watch alternately every night.

Several other Fennic tribes are mentioned in old accounts of the north. An inroad of the Kures and Quens into Sweden is mentioned in the time of Sigurd Ring, and the last-named people as well as the Laplanders, were neighbours of our forefathers in the present Swedish Norrland. 'The Swedes,' says king Alfred in the ninth century, 'have Quenland on the north of their country beyond the wilderness, the Scridfinns on the north-west, and the Norsemen on the West.' But Scridfinns and Quens were intermingled in these Northern tracts, for we are told of Quenland, that it lies near the Northern part of Norway, and the Quens roamed as far as and across the frontier. They carried their small light boats overland to the great lakes which lie among the hill tops, and made predatory inroads upon the Norsemen, as these did upon them; yet they sought help from the Norwegians against their enemies. Faravid, prince of the Quens, about the year 877, sent a messenger to Thorolf, the commissioner of Harald the Fair-haired, charged with the levy of the tributes, to entreat assistance against the Carelians who had ravaged his country, which was granted, Thorolf stipulating that he should have an equal share of the booty. The law of the Quens was, that the king should have a third part of the plunder, and in addition as many skins of beaver, sable, and minivere as he chose to take. Thorolf marched eastwards towards Quenland, he with a hundred, the king with three hundred men. They proceeded in company to Upper Finnmark, encountered and beat the Carelians in the mountains, and won a very rich spoil. Thereupon Thorolf returned to Quenland, crossed the Kölen moun-

² Butter and pork were in great demand in Finnmark.

tains, and arrived in Norway at Wefsen in Halogaland. This powerful Halogalander, who was an active sea-chief, at this time drew great profits from the productive herring and eod fisheries of Lofoden and Vaage. Over how wide a tract the Quens were once spread, is shown by the circumstance that the whole North Sea was once called the Quen sea, and all Finland, Quenland³, though the latter name has also a narrower application. We find it mentioned as lying between Helsingland and Finland⁴, and it comprehended in this sense the whole of Bottenland, or the inland territory upon both coasts of the gulf of Bothnia, till the Swedish settlers displaced the Quens, first from West, and afterwards partly from East Bothnia, the Fennic name of which (Kainu) reminds us of its former possessors.

Another wild race, the Carelians, appear sometimes at war, sometimes in league with the former, addicted to war and piracy, supporting themselves otherwise by their herds and the chase. They had spread from the inner side of the gulf of Finland (called from them the Carelian), over Eastern Finland to the extremity of Finnmark⁵; roaming also into Swedish Norrland, where, about 1350, twenty Laplanders and Carelians of Kemi and Simo were baptized in a great vat at Tornea by a Swedish archbishop. South of the gulf of Finland we come upon the Esthonian (Esterne). This name, taken from their easterly situation in reference to Scandinavia, was once applied to the whole country between the Vistula and the gulf of Finland⁶, occupied at different times by various tribes, Goths, Finns, Letts; it remained at length with the Fennic race still so called, which in ancient times extended through Courland into Prussia⁷. The old sagas represent intercourse between the Swedes and Esthonians as very early established. Through the country of the latter king Suedgar marched when he repaired to the East in quest of Odin; Yngwar ravaged Estland, and was slain in battle with the natives; his followers erected his barrow on the sea-shore, 'that the waves of the Baltic might chant their songs to please the king of the Swedes.' When they were delivered from the fear of Swedish

domination, the Esthonians, leagued with the cognate tribes of the Kurians⁸ and Carelians⁹, harassed the Swedish coasts with their piracies.

Such are the Fennic tribes, whose memories have survived from the heathen ages of the north. One still remains, a branch of the Esthonians, the Tavasters or Tavastrians¹, mentioned by this name in Swedish records of a later day. They are not, however, to be regarded as younger in Finland than the cognate populations; every thing seems rather to show that they were the main stock. They inhabited the southern and most fertile division of the country², where agriculture was first introduced, and whence it extended, by steps so slow as to be easily traced, to northern and eastern Finland; and opened an intercourse with Sweden, by way of the Åland isles and Roslagen, earlier than any of their brethren. To their territory the name of Finland was applied; in distinction from the more savage Finnmark, which may be proved to have once reached farther south than is stated in any of the sagas, to Upper Tavastland³. These occupants of Southern Finland, apparently somewhat advanced in culture beyond the Carelians and Quens, are not mentioned under the heathendom by any distinctive appellation; they were designated by our forefathers under the general name of Finns, and in their present dwelling-places they are at least as old as the furthest period to which the recollections of the north extend.

The name of FINNS was from a very early time, and is still, common to an important branch of the population of the north; it included not only several Fennic races, properly so called, but the Lapps, who were styled Finns by the Norwegians and Icelanders. Many have maintained that the name originally appertained only to the Laplanders. The Finns of Tacitus, it is said, were really Lapps, as were the Finns of Scandinavia itself, mentioned by Icelandic and Norwegian writers, and the name was only extended by confusion to the rest of the so-called Finnish tribes in Finland Proper. If such occurred, it is at least in part imputable to the nations themselves. Even at the present day, both Finns and Lapps give themselves the same national appellation, Suome, Same, a word signifying pro-

skerry, Est-cliff), and the Tavasta Sconce in the parish of Skyllinge. Russian Chronicles mention the Tavastrians under the year 1042, but with the name of Jämer, which is the Russian pronunciation of their own Häme.

² That Finland Proper, with Tavastland (and afterwards also a part of East Bothnia), in a word, South and West Finland, were tenanted by one and the same Fennic race (the Tavastic), distinct from the Savolaxars and Carelians, is a conclusion confirmed by the dialect. Porthan ad Paul. Just. 87, 88.

³ "The Lapp-rings (Lappingarne), or circles of loose stones, which abound in the forests throughout a great part of Upper Finland, are manifestly vestiges of the habitations of Lappie families. The stones are placed in a circle, exactly as usual in the Lappic kata (cot), where the Lapp has his hearth, round which he and his family sit and lie. Many such circles are found in Orihvesi and other parishes adjacent towards the north, but none further south. This seems a clear proof that the Lapland or Skritefinnia of former days stretched to this point, and that the land of the Tavastrians, who practised agriculture, began here." Lencquist, on the former sojourn of the Lapps in Finland, Abo Transactions for 1778, p. 142-143. We can besides, as has been remarked, trace the extension of agriculture from Lower Tavastland upwards.

³ King Alfred and Fundin Noregur.

⁴ Egil's Saga, c. 14.

⁵ The coast of Russian Lapland was formerly called Karelastrand, also Tre and Tre-nase, whence the name of Trefinns or Terfinns.

⁶ In the ninth century Estland still stretched to the Vistula. Travels of Otter and Ulftsen.

⁷ Thunmann (Untersuch., &c.), Inquiry into the ancient History of some Northern Peoples, p. 18-20. "We find still both in Korland and Semgallen, considerable remains of these old Finnish inhabitants."

⁸ Permistä Estonibus Chori. Saxo, xiv. p. 329.

⁹ Compare Porthan, Paul. Just. Chron 49-50.

¹ First spoken of under this name in the bull of Pope Gregory IX. of December 9th, 1237. The name is here written Tavesti, and in the great Rhyme-Chronicle often Tavester, in which beyond doubt lies the tribal appellation, Ester. The first syllable Tav is more hard to explain. It is, perhaps, a translation of Häme, the indigenous name of Tavastland, from Häim, in the Esthonian tongue, wet, marshy. The same notion lies in the Icelandic Thá (read thau), which means not only a thaw, but also thawed, miry ground. Some memorials of the piracy of the Esthonian and Tavasters are met with in Södermanland, for instance Esta-skär, Esta-klippa (Est-

perly morass⁴. *Ssum* in old Russian, is the same word, and is likewise applied to both Finns and Lapps⁵. The Fenni of Germany, spoken of by Tacitus, the Finnar of Scandinavia, are but translated names expressing the same idea, which recurs besides in the denominations of several Fennic tribes⁶, marking the nature of their original dwelling places, and applicable to them in a great degree at this day. This national name is therefore really of common application; it belonged even of old to all Northern Europe. Although Tacitus, according to his conception, places the Finns nearly in the present Lithuania, and Ptolemy stations his on the Vistula, this need not prevent us from supposing that the Fennic population extended to the extreme north, for the whole of Northern Europe had no existence for the Romans, and the reports which reached them as to its inhabitants relate to regions lying much farther to the south. As the geographical knowledge of the ancients increased, the Finns appear further to the north, inhabiting the Thule of Procopius and the Scanzia of Jordanes, and in the account of the latter are divided into several stems. It is difficult exactly to distinguish Lapps and Finns in old times, since only the latter general appellation is employed, as well from the incompleteness of the accounts, as from the very nature of the question, affecting a race of men whose antiquity has no history apart from that of their neighbours. If we look to their present condition, a marked diversity appears. The Finns still refuse to acknowledge their consanguinity to the Laplanders; the latter think it an honour that they can claim kindred with the Finns. Every man who has himself resided among these races in Northern Scandinavia, must have received a lively impression of the great differences, both physical and moral, prevailing between them. Whatever weight may with reason be laid on these variations of aspect, still the admitted and indisputable affinity of their languages evinces on the

other hand that both belong to the same stock. A singular mixture of selfishness, mistrust, and childish feeling characterizes the Lapp; a decided and energetic temperament, with a warmth that is often sullen, the Finn. "The man by his tongue, and the ox by his horn," says the Finnish proverb. The energy of the Finns applied to cultivation, and clearing the ground by fire, a sort of nomadic agriculture, appears to have been practised by them from very early times. The Lapps of the mountains, on the contrary, are so engrained in their primitive wildness, that, despite the provident spirit of Christianity, and the cares of a paternal government, they offer the spectacle of a people dying off before cultivation. Yet the process of transition from one state to the other may be observed. The old Quens and Carelians lived in the forests after the fashion of the Lapps, chiefly on the products of the chase, and from this cause *raha*, skin, is used at present, both in the Finnish and Lappic tongues, to denote money, the chief representative of value. Not more than a century and a half ago, the Finns in the interior of East Bothnia and Kajana lived with their rein-deers almost after the fashion of Laplanders⁷. Fisher Lapps as they are called, often of Finnish extraction, are still found in Kemi Lappmark⁸. Lapps are first heard of within the limits of Scandinavia in the twelfth century; this appellation seems to have originated with the Finns themselves, and is probably oldest on the other side of the Baltic. Lapps, as a frontier people, which is implied in the word⁹, have been found among and near the Finns, as far south as Esthland, and afterwards in Finland, from the inner side of the gulf¹, to the Icy Sea. From Upper Finland they were driven out by the Tavastrians chiefly, in times not yet very distant; this is that expulsion from Finland, of which the Lapps themselves retain the tradition². In Northern Scandinavia we again meet with them,

⁴ Fenn in old Swedish. Compare Ancient History of Sweden, 415.

⁵ Lehrberg (Untersuch. &c.), Inquiry into the Ancient History of Russia, 223, 212. No one is more given to perplex a simple subject than this otherwise meritorious writer. The Lapps are said to have translated the Scandinavian Fenn by the Finnish Suomi, and taken the latter (pronounced Same), for their own name; but when the Finns learned this, they took the word from the Lapps, and made the name their own. This is nearly the result of the views advanced by Lehrberg, l. c. p. 210—212.

⁶ Suomi, of which the Lappic Same is only a varied pronunciation, is an abbreviation of Suomenmaa, and this again of Suomicheennmaa; closely translated, the land of the marsh-dwellers, from *suo*, marsh, *mies*, gen. *miehen*, man, and *maa*, land. Rühls, Finland and its Inhabitants; augmented by A. J. Arwidson. Stockholm, 1827, ii. l. Hence the Finns of Finland call themselves Suomalaiset; the Estonians, Soomelased; the Lapps, Sabmelads. The same idea lies in Kainuolaiset, from *kaino*, low, as the Finns of Kajana, and Hämelaiset, as the Tavastians style themselves. Karjalaiset, the indigenous name of the Carelians, comes from *karja*, cattle, whence *karjainen*, herdsman (*laiset* is a termination answering to *ish*).

⁷ Joh. Cajani, Account of the Visitation in the Parish of Paldamo in 1663. Abo Transactions, 1777, p. 127.

⁸ Wahlberg on Kemi Lappmark, 25.

⁹ From the Fennic *loppu*, *finis*, *extremities*. Tornæus, Scheffer, and also Lehrberg look upon this derivation as probable. In the Lappic, *lapp*, *lappa* means a cleft or cavity

(probably the same word with the foregoing), and *lappot*, to be lost. The Lapps, as is known, dislike this name, but are pleased at being called Finns.

¹ Missionaries in Esthland, from Riga, mention a "provincia extrema," named Lappagunda, in the year 1220. Gruber, Orig. Liv. 143. In a bull of Gregory IX. of 1230, the heathens of Carelia, Ingria, Lappia and Valtia, are forbidden to carry arms, in order that they may be debarred from practising cruelties against the Swedish Christians. Thus the Lapps are here mentioned with the Carelians, Ingrians, and Valtians (the last belong to the district of Kopia and Inggermanland), all of them unquestionably Finns, and must have been situated in their vicinity. In Finland the former presence of Lapps is often discoverable from the names of places, as Lappinjärvi (Lapp lake), Lappinsalmi (Lapp bay), Lappinkangas (Lapp ridge), Lappinlinna (Lapp tower), Lappinrautiot (Lapp cairn), Lappinranta (Lapp strand, also called Wildman-strand); and in the Swedish parishes Lappträsk (Lapp marsh), Lappfjård (Lapp firth), Lappwikk (Lapp bay), Lappdal (Lapp dale), &c. From Tavastland upwards, their remains and memorials are numerous.

² This tradition, among the Swedish Laplanders, has a two-fold reference. They speak partly of an expulsion from Finland (Scheffer, Tornæus), partly of one from Sweden (Hogström). According to the latter, they maintain that the Swede and the Lapp were originally brothers. A storm burst; the Swede was affrighted, and took shelter under a board, which God made into a house; but the Lapp remained without. Since that time the Swedes dwell in houses, but the Lapps under the bare sky. See Note C.

blended with other Finns, although in a subject state. Among the inhabitants of Finnmark are expressly noted several races of "Finns, with Lapps and Carelians³," whence it appears that the Finnish name was used in a more comprehensive, as well as a restricted application. Below Finnmark was Quenland, where the Kajanners or Quens roamed, but among them too, and in contact with them, Lapps are found, for in an inroad by the former tribe into Norway, these are represented as opposing them and being defeated⁴.

Among these nomadic races the first Swedish settlers in Norrland shew themselves, at first partaking, afterwards levying tribute upon the produce of their hunts, herds, and fisheries, but from the beginning distinguished by fixed dwelling-places, husbandry, and trade; wherefore the Lapp deduced the name by which he spoke of the Swedes from the relations under which these first became known to him⁵. Expulsion was the lot reserved for the wanderer, but the process was of gradual accomplishment. The new settlers mostly followed the coast-line, and the interior long remained in the same condition as of old. In the eleventh century we find a Swedish prince going to dispossess the Quens⁶, and in the same age Helsingland was still called the main seat of the Skridfinns⁷. They roamed over wide tracts of wilderness into the forests of Vermeland⁸, and were probably the same with those Lapps, of whom memorials and traces are still to be found in Dalecarlia⁹. That Lapps and Finns therefore were found formerly as at present in Norrland and the Lappmarks, does not admit of doubt. Probably this also applies partly to middle Sweden, although their position is more obscure, cultivation being here older, and the nomadic life passing away before it was reached by the dawning light of history. The isles of Aland and Quarken have

been from early times stations of transit between Sweden and Finland. Swedish colonies found their way by this passage, some along the Gulf of Finland to Nyland and Russia, others to East Bothnia; and earlier, in remote antiquity, Lapps and Finns had crossed by the same route to Sweden¹. Aland, with a Swedish population which, as the graves show, existed in the age of cremation, is full of traces of Lappic and Finnish inhabitants still more ancient². From these islands they arrived in Roslagen, and Northern Upland, to many places in which they have given names³, and it is probable that the Finns, properly so called, spread farther into the country. Their former intercourse with Roslagen is the more undoubted, as they applied this name to the whole of Sweden⁴. That during the middle age they were still to be found in the interior, may be inferred from the tradition which ascribes to the Finns the discovery of the chief mines of middle Sweden⁵. Their manner of living in the forests, where the mining districts were afterwards formed, gave currency to this notion. The preparation of marsh-iron was known to them from an early period⁶; an old Finnish Rune sings of the birth of iron⁷. In the Fennic tongue every handicraftsman is called a smith⁸, and Finnish swords are mentioned in the Icelandic sagas. The most famous smith known to the ancient north, and celebrated in the Edda, is the son of a Finnish king on the borders of Suithiod⁹, and in later times the Finns retained the praise of excelling in the labours of the forge. The most southerly vestige of Finns Proper in Scandinavia is to be found in the saga of the discovery of Norway; which represents a chief of the Quens as finding kinsmen on the little island of Lessö in the Cattegat.

Yet the Lapps and Finns appear to have stood in dissimilar relations to ancient Suithiod. That intercourse subsisted at an early period between

Description of Aland. From the name of Jomala (God), it may be inferred that here was a Finnish altar. Yet several barrows are found in this parish, and of this manner of interment I know of no example among the Finns.

³ In Roslagen and Northern Upland are found the names Finnsta, Finnaker, Finnsjö, Finskog; and in the parish of Häfverö the so-called Lapp-pits.

⁴ Ruotzi or Ruotzimaa, Sweden; Ruotzilainen, a Swede. Among the Lapps, who adopted these appellations, Ruothi and Ruotteladz.

⁵ Thus, according to tradition, the mine of Falun is said to have been discovered by a Finn from Thorsang. The silver mine at Sala was also, it is said, discovered by Finns, who kept it a secret; and the town of Sala had its name from the Fennic salan, to hide, or sala, secret. An old mine at this place is still called Finn-pit, and Finns inhabited the miners' village to the time of Gustavus Adolphus. The Finns now living in the forests of Dalecarlia are the descendants of later immigrants, who all received letters of denization from Charles IX. and Gustavus Adolphus.

⁶ For marsh-ore (myrmalm), which our ancestors called gräsjern, the Finns have a native appellation, *hålmå*. Iron in the Fennic and Lappic is called rauta, route, and the hundred of Rautalambi in Finland has its name from rauta and lammi, lake or marsh—thus from marsh-iron.

⁷ Rautan synty. Compare Schröter, Fennic Runes. An incantation song in general is called synty (birth), because, according to the popular notion, in order to cast out evil, we must first be able to tell its origin.

⁸ Seppä.

⁹ Compare Völundar Quida in the elder Edda.

³ Ancient History of Sweden, 463, n. 4.

⁴ Fundin Noregur.

⁵ A Swede generally is styled in the Lappic tongue Laddelats, which, both by application and derivation means land-dweller; also Taro, tarolats, tradesman, from tarrohet, taret, to sell. (Tariff? *Tarf*, Swed., requirement, want.)

⁶ Scholiast to Adam of Bremen, de sit. Dan. p. 78, in Lindenbrog, Script. Septentr. p. 59. Quenland is here, by the same misapprehension as in Adam, styled Terra feminum.

⁷ Quorum (scil. Scritifingorum) caput Helsingaland. Adam. Brem. That the Swedes had already begun to settle upon the coasts, is attested both by Adam and Sturleson; for his expression as to the Suiones, "longis terrarum spatii regnant," that is, far above Birca, would be unsuitable, if they had not already before his time crossed the Dal river, and begun the colonisation of Norrland.

⁸ Vermilani cum Scritifingis. Adam. Brem.

⁹ At the cattle-stalls of Finnbo, near Lake Hinsén, in the parishes of Svärdsjö and Sundborn, there are graves of small size overgrown with grass, which the inhabitants call Lapp-graves.

Among the islands of Quarken, which even on the Finnish side have most of them Swedish names, though with some Fennic among them, the so-called Lapp-oren (Lapp-isles), lie at the outermost point; and in the Aland isles, on the Finnish side, in the midst of Fennic and Swedish names, we find Lappvesi and Lappö.

² Aland has a great number of barrows, in which burned earthen jars have been found, and many names preserve the memory of Lappic and Fennic inhabitants; for example, Lappböle, Koskinpää, Jomala; Finnstrom, Finnby, Finnö, Finnbo, Finholm. Compare Radloff (Beskrifning om Aland),

the Swedes and both these tribes is manifest, if only from the influence of our language on those spoken by them, which radically differ from it so widely; an influence remarkably great on the Lappic¹, and important also on the Fennic, which has borrowed from the Swedish all words having reference to civic government, and culture². All the Finns Proper who have been found in Scandinavia immigrated from the eastern side of the gulf of Bothnia and out of Finland. This can be said only in part of the Lapps, who consider themselves as the aboriginal denizens of Sweden³ and Norway⁴, but whom history cannot accompany so far back. The Norwegians and Icelanders, from whom the oldest accounts have come to us, became earlier acquainted with them than with the Finns of Finland, with whom on the other hand the old Swedes were oftenest brought in hostile or amicable contact. By the former, therefore, the name of Finns was applied chiefly to the Lapps, and such were the Finns whom they speak of as scattered in the ninth century along the whole frontier between Sweden and Norway. Such, consequently, were also the Scridfinns whom Adam of Bremen places northwest of the Swedes above the Vermelanders, and therefore in the present Dalecarlia. So too the Finns whose first abode was in the old frontier forests of West-Gothland⁵, after whom the Finn heaths or wolds of Smaland were already named in the sixth century⁶. Old Sweden had thus its Finn woods, like that of modern days. In these the Lapps retained their stations, and the Finns also partially occupied them, until, surrounded and

cut off by advancing cultivation, they were either extirpated or blended with the Swedes, of which several later settlements of Fennic immigrants in the forests of Sweden furnish examples. So late as the eleventh century, eye-witnesses relate⁷ that the mountainous tracts of Sweden had other inhabitants than the cultivated districts. In those dwelt a wild people, who sometimes yearly, and sometimes every third year, broke from their unknown lurking places, and spread devastation over the levels, unless vigorously opposed, retreating with equal haste. These remnants of Fennic races are demonstrably the Jotuners or Jotuns of the heathen Scalds⁸ and of Snorro Sturleson⁹; and probably also the Huns of later popular legends, to whom the names of so many places in Southern Sweden refer.

Of the Swedish polity we will here merely sketch the outlines, deferring their further development until we approach the consideration of the old laws, which in their present shape belong to the Christian period, although resting on principles of higher antiquity.

Among all the Germanic races, the Scandinavians pre-eminently retained the conception of the divine origin of the first social union. Their earliest rulers are styled Diar, Drottmar, denominations applying in common to gods, priests, and judges. With twelve such did Odin sit in judgment, and with twelve of the wisest men the Upsala king uttered his decrees in his court¹. The great yearly sacrifices assembled and united the people. At the place of their celebration peace sprung up with Swedish settlements, so that few or no Fennic appellations were preserved in those quarters where were formerly settlements or wolds of the Finns; even real Finnish villages of the parishes of Ny and Dalby in Vermeland bear among their Swedish neighbours names quite different from those of the Finns themselves. In Norrland, also in the parish of Nether Tornea, where the Finns are most numerous, the Swedish names of the hamlets are often translations of the Fennic. This custom with our ancestors, of changing Fennic into Swedish appellations, is so old, that the Sagas, though full of intimations as to the intercourse between the two races, have not preserved a single Fennic name.

¹ Ab his, qui hæc se vidisse testantur. Ad. Brem. Hist. Eccles. c. 232.

⁸ Thor is called by the heathen Scalds the "overthrower of the altars of the Fornjotic god," "the conqueror of the mountain god," "the slayer of the mountain-wolves, the hill-folk, the sons of the rocks, the Jotnar." He cast to the ground, they say, "the king of the people of the earth-holes, and the chief of the Finns on the fells." See the passages cited in "Ancient History of Sweden," 274.

⁹ Heimskr. Saga of Harald the Fair-haired, c. 25. Many proofs may be brought to shew that this was generally the meaning of the Icelanders. So for example Snorro says that Norway stretched from the Göta river to Finnmark; Heimskr. Saga of St. Olave, c. 59. This is manifestly the same boundary line given in the Fundin Noregur (in Biörner, p. 6), where it is said that Norway is the name of the whole country from Jotunheim southwards to Alfheim. Jotunheim and Finnmark were therefore one and the same. But the first, which was the mythic denomination, receded continually towards the north-east. Jotunheim, as the opposite of Manheim or Suithiod, originally bounded the latter on the north, and embraced even Swedish Norrland, formerly inhabited by Quens and Lapps. Here, too, lay the fabulous Hunaland, which in Ketil Heng's Saga, c. 6, is mentioned in connexion with Gestrilund, although this Hunaland, like Jotunheim, was removed higher to the north. The Huns of the popular legends mean heathens or barbarians generally.

¹ Saga of St. Olave, c. 96.

¹ Of 11,433 words contained in the Lexicon Lapponicum of Lindahl and Öhring (Holm. 1780), about one tenth, by computation, are borrowed from the Swedish, notwithstanding the fundamental dissimilarity of both languages.

² For example; kuningas (konung, king), tuomari (domare, judge), valtakunta (välde, power), ruthinas (drott), esivalta (authority), sakko (sak, böter, plea, fine), kaupungi (köping, place), tori (torg, market), markina (marknad, fair), and others; also the names of most handicrafts except of the smith and weaver (kanguri). On the other hand, the terms for cattle-breeding, hunting, navigation, agriculture, are indigenous. Though the northern sagas speak of Finnish kings, it is only by a transference of this name to the ideas of father of a family, overseer, ruler, for which there are Fennic words.

³ Compare Ancient History of Sweden, 419, n. 9.

⁴ The Lapps of Norway, especially those with fixed abodes, who desire to be called Finns, and condemn the Norsemen, as well as the wandering Lapps, maintain that they are the true old inhabitants of all Norway. Rask on the Ancient Northern Language, p. 114.

⁵ In Adam of Bremen, Finnved. Compare above. In Kind's Hundred of West-Gothland, one parish still bears the name of Finne-kumla.

⁶ Finnaithæ, in Jordanes, is so like Fineyde, that we can recognize their identity. It has been objected, that in the Finnwold (Finn heden), there are no Fennic or Lappic names remaining; some, however, may be found. Sulivara, a village in the parish of Angulstad, may be named. Even were this the only example, it should be considered that names of estates and granges matter little in this question. Those of mountains, forests, lakes, streams, the original features of nature, are of greater importance, although even their appellations are changed. The Swedes were always and from of old peculiarly the cultivators of the soil, and with their labour they everywhere baptized it, even where others had preceded them. I am myself from a province (Vermeland), where there have been Finn woods from the time of Charles IX., when Finns were brought from Savolax in Finland to Vermeland, a kind of colonization, of which there seem to have been prior examples here; but Swedish names always

was enforced², and mere participation therein imported peace between the rival races³. Under the shield of peace the sacrifice with the attendant banquet was prepared; deliberations were held, sentence passed, and traffic conducted, for which reason *Ting*, the old name of these conventions, means both sacrifice, banquet, diet, assize, and fair⁴. Odin it is said took possession of the land by erecting a temple and sacrificing after the manner of the *Asæ*, and the people paid tribute to him, that he might sacrifice in their behalf for a plentiful harvest. Thus the right of property, as well as agriculture, proceeded from the gods. The herds of our forefathers constituted their principal wealth; whence they used the word (*få*, cattle) as synonyms with property in general, and sought for no other standard of value. Upon the celebration of the great national sacrifices in Upsala was founded the claim and right of the Swedes to give a sovereign to the whole realm, for the Upsala king was guardian of the holy altar, as the heathen *Seald* calls him⁵. The household no less than the commonwealth was based upon the worship of the gods, and therefore the particle *ve*, *vi*, occurring in the name of so many places, means both a dwelling generally and a sanctuary⁶. The father of a family, on the pillars surrounding whose high seat were carved the images of the gods⁷, was called himself, like the prince, *Drott*, and was priest, judge, and leader for his household. Marriage, as conformable to law, was distinguished from irregular connexions, but did not exclude them. Along with his wedded wife, who was called *Adalkona*⁸, a man might without blame keep concubines; but the heritable estate passed to the legitimate children, although the illegitimate were not otherwise excluded from all inheritance. As with the Greeks and Romans, and among all Pagans, the father was free either to expose or bring up a new-born child; in the latter case he raised it from the earth in his arms, and had it sprinkled with water and named in the presence of his chief kinsmen. A purchase concluded with the father or the nearest relative (though it was rather a symbolical expression for contract generally), was the legal form of matrimony, and made the children legitimately born (*lagfödda*). The legally married spouse, as distinguished from the woman who had been seduced or stolen away in

war, was said to be won 'by gifts and speech'⁹, or was, as in Homer, bought with presents¹. The gods took to themselves wives after the same fashion². Thor's hammer, laid upon the knee of the veiled bride, inaugurated her into her new destiny³, as the same sign consecrated the funeral pile on which the dead were burned⁴. The god's mace is probably symbolized also by the wedge-shaped pebbles, so often met with in old graves, and called by the common people Thor's wedges (*Thorviggar*). Adoration of the gods, as among almost all nations, was united with the commemoration of the dead. Hence their assemblies for religious solemnities were called *höga-tings*⁵, as the sacrifices were for the most part offered at the barrows in which their relics were inclosed. Here also were held the *kemp-games*, athletic sports of a jovial and martial character; whence the sagas speak of the play-grounds (*leke-valla*) in the neighbourhood of the *ting*-sites, of which names and customs still observed in some places revive the remembrance. After the introduction of Christianity, too, we find the churches, in allusion to this old usage, not unfrequently built in the vicinity of heathen places of burial. For this life as for that to come, an oath was regarded as the strongest bond. After death, the perjurer wandered with the murderer and the adulterer "in streams of venom, at the strand of corpses remote from the sun, in the castle which is woven of the spines of snakes"⁶, and among the common people of Sweden a saying yet holds, that no grass will grow on the grave of a perjurer.

The same religion which in certain conjunctures lent its sanction to peace, made vengeance for bloodshed the holiest of duties⁷, and thereby generated incessant feuds, the bitterness of which was little mitigated by the determinate fines through which the laws opened a path to reconciliation. A violent death was deemed so pleasing to the gods, that it was not sought for in the field of battle only; "to gash oneself to Odin with the sword" was deemed better than to die of sickness or of old age. Those who were advanced in years precipitated themselves from lofty cliffs, which thence received the appellation of *kith-rocks*, and so "fared to *Val-halla*"⁸. Three such cliffs in West-Gothland and Bleking still bear the latter name⁹, and to another

¹ Mundi-keypt.

² Frey's consort was *gulli-keypt*, gold-bought, *Ægisd*. In the elder *Edda*, str. 42. This too is Homeric. When Vulcan surprised Mars and Venus, he demanded back the bride-gifts from Jupiter. *Odys.* viii., 318.

³ *Hammarsheimt* in the elder *Edda*, str. 32.

⁴ Thor consecrates with his hammer the funeral pile of Balder.

⁵ On the *Höga-ting* see *Heimskr.*, Saga of Harald Gylle, c. 2. Hence some barrows are still called *Tingshögar*, as for example one by Old Upsala. To wrestle on these barrows is a custom not yet extinct. See Note D.

⁶ *Voluspá*, str. 44, 45.

⁷ The heritage could not be taken possession of, or the funeral-feast held, before the slain man was avenged. *Vatnsdæla Saga*, c. 23.

⁸ *Ætte-stupor*. Compare *Götrek's* and *Rolf's Saga*, c. 1. 2, which mentions one such in West-Gotland. The word is from *stapi*, rock.

⁹ Hard by the parish church of *Hellaryd* in Bleking is a steep rock called *Valhall*, down from which, as the tradition runs, men formerly threw themselves into the *Val loch*, which lies at its foot. A similar precipice is found upon the hill of *Valhall* by the lake *Strengen*, in *Kylingared* parish of

² A place thus set under a seal of peace was called *Helgi stadr*, holy place, and *Gritha stadr*, place of peace, even among the gods, who likewise kept their court. *Edda*, *Dänisaga*, 49.

³ The participation of the *Fylkiskings* in the sacrifices was a proof that they were at peace with the over-king or *drott*. *Ynglingasaga*, c. 42.

⁴ Hence the word "*ting*" still occurs in the names of several fairs.

⁵ *Thiodolf*, in the *Ynglingasaga*, c. 24.

⁶ Compare *Hallenberg* (*Anmärkingar*, &c.), Remarks on Lagerbring's Swedish History, ii. 285. If it were a temple, the name of the god to whom it was dedicated was prefixed, as *Odensvi*, *Frösvi*, *Thorsvi*, &c. The terminations *lund*, *sal*, *hög*, in local names, also generally mark old places of sacrifice.

⁷ *Eyrbyggja Saga*, c. 4.

⁸ More frequently there was only one, but there are examples of kings, as *Harald the Fair-haired*, having several wives.

⁹ *Medh mundok medb mæli*. Law of West-Gothland, Art. B. f. 7. *Mund* was the gift or purchase-money, answering to *hemfylgd*, the portion which the bride received from her parents.

the remarkable statement attaches, that the people, after dances and sports, threw themselves headlong from its top into the lake ¹, as the ancients relate of the Hyperboreans and Seythians². Domestic legends even inform us, that if a man became bed-ridden and frail with age, his kinsmen would assemble and put him to death with a club³.

The joys of Valhalla were reserved for the free-born, and especially the noble and rich warrior. To arrive in Valhalla with a numerous and well-approved escort, was honourable. To come with great property secured happiness; for so much wealth as a man brought with him to the funeral pile, or was buried in the earth, the like happiness he enjoyed in a future life, and as no inherited but only acquired treasures were allowed to accompany the dead man to the grave, it was this belief which induced the inhabitant of the north to devote so great a part of his life to robbery and piracy. On the other hand "it was not good to journey poor to Odin"⁴; so that there was reason to doubt whether the poor man was considered worthy of a place in his hall, in case he came not from the field of battle in the bloody train of a great lord. Slaves at least were decidedly excluded, and after death were relegated to Thor⁵.

In their capacity of members of the commonwealth, the people were recognized only as bearing arms; they were called Sveahär, or the host of the Swedes⁶, and Suithiod means the army-folk. The great Ting of Upsala was called *Allskärjarting*, that is, an assembly of the whole army, whereof part every year marched to war, after the completion of the spring sacrifice, under the command of its princes. Therefore Upland, the chief seat of Odin's followers and the first Suithiod, was pre-eminently the land of the people or the army, and embraced the three so-called Folklands. To the same warlike polity appertained the division into Hundreds or Hårads, words which have the same meaning⁷; a like arrangement is mentioned by Tacitus among the Germans⁸. But for the knowledge of the ancient social fabric of the north, the best illustrations are supplied by the Icelanders, among whom we see this constitution again reviving as it were before our eyes, in a multitude of small associations united among themselves, and established, as in the mother-land, for purposes of

common defence, judicature, and worship. When the first colonist approached the shores of Iceland, he threw the props of his high seat into the sea, and vowed to settle in the spot where they should come to land; and this proceeding, by which the gods, as in old Suithiod, first took possession of their new home, was said to be done after the ancient manner. When a place of abode had been selected, fire was usually carried round the tract which was to be occupied, and this was called 'consecrating the land to oneself.' The leader now divided the land he had chosen among his relatives, friends, and followers. The rank which he had filled on ship-board among the crew followed him to land, and remained hereditary to his descendants, although with some admixture of the elective principle. From his band of warriors, now settled around him⁹, the hundred was formed; a temple was erected, and maintained by common contributions, at which the Ting was held; the legal oath was taken at the altar on a ring dyed with the blood of the victim, and with invocations of the gods¹; in the public assemblies the chief wore this ring on his hand; and from his priestly functions arose his title of Godordsmann (the man of God's word), that is, speaker in the name of the gods, and therefore judge and reconciler. In this description we recognise the chiefs of the Hundred in old Suithiod, and their Hundred Courts, where, as among the Greeks of the heroic age, who have so much in common with the old Scandinavians, the judges sat under the open sky in a holy circle upon stones². The old title of this functionary was Herse³; a higher office was that of Jarl. Both bore the title originally attached to princely rank⁴, and were hence also called kings of the hundred. Conjointly they formed a kind of nobility; for Konung denotes in our old language a man of birth⁵. The kings of Upsala, when this title had become usual instead of that of drott, were distinguished from the rest by a paramount sovereign authority; and it was the attempt to outroot the various subordinate princes which overturned the dynasty of the Ynglings. Under that of Ivar they ceased to exist as rulers, but there was still no scarcity of kings, for all the sons assumed the title, even though without the dominion. It was their prerogative to gather around themselves a retinue

West-Gothland. At Halleberg in the same province the upper part of the hill is called by the people Vahlehall (Valhall), and it is said that those who threw themselves over were afterwards washed in a pond now almost overgrown, called Onskälla, Odin's fountain.

¹ See the account of the rock Stafva Hall in Lind-kog, Description of the diocese of Skara, iv. 106.

² Plin. Hist. Nat. iv. 12. Pompon. Melae Situ Orbis, iii. 5.

³ Such a club (called ætte-klubba, kith-club), with the tradition of the purpose to which it was formerly applied, was long preserved, and perhaps still is, at the farm of Trullerum, in the parish of Norra Vi, Hundred of Ydre, in East-Gothland.

⁴ Göttræk's and Rolf's Saga, c. 2. (Valhalla is hall of the chosen or wale. T.)

⁵ Harbardsliöd in the elder Edda, str. 32.

⁶ Saga of St. Olave, c. 96.

⁷ Här was a term for a number of at least a hundred. Edda.

⁸ Centeni ex singulis pagis.

⁹ Such a band following a particular leader was called Sveit, Suet (Law of East Gothland, B. B. f. 8.), or Suit. From *suit*, war following, army, and *thiod*, people, the name of Suithiod was probably formed.

¹ This oath was called baug-eid (ring oath). Havamal, str. 112. Also temple-oath. The Chronicon Saxonicum ed. Gibson relates that the most solemn oath of the northern heathens who ravaged England was taken upon the holy ring.

² Iliad xviii. 504. The old Domare-ringar, or doomsters' rings, so often met with in Sweden, and the expression of the old laws, 'to come to ting and ring' (Law of Westmanland, Manh. B. f. 75.) are evidences of this custom. (See Note E.) The inner ring was surrounded by an outer one of hazel stangs, bound together with willow rods, called *veibönd*, the holy bands. Whosoever broke them was a violator of the sanctuary. From Egil's Saga we learn that a judicial process might be annulled by such an occurrence. (The *hårads höfðing*, and *hårads ting* of the text are now the judge and court of a district. T.)

³ So for example in the Landnama Saga, one Gorm is mentioned, married to Thora, daughter of king Eric of Upsala, as a powerful Swedish Herse.

⁴ The Tignar-name, or title of dignity. Kings of the härad or fylke (district, explained by some to be the same word as folk).

⁵ *Konr* means a man of birth; *Konung*, his son. (Hence by abbreviation also *kong* or *kung*. T.)

of champions and warriors; they were called host-kings, sea-kings, and were in right of their birth leaders of those warlike bands which devastated the European coasts. This uninterrupted devotion to war in the remaining houses of kingly rank, appears to have induced the people to elect from their own number guardians of their interests, for their defence against the arbitrary violences of the sovereign.

Thus arose the power of the Lagman⁶, which attained such great importance towards the end of the heathen period. They were chosen by the people, but did not venture to assume the Tignar name, which began to be confined to the officers of the royal household. The Lagmen, themselves peasants, stood at the head of this class in their own province, and had the chief voice in its court (land-ting), where they expounded the law with the best skilled and most discreet of the people. They spoke also in the name of the people to the king, in the great assemblies of the nation⁷.

The odalbonders, or free-born yeomen, composed the body of the nation, or more correctly of the different nations, for the inhabitants of the various provinces became dissociated from one another by distinct codes of laws, administered in each by its own justiciary. There were besides unfree persons and slaves, for the most part captives in war; these were beyond the pale of the law and the land's right, and dependent on the good pleasure of their masters. This might raise them to wealth and power; and we find the slave Tunne, treasurer of king Aun the Aged in Sweden, powerful enough to rise against his son and successor; but they could neither contract legitimate marriages, nor in general acquire property, although their condition was tolerable under a good master. It is related of Erling, a Norwegian herse, that he had prescribed to his slaves a fixed day's work, after the completion of which they were allowed to labour in the evening on their own account till they had earned their ransom, and there were few who did not redeem themselves within three years. With the price of their liberty Erling purchased other slaves; his freedmen he employed in the herring fishery and the like gainful labour, or permitted to build cots and settle in the forest⁸.

The first teachers of Christianity describe old Sweden as a fruitful territory, with wide-stretching woodlands and waters, rich meadows, abounding in honey and herds of kine, which were often tended by the best-born men of the land⁹. Rye and barley-fields are spoken of in the sagas; oats, which according to Pliny the Germans cultivated, must also have been early known in the North; wheat we find as an article of traffic. Mention is made also in ancient records, and sometimes even in the mythic songs, of ploughing both with horses and oxen, of sowing and harvest, of the brewing of beer and mead, and the baking of bread. Malt and butter formed part of the tributes paid to the king at Christmas¹; to eat raw flesh was held a mark of

barbarism². At the sacrificial feasts, to which the peasants brought victuals and beer, when the victims had been slaughtered, the idols, the walls of the temple within and without, and the assembled people, were besprinkled with blood; the boiled flesh and broth were then eaten. Food and drink were blessed with Thor's hammer-sign³. The houses and likewise the temples were for the most part of wood, surrounded with a palisade or fence. In the dwellings of the principal men there were upper chambers under the roof, corresponding to the sleeping-rooms in the houses of the country people in modern times. It was from such an apartment that king Fiolner fell into the vat of mead. The more indigent were sometimes reduced to live in caves. In the houses the floor was of earth, covered on solemn occasions with straw; the fire burned in the middle of the room, and the smoke obtained vent through an aperture called the wind-eye (vindögat) in the roof or wall. By the walls stood long benches with tables before them; on the inner side of these the guests sat, and drank to each other across the chamber, the beer being sent over the fire. The king and queen sat on the chair of state in the midmost place of the bench which was turned towards the sun. On the bench overagainst them was placed the principal guest⁴; men and women sat in pairs and drank with one another. This was the manner of peace; but the usage of the Vikings, on the other hand, was to exclude women from the drinking parties⁵.

Knitting and weaving were as usual the occupations of the female sex. Brynhild wove in gold the famous exploits of Sigurd⁶. Ragnar Lodbroc's standard, with the figure of a raven, to which honours almost divine were paid by the northern pagans, was wrought by his daughters⁷. Examples are found of splendour in arms, raiment, and ornaments, but generally wadmal (the woollen-cloth above-mentioned) was an acceptable present even to a queen. The arts of divination and medicine were also practised by women, who were not entire strangers even to the fatigues of war. The shield-maiden (sköldmö) was dedicated to Odin, and forbidden to wed; her love brought calamity.

The artists most highly esteemed were, as in Homer, the poet, the soothsayer, the leech, the armourer. The weapons and fleets of the Vikings show that iron was in use at an early period. Previously, arms were made of copper or a metal mixed with copper, and the oldest of stone. The implements of flint stone found in graves are often religious symbols.

In the exercise of northern hospitality, the old Swedes surpassed every other people. Piracy brought into the country abundance of foreign wares⁸; and the hoards often dug up show that gold and silver could not have been scarce. The poor were so few, that the first Christians could only find a use for their alms in foreign countries⁹.

² Compare Orvar Odd's Saga.

³ Heimskr. Saga of Haco the Good, c. 16. 17.

⁴ Gunnlaug Ormstungas Saga. Copen. 1778, s. 138.

⁵ Ynglingasaga, c. 41.

⁶ Songs of Sigurd and Brynhild in the elder Edda.

⁷ Asserus, Vita Alfredi.

⁸ Ad. Brem.

⁹ Quia hic minus pauperes inveniuntur. Vita Anscharii,

c. 17.

⁶ Lit. Lawman, now the judge of a province.

⁷ In the Icelandic republic, which presents to us the Scandinavian constitution without a king, the highest office was that of Lagman. In the earliest times he was called alshjargarde, priest of the whole people. (See Note F.)

⁸ Heimskr. Saga of St. Olave, c. 123.

⁹ Ad. Brem.

¹ Saga of St. Olave, c. 253.

The manners of the people were martial and simple, but through piracy and the traffic in men, which was united with it, they were often hardened into cruelty. In the latter days of heathenism they became more and more savage, as the horrid cruelties of the expeditions of the Northmen and their outrages upon women prove¹. Human sacrifices were not seldom the prelude of such an enterprize²; they were commonly a punishment for malefactors, but sometimes the shedding of noble blood was deemed requisite, even the nearest and dearest. "In that time, when men believed in groves and mounds, in holy places and palings"—it is said in the appendix to the old law of Gothland—"then sacrificed they to the heathen gods their sons and daughters, and their cattle, with meat and drink." A Christian related that he had seen seventy-two dead bodies of immolated men and animals hanging in the sacred grove of the temple at Upsala, which shone with gold, and in the interior of which were set up the images of Odin, Thor, and Frey³.

After a thousand years which have passed away

since the first preaching of Christianity in Sweden, Odin is yet remembered in the popular creed, although only as an evil spirit. "Go to Odin," is a curse which is sometimes heard; and the miser who hoards treasure is said to be serving Odin. When unknown noises are heard in the night, as of horses and waggons, Odin, it is said, passes by⁴. Of his hunt and his horses there are stories current in several provinces, for example in Uppland, in Småland, so rich in recollections of the heathen time, and also in Scania and Bleking, where it was usual among the peasants when reaping to leave a sheaf behind them in the field for Odin's steeds⁵. Of Odin, Thor, and his battles with the giants, legends resembling the mythes of the Edda have been transcribed from the recital of the Smålanders⁶. The thunder is termed by the Swedes Thor's din⁷; hills, fountains, and groves, or other spots named after Thor, Odin, and Frey, are met with in every quarter of the land, and a plant, of which the Edda says that it is light as Balder's eye-brow⁸, is still called in Scania Balder's brow⁹.

CHAPTER III.

ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY. CONTESTS OF THE SWEDES AND GOTHs FOR SUPREMACY.

CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY. EXTINCTION OF THE OLD DYNASTY OF UPSALA. STENKIL AND HIS HOUSE, SWERKER, ST. ERIC, AND THE PRINCES OF THEIR FAMILIES.

A. D. 800—1250.

To the emperor Lodovic the Pious, we are told, came messengers from the Swedes, who announced among other tidings that many of their people longed to embrace the Christian faith, that their king was not disinclined to give audience to the teachers who proclaimed it, and it was their wish that such persons might be sent into their country. In that day lived ANSKAR, a Frank by birth, who was devoted at an early age to the monastic life, and became rector of the school attached to the old convent of Corbey in Picardy, and afterwards in that of the more recent foundation of the same name in Westphalia. He was a zealous preacher, and from his childhood had felt a lively call to dedicate himself to the conversion of the heathen. Therefore, when in 826 Harald king of Jutland received baptism in Mentz, and no one would venture to follow him to his dominions to preach the gospel in Denmark, Anskar readily consented to accompany him on that errand; but when this prince was forced to flight, and could no longer give him protection, he opened a school upon the frontier of the Pagans. In this he gave instruction to youths, whom he had himself redeemed from captivity and slavery, and probably he now acquired a knowledge of the Northern tongue. Thus more than two years passed away, until the request of the Swedish envoys again fixed the attention of men upon the young and ardent preceptor. Anskar

was not yet twenty-eight years old¹, when he was summoned to the presence of the emperor Lodovic, who questioned him whether he was willing to visit the distant north, heretofore almost unknown, or known only as the terror of Europe, in order to preach the faith of Christ to its inhabitants. Accepting the mission gladly, he obtained a partaker of his labours, a pious brother of his convent named Withmar, who was still alive when the life of Anskar, from which we extract this account, was written. They journeyed in the company of traders; and probably the Swedish envoys were themselves men of this class, who from their converse with Christians had conceived an inclination for the Christian faith, and had found in their own vocation a motive for wishing to open a peaceful intercourse between their country and the Christian world. Traffic was still conducted with arms in the hand of the merchant, as the envoys experienced to their cost; for on their return they were exposed to repeated attacks from the pirates who swarmed in the waters of the Baltic. In the last of these combats the traders were overpowered, and losing their ship, were obliged to flee to the land. Anskar shared the same fortune, but he was undismayed by calamity and continued his journey. He passed sometimes through forests,

⁵ A similar custom among the peasants of Mecklenburg is mentioned by Frank. Old and New Mecklenburg, p. 57.

⁶ See Topographica on Småland, in the Palmköld manuscript collections in the Library of Upsala.

⁷ Thordön.

⁸ Demisåga, 22.

⁹ Baldersbra. Anthemis Cotula. Svensk Botanik, 429.

¹ Chronologia Anshariana, in Langebek, i. 496.

¹ Compare Sermo Lupi ad Anglos, in Langebek, S. R. Dan. ii., with the accounts of the manners of the Russian Varangians in Karamsin.

² Dudo in Duchesne, Script. Norman.

³ Ad. Brem.

⁴ Loccenius, Antiquit. Sueco-Goth. c. 3.

sometimes in a boat over great lakes, which the narrative likens to the sea, until with his companions he reached Birca, a haven, or as it is also called, a staple and village upon the Mælar lake, where rich merchants resided. Here he was welcomed by king Björn, and found the statements of the messengers confirmed. For many Christian captives lived in these regions who longed eagerly for teachers, and these had imparted the knowledge of Christianity to others also who desired instruction and baptism. Among them was a chief man of the place and the king's councillor, Hergeir, a zealous disciple of the gospel, who erected the first church. This first journey of Anskar to Sweden was made in the autumn of 829; and the following year, which he passed there, was the first of his Christian labours among the Swedes.

This king Björn, to whom ANSKAR came, is without doubt the same called Björn of the Hill (at Haugi) by the Icelanders, who have indeed preserved only his name, with the addition that one of the most famous heathen Scalds, Brage the Aged, dwelt in his court. They assign him a colleague in his office, Edmund, of whom we shall have more to say. Returning from Sweden, Anskar was inducted into the archbishopric lately erected in Hamburg for the conversion of the north, but found this new dignity more fertile in danger than profit. Hamburg, at first only a village, with a castle founded by Charles the Great, among the forests on the bank of the Elbe, was surprised by the Northern sea-kings and destroyed; the archbishop was obliged to abandon his charge. Gautbert, who had been despatched to Sweden as a missionary, was at the same time expelled; Nithard his nephew was killed, and the Christians were persecuted by the above-mentioned king Edmund, who having been restored from exile by Danish assistance, had eventually reconciled himself to his countrymen. From his new archiepiscopal seat of Bremen ANSKAR continued the work he had begun, and when no one else would undertake the perilous adventure, revisited Sweden himself in the year 853. There was now another king in Birca, who was called Olof, and the Swedes, assembled in their diet (ting), had resolved to adopt one of their former rulers, named Eric, among the gods of their country. Anskar's ancient friends advised him to save his life by flight; he succeeded however, using even gifts, in winning the king's favour, who promised to lay his petition before the people; "for such is their custom," says the biographer and follower of Anskar, who accompanied him in this journey², "that all public affairs hinge more upon the concordant will of the people than upon the power of the sovereign"³. It was determined in the diet that by means of the sacred lots (a sort of oracle which Tacitus mentions), the old gods should be consulted respecting the new faith. The answer is said to have turned out favourably to the request of the Christian teachers, and in the diet an old man stood up, and spoke to this effect: "Hear me, king and people. Of this God it is not

unknown, that he helps those who put their trust in him, a thing which many of us in the dangers of the sea and other perils have proved. Wherefore then should we reject what is useful and profitable for us, or seek afar off that which is offered to us at home? For some of our people, for the sake of this faith, have journeyed even to Dorstad⁴. Therefore do I advise that we should receive among us the servants of this God, who is mighty above all, and whose grace will stand us in good stead, if our own gods should prove unfavourable to us." When the people had given their consent, the king expressed his concurrence, yet with the condition that in the other part of his dominion (probably the Goths), the matter should be proposed and approved by an assembled diet; which was accordingly done, and the Christian teachers were permitted by a decree to reside and give instruction in the country. A church was founded whilst Anskar remained, and after he had finally departed, he continued, as long as he lived, to make provision for the supply of instructors to the Swedes. He inculcated on them the maxim, to ask of no man's goods, but to labour with their own hands for support, and he himself used to twist nets⁵. Though simple and meek of heart, he was a man of lofty courage. His revenues he employed in the support of the indigent and the ransom of captives, and he was generally surrounded by youth whom he had redeemed from slavery, and was instructing. He brought back with him from Sweden persons who had been thus dragged from their homes into thralldom, and his biographer mentions the emotion with which he restored to a mother the son of whom she had been robbed by Swedish freebooters. Among the neighbouring Saxons north of the Elbe⁶, he abolished the shameful traffic in men, with which those so-called Christians defiled themselves. He regarded his dreams as prophetic, was full of reverence for the miracles of the saints, and was himself after death venerated as a saint; but it was said of him while he lived, that "so good a man had never been seen on earth." That his own labours in Sweden were not barren of fruit, is proved by such examples as those of Hergeir and Fridburg⁷, and in all likelihood the sparks kindled by him were never entirely extinguished, although a century and a half elapsed before Sweden received a Christian king, and another period of the same duration passed away in the contest between Paganism and Christianity.

After the death of Anskar in 865, no Christian teacher, his immediate successor RIMBERT excepted, ventured during seventy years to Sweden; and when after the expiring of this period Unne archbishop of Bremen came to Birca, where he died, the people seem to have relapsed into heathenism. At this time the king of Sweden is said to have been called Ring, who to the Icelanders is as little known as the Olave already mentioned; yet the latter was powerful enough to win by arms a kingdom in Denmark for himself, and to transmit it to his sons⁸. This is the same Olave of whom

² Compare *Vita Anscarilii*, c. 24, and *Vita Remberti*, c. 9.

³ *Sic quippe apud eos moris est, ut quodcumque negotium publicum magis in populi unanimitate, quam in regia consistat potestate.*

⁴ Formerly a famous staple, now a village (Wyk te Duurstede), near Utrecht. (The Anglo-Saxon Willibrord, apostle of the Frisians, was appointed metropolitan of their country

by pope Sergius in 696, and received the castle of Utrecht for his archiepiscopal seat from Charles Martel. See Lingard, *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, c. xiv. T.)

⁵ *Vita Anscarilii*, c. 30.

⁶ The Nordelbingers.

⁷ *Vita Anscarilii*, c. 16, 17.

⁸ *Ad. Brem. Hist. Eccles. i. c. 51, 40.*

the life of Anskar relates, that he undertook an expedition against the Curians who had thrown off the Swedish yoke, and reduced their country again to pay tribute. Within this period also fall the conquests of the Swedish king Eric Edmundson in the East, where he is said to have subjugated Finland, Carelia, Estland, and Courland (Kurland), which were in aftertimes called the old dependencies of Sweden⁹. These statements coincide with Nestor's account of the foundation of Varangian rule among the Slavons and Finns. Thus these recollections illustrate each other, and stand in undoubted connexion. For although the names neither of Ruric nor his brothers are known to northern poetry, the sagas afford no exact catalogue of the Swedish kings, in a period when royal birth and a warlike retinue conferred the title on every leader, and the sea-kings swarmed in all waters.

We find ourselves now in the middle of the ninth century, which forms in several respects a new epoch. The first seeds of Christianity in the north were sown amidst the tempest of the northern invasions, which at this time raged most fiercely, and made the conversion of the Northmen the common interest of all Christendom. The Danish monarchy was founded by GORM, who united Denmark under one head. The royalty of the old Upsala kings, originally resting on their sacerdotal character, now appears more firmly established over both Swedes and Goths, for the powerful Eric Edmundson is mentioned as the undisputed sovereign of both nations. HARALD the Fair-haired, a descendant of the Yngling line which had been overthrown in Sweden, broke the power of the inferior princes in Norway, and first raised himself to the mastery over its entire territory. The new sway produced an extensive emigration of malcontents and fugitives, one division of whom, under ROLOF's command, established themselves in Normandy, whence England was conquered and the throne of Naples erected. To Britain, Ireland, and the islands of the Western Sea, fresh bands of warlike adventurers streamed forth upon the well-known track. Swedish Norrland received new settlers; Iceland, one of whose discoverers was a Swede, and to which several sons of Swedish princes removed, was colonized, and the coasts of Greenland and North America were soon visited from this point by maritime adventurers. Among Icelandic fires and snows a new focus of northern poetry was kindled, while the number of contemporary witnesses from the time of Harald the Fair-haired imparts greater certitude to the testimony of the sagas. Snorro Sturleson, who observes a long silence regarding Sweden subsequently to the fall of the Yngling line, now sometimes removes his narrative to Swedish ground, and for the history of the north we begin to obtain a determinate chronology. ERIC EDMUNDSON, having subjected to his power that part of Norway which formerly made part of Ragnar's dominions, was stripped of it by Harald the Fair-haired, and continued at war with him to his death for the possession of Vermeland; he died, says Snorro, when Harald had been for ten years sovereign of Norway. If we reckon from the year in which the latter acquired the whole of Norway¹, the decease of Eric Edmundson will fall in 885.

⁹ *Skattlander*, tributary countries.

He was succeeded by his son Biörn, whose whole history is contained in the honourable testimony which, eighty years after his death, the Speaker (Taleman) of the Swedish commonalty bore to his memory in the assembly of the general diet, that it had fared well with the realm of Sweden while king Biörn lived. He is surnamed the old, and as the Icelanders give him a reign of fifty years, we may conclude that he died in 935. Eric and Olave were his sons and successors; since the former was alive in 993, they were probably in early youth at their father's demise. This is also the time in which Ring, with his sons, is said to have reigned over Sweden. As their names are not mentioned in the contest which afterwards arose within the royal family, he must either be placed as regent under the minority of the legitimate heirs to the throne, or both he and his sons belong to the class of petty kings which, notwithstanding the attempt of Ingiald to suppress them, we find long afterwards subsisting in Sweden.

ERIC and OLAVE, after they had assumed the government, reigned conjointly until the latter's death. He left a son who is known under the name of Styrbjörn the Strong. When the young prince had reached his twelfth year, he refused all further attendance at his uncle's board, and placed himself on the barrow wherein the ashes of his father were deposited, for a token that he challenged his inheritance. Eric promised that upon attaining his sixteenth year, he should have possession of that part of the kingdom which fell to him by right; meanwhile, as he did not cease to instigate his friends to revolt, sixty ships with their crews were given to him, that he might practise himself in warlike and distant enterprizes. Thus furnished, STYRBJÖRN distinguished himself as a rover by the extent of his devastations, and became at length captain of Jomsburg, on the Pomeranian coast. This was the most notorious seat of the northern Vikings, forming a completely military republic, the constitution of which reminds us of the West Indian buccancers of the seventeenth century. Thence he sailed with a great fleet to Sweden, compelling Harald Gormson, king of Denmark, to attend him, who therefore afterwards abandoned him in the hour of danger. But Styrbjörn caused all his ships to be burned, in order to exclude every hope but that of victory, and marched towards Upsala. At Fyrisvall (a plain on the stream of Fyris, in the environs of Upsala), was fought the famous battle of three days' duration, which gave king ERIC his surname of the Victorious. Styrbjörn sacrificed to Thor; Eric went in the night to the temple of Odin, and devoted himself to the god, after an interval of ten years should have elapsed. Styrbjörn and almost all his followers fell in the conflict. When the victory was won, Eric ascended an eminence by Upsala, and made enquiry whether any man would recite an ode of triumph for a guerdon from the king's own hand. Then Thorward Hjalteson stepped forward, poured forth the song, and received from his sovereign a golden ring. It is remarked that he ended no poetry either previously or subsequently; but the two strophes rehearsed in the presence of the king and the army have been preserved to our own days².

¹ On the year of the battle in Hafur's Firth, see Torfæus, *Hist. Norv.* ii. 97.

² Thattor on Styrbjörn, in Müller's *Sagabibliothek*.

The battle of Fyrisvall was fought in 983. The share which the Danish king Harald Gormson, although against his own will, had taken in the contest, afterwards produced a war between Sweden and Denmark, in consequence of which the son of Harald, Swen Fork-beard, was driven from his dominions, and Eric remained in possession of both kingdoms until his death³. This sovereign was certainly one of the most powerful who governed Sweden during the heathen age, yet he remarked to an envoy from Norway, speaking of a rich peasant his subject, who had given shelter to a fugitive Norwegian princess; "He is more powerful than I in many matters, and it was not long ago that he had more to say than I, when we were at strife⁴." Adam of Bremen also says, "The Swedes have kings of ancient lineage, but their power is dependent on the people. What these resolve is confirmed by the king; sometimes, although reluctantly, they renounce their own opinion for his. At home they pride themselves on their equality; when they go into the field all obey the king." The first consort of Eric the Victorious was Sigrid, named the High-minded, on account of her haughty disposition. Although the king separated from her, she continued to be a personage of importance, and her voice after his death was most potential. She contracted a new marriage with king Swen in Denmark, who through this alliance in the end recovered his father's kingdom.

OLAVE, the son of Eric the Victorious by Sigrid, was, it is said, still an infant in his mother's lap when the people offered their homage, and thence received the surname of the Lap-king (*sköt-konung*)⁵. If this were so, the ceremony must have been performed during his father's life-time; for the war in which Olof bore an active part shortly after his accession, proves that he was then no longer in his childhood. In Norway a great change had taken place. The dominion of Harald the Fair-haired was divided among his many sons, who destroyed each other in mutual contests. At length the Norwegian earl Haco invited over Harald Gormson, king of Denmark, who became the nominal ruler of the country, while Haco himself really exercised the supreme power. The boy Olave Tryggwason, saved in his mother's arms upon her flight from Norway, had meanwhile grown up to man's estate amidst many singular chances, and by his exploits in foreign lands had gained himself a great name for bravery and fortune. He returned to Norway, overthrew the power of earl Haco, and preferred his claims to the crown as a descendant of Harald the Fair-haired. The earl was killed by his bondsmen; his sons fled to Sweden, and found a protector in Olave the lap-king. About 995, Olave Tryggwason established himself on the Norwegian throne, though one portion of his subjects, dissatisfied with this revolution, as well as with the headlong zeal with which he sought to enforce Christianity, seem to

have placed themselves under Swedish superiority⁶. This prince had been a suitor of the powerful queen Sigrid of Sweden, and had found greater favour in her eyes than his kinsman Harald Grenske, whom she caused to be seized and burned alive, in order, as she declared, to unteach the petty kings from their habits of wooing. But when he had obtained her consent, Olave demanded that she should receive baptism, and on her refusing, he struck her on the face with his glove, accompanying the act with insulting expressions. "That will be thy death," exclaimed Sigrid, and she did not lose sight of her menace. She espoused afterwards, as already mentioned, king Swen of Denmark, whose sister was given in marriage to Olave Tryggwason. The latter some years afterwards resolved upon an expedition against the Veneders, or Vandals, of Pomerania, at the desire of his wife, in order to win back domains she had formerly possessed in that territory. Sigrid now formed an alliance between her husband king Swen of Denmark, her son king Olave of Sweden, and the sons of earl Haco, and a plan was laid to attack the Norwegian king on his return with their united forces. A great fleet under the command of the allied princes was assembled, his ships were unexpectedly surrounded, and after a desperate resistance overpowered. Olave himself, that he might not fall into the hands of his enemies, plunged into the sea, and was seen no more. The battle was fought near the isle of Swolder (probably Ruden) on the Pomeranian coast, in the year 1000. Norway was divided among the conquerors, who invested the sons of earl Haco with the government of the largest portion.

Olave the lap-king, it is said in the catalogue of sovereigns annexed to the old law of West Gothland, was the first Christian monarch of Sweden, and was baptized in the well of Husaby in West Gothland by the holy bishop Sigfrid. Christian teachers had visited Sweden from time to time, some of them Danes sent by the archbishop of Bremen, others Englishmen, prompted by their own spontaneous zeal. SIGFRID was invited from England by Olave; he had probably become inclined to embrace Christianity during his stay in Denmark with his father, who had received baptism in that country, though he afterwards relapsed⁷. This missionary, the second apostle of the North, for next to Anskar Sigfrid deserves that name, devoted a long life to the preaching of Christianity among the Swedes and Norsemen⁸, and died at a great age in the hundred of Verend in Smaland, where upon his arrival he had first plauted the cross⁹. Olave was baptized before the year 1000. That he had become a Christian previously to the battle of Swolder is plain from the statement of Adam of Bremen, that when Swen regained his kingdom by Olave's help, its restoration was accompanied by a covenant between the kings, whereby Swen, the former foe of Christianity, bound himself to the diffusion of the faith¹. His

Swen; Hericum post susceptam Christianitatem denuo relapsus fuisse.

⁸ Sigfridus, qui et apud Svedos et Nordmannos juxta prædicavit; isque duravit usque ad nostram ætatem. Ibid. He lived, therefore, to the time of Adam of Bremen.

⁹ Historia S. Sigfridi (written in 1205), Script. Rer. Suec. Medii Ævi, ii. 344.

¹ Olaph, qui post obitum patris sui Herici regnum super Sueones accepit, cum exercitu superveniens infelicem Svein

³ Ad. Brem. ii. c. 21, 26, 27.

⁴ Olof Tryggvason's Saga. Stockholm, 1691, p. 11.

⁵ Olave is said to have endowed the church with lands. His surname has also been referred to the verb *skota*, donare, from *sköt*, sinus (because transference of property was accomplished by delivering an armful of turf), and would thus be explicable as the donor-king. T.

⁶ Id. p. 170.

⁷ Adam of Bremen was so informed by the Danish king

sanguinary cruelty in England, where the long continued ravages of the Danes had at last led to the subjugation of the country, was little consonant with such a purpose. He maintained, however, a good understanding with the Swedes, of whom several are mentioned as taking part in the wars of England. When Swen's son CANUTE undertook his first expedition to England, Olave the lap-king was his ally, and foreign chronicles speak of a Swedish king who accompanied Canute, although his name is unknown to our domestic records².

Hostilities with Norway, on the other hand, of long duration, embittered Olave's life and reign. Olave Haraldson, afterwards so well known under the name of the Saint, a descendant of Harald the Fair-haired, had like northern princes in general passed his youth in piratical expeditions. In the course of his career as a sea-rover he was led to Sweden; and on one occasion, being blockaded by Olave the lap-king in the Mälär lake, he is said to have made his escape by excavating a new channel to the sea. After sharing in the English wars he returned to his country, drew together a party, assumed royalty, and put an end to the domination of the Swedes and Danes in Norway. Olave of Sweden, too proud to yield, yet took no measures to secure his own frontiers, and the discontent of the people, roused by this negligence, at length broke out at the general diet in Upsala, where Norwegian envoys were in attendance under the escort of RAGWALD, earl of the West Goths, to solicit peace and obtain a bride for the king of Norway at the Swedish court. We follow the chronicles of Sturleson in our relation of the event.

In Sweden, says Snorrio, it was the custom of the land in the heathen times, that the great sacrifice should be held at Upsala in the horning-month (February)³. This is the Ting, or great court of all the Swedes, when they sacrifice by their king for peace and victory, and it is likewise a fair and time of traffic. But after Christianity had come into Sweden, and the kings removed their seat from Upsala, a Ting and fair were still held there at Candlemas. The dominion of the Swedes embraces many provinces, and every one has its own court and its own law in many chapters, and every law has its judge (lagman), the chief among the yeomen. He answers for all, when the king, the earl, or the bishop holds a diet with the people; him they all follow, so that the great ones hardly dare to betake themselves to the court without the consent of the judge and the peasants. The chief justicer in Sweden is the lagman of Tiundaland; he was now called Thorgny; a name which, as well as the office itself, had long remained in his family. He was reckoned the wisest man in Sweden, and was foster-father of earl Ragwald, wherefore the earl first repaired to him with the Norse envoys. They came to his estate, on which were large and pleasant mansions. In the chamber sat an old man on the high seat, whose like for tallness they had never seen; his beard reached down so far that it lay on his knees.

iterum a regno expulit et Daniæ obtinuit. Restituitque eum Olaph in regnum suum, eo quod matrem suam habuerit uxorem. Feeceruntque pactum ad invicem firmissimum, ut christianitatem in regno suo plantantem retinerent et in exteris nationes effunderent. Ad. Brem. ii. c. 29.

² Ann. 1014. Svanus Tyrannus post innumrabilla et crudelia mala quæ vel in Anglia vel in aliis terris gesserat,

This was THORGNÝ: the earl stepped before him and greeted him, was well entertained, and after a while mentioned the business on which he and the envoys had come, at the same time expressing their fears lest the king should receive them ungraciously, seeing that Olave the lap-king would never hear Olave the Norseman spoken of. Thorgny answered, "Strangely ye comport yourselves, ye that bear the Tignar name. Wherefore didst thou not bethink thee ere thou camest on this journey, that thou wert not strong enough to speak to our king Olave? To me therefore it seemeth not less honourable to belong to the peasants, and to have freedom of speech even when the king is near." He accompanied the ambassadors to the great folk-mote at Upsala. The first day when the diet sat, they saw there king Olave on his chair, and all his court around him. Overagainst him on the other side of the diet sat earl Ragwald and Thorgny on a bench, surrounded by the followers of the earl and Thorgny's serving men; behind stood the common sort in a ring, some upon the barrows that lay by, to see and hear how all befel. Now, after the king's affairs, as the usage was, had first been discussed in the mote, one of the Norse messengers stood up and preferred his request with a loud voice; but the king sprang from his seat in wrath, and broke off his speech. Earl RAGWALD declared, in the name of the West Goths, the same desire for a reconciliation with the Norsemen, but he met with no better a reception. Thereupon was deep silence for a while. At last THORGNÝ rose, and with him rose all the peasants, and there was a great din of arms and tumult in the crowd. When audience was granted, Thorgny thus spake: "The kings of the Swedes are now otherwise minded than once they were. Thorgny, my grandsire, well remembered Eric Edmundson king in Upsala, and was wont to tell of him, that while he was in his prime he marched every summer to the war, and subdued to his dominion Finland, Kyrieland, Esthland, Kurland, and the eastern countries far and wide, where are yet to be seen earthen walls and other large works of his. Yet did he never deal so haughtily, that he would not endure discourse from those who had aught to propound to him. My father Thorgny was near king Biörn a long time, and therefore knew his manner well; in his time things went prosperously with the realm, for there was no dearth, and he was affable to his people. I myself freshly remember king Eric the Victorious, for I was with him in many of his enterprises. He augmented the Swedish dominion, and warded it stoutly, yet was it easy to come to speech with him. But this king who is now, will let none speak with him, and will hear nought but what is pleasing to himself, which indeed he presses with all heat. His tributary lands he lets slip from him by his carelessness, and yet would he rule over Norway, a thing that no king of the Swedes before him has coveted, for which many must live in unpeace. Wherefore we peasants will, that thou, king Olave, miserabili morte vitam finivit. Simeon Dunelmensis, in Twysden Hist. Ang. Script. Sveno tumultato Chnutus filius magna cum classe, adductis secum Lachinan rege Suecorum et Olao rege Noricorum, Thamisiæ intravit. Leges Edwardi, and the chronicle following, in Wilkins. This Lachinan was perhaps a Swedish lagman.

³ (Göje-manad, the month when the deer shed their horns, corresponding to the hornung of the Germans. T.)

shouldst make up thy quarrel with Norway's king, and give him thy daughter Ingegerd in marriage. If thou wilt win back those lands in the East which belonged to thy kinsmen and parents, we will attend thee thither. But if thou heed not our words, we will set upon and slay thee, and will not suffer lawlessness and trouble at thy hands. For so did our fathers before us; they threw five kings into a well, that were puffed up with arrogance like thee. Now say forthwith what thou wilt choose." Then a great clashing of arms again resounded from the people. But the king rose up and granted their prayer, adding, that so the kings of Sweden had ever done, in taking counsel of the peasants.

Breach of his promise on the king's part, had well nigh produced the consequences threatened in this speech. The peasants were already assembled, and deliberating upon the king's dethronement, because he had brokeu the decree of the great Folkmoete (allshärjardom). The Lawman of the West Goths contended that they should renounce for ever the old line of princes. Certain chiefs of the Upper Swedes, who had remained true to Olave, turned this circumstance to the advantage of his cause. They conferred with their fellows, and said, "If the matter have gone so far that Olave, the son of Eric the Victorious, must be deprived of the kingship, then it seemeth to us that we Upper Swedes should have most to say thereto; for so it has ever been, that what the chiefs of the Upper Swedes have determined among themselves, the inhabitants of the other provinces have consented to, and our ancestors never needed to take counsel of the West Goths as to who should bear rule in the realm of Sweden." Thereupon they led forth the king's young son among the people. He had been named Jacob at his baptism, which pleased the Swedes ill, for never, said they, had there been a king of Sweden called Jacob. Now they gave him the name of Anund, and took him to be their king, stipulating that he should stand upon the rights of the peasants, if his father would not comply with their desires; for the old king was still continued in the government, on condition that he should fulfil his engagement. Ingegerd, however, the daughter of the Swedish king promised to Norway, had already been married to the Russian grand duke Jaroslav⁴, and her sister Astrid had, although against her father's wishes, given her hand to the Norwegian king. It remained only to conclude peace, which was arranged at a personal interview of the two sovereigns at Kung-hall. Two years afterwards died Olave the lap-king, as the sagas state, when Olave Haraldson had been for seven years king of Norway, which fixes the date of the former's death in 1024. He had ceded Denmark to his stepfather, and was obliged to transfer his conquests in Norway to his son-in-law; he was also reproached with having allowed the eastern dependencies of Sweden to be lost. On the other hand the Norwegian settlers in Jemtland and Helsingland submitted themselves to the superiority of Sweden. Olave the lap-king, although a Christian, yet loved the old heathen poesy. Not less than four Scalds are mentioned as residing

at his court, and an account is preserved of a poetical contest which took place between two of them in the king's presence.

Anund Jacob was now sole ruler; what is known of his reign chiefly relates to the share he took in the affairs of Norway and Denmark. He was the faithful confederate of his brother-in-law Olave of Norway, and defended him against the powerful CANUTE, now lord both of Denmark and England, who had not abandoned his claims on Norway. These were the more dangerous, as Olave's violent zeal for Christianity, and his rigorous punishment of the Norwegian pirates, who plundered even their own coasts, had created many enemies. He was obliged at length to flee from his kingdom, of which Canute took possession, and he only returned from Russia and Sweden to lose his life in battle against his former subjects at Stiklarstad,—though he was afterwards revered by them, in common with the whole North, as a saint. His son Magnus the Good was recalled from Russia where he had been educated, ascended with Swedish aid the throne of his father, and became at last, after many and singular vicissitudes of fortune, king of Denmark, on the death of Canute and his sons. Of the family of the latter monarch Swen only now survived, the son of his sister Estrid, who remained long in Sweden, and received support from that country in his pretensions on Denmark, which were at length admitted upon the death of Magnus.

Adam of Bremen knew ANUND JACOB from the account of Swen Estridson, and remarks of him, that no prince was ever so loved by the people of Sweden. Yet the old catalogue of kings in the law of West-Gothland declares that he was severe in his judgments. He was surnamed Kolbränna, because he burned down the houses of malefactors, a penalty, which both in the north and among the Normans of France, was attached to such offences as entailed the outlawry or banishment of the criminals⁵. The year of his death is not known with certainty, though it is evident that he was alive after 1036, in which it is placed by various later annalists, from a misapprehension of a passage in the sagas. Adam of Bremen states that king Anund died in Sweden, after the sons of Earl Godwin had reached their highest power in England, while king Edward retained only the name of sovereignty. The peace by which Godwin and his sons compelled that prince to replace them again in their former dignities was concluded in 1052, and in the following year their father died⁶. Within this limit falls also the end of Anund Jacob's reign and life.

EDMUND, surnamed Gammal (the old), because he did not become king till late in life, succeeded his brother. Although he was the elder of the two, his brother had been preferred to him as being of nobler birth; Edmund, on the other hand, was born of a mother taken captive in war, the daughter of a Venedic chieftain, who is called the king's hand-maid. Edmund was brought up among foreigners by the relatives of his mother, and gave himself little solicitude about Christianity⁷. Dearth vexed the land in his days, a calamity for which the

⁴ Du Fresne, Glossarium, v. Condemnare.

⁵ Simeon Dunelmensis ad ann. 1052. The "Historia Archiepiscoporum Bremensis" gives 1051 as the year of Anund Jacob's death.

⁷ Saga of St. Olave, c. 89.

⁴ Her monument still exists in the church of St. Sophia at Novgorod, with an inscription which states 1051 as the year of her death, though itself more recent. Anund Jacob was her full brother; Astrid, her half-sister, being born of a Venedic mother.

Swedes were wont to hold their kings responsible. The Catalogue of Kings already referred to styles him the bad (slemme), and charges him with harshness and avarice⁸. To him also our chronicles attribute the disgrace of agreeing to a boundary by which Scania, Halland, and Bleking, were severed from the Swedish dominion. The last province was an ancient possession; the two former had been conquered by Eric the victorious⁹. Edmund's reign was short, says the appendix to the *Hervarar* saga; in his time the Swedes observed Christianity ill, and after his death the kingdom passed from the old royal family. He had a son named Anund, lost in an expedition against the Queens, who are said, by poisoning their wells, to have cut off the whole army sent against them.

When Edmund died is unknown. He was the twelfth and last in succession of those old Upsala kings who descended from Sigurd Ring on the male side, and whose dynasty is styled the line of the Upper Swedes; "sacred to the gods¹, and revered before all others in the northern lands, because they descended from the gods themselves;" "and long had they guarded the race, (said a Pagan councillor of Olave the lap-king,) although many had now fallen away from the old belief²."

Every new doctrine bears in itself the seeds of strife, and that which is pre-eminently the religion of peace had doubtless to contend with the greatest obstacles in the north. By its influence was first abolished that condition of incessant war with all the world, which had its roots so deep in the habits of northern life, that the long fostered elements of evil, hitherto turned in an external direction, now spent themselves in a domestic field of action, generating civil discord and war. Christianity, besides, dissolved the effective bond of the old social institutions. Olave the lap-king, as being a Christian, refused to be styled Upsala king³, because this title denoted a guardian of the Pagan sacrifices; he therefore lost all consideration among the Upper Swedes, who were still mostly heathens. On the other hand the new title of Swede-king appears to have displeased the Goths, among whom the Christians were most numerous. The long-continued hostilities with Olave of Norway led to an outbreak of this discontent. It was the justiciary of West-Gothland, who at the assembly of the people in Upsala ventured to propose that the old dynasty should be set aside, and who when he could not induce them to consent exclaimed, "Ye of Upper Sweden have for this time the control of the decision; yet I say to you, and the future will show it, that those who will now hear of nought else than that the kingship should remain in the old line, will live to see the day when it shall pass with their own consent to another race; and this will have a happier issue." The fulfilment of this

prediction now presents itself to our observation, and the new dynasty is of Westgothic origin.

STENKIL, who was now raised to the throne, was, however, related through several channels to the old line of kings. His father Ragwald, earl of West-Gothland, was cousin of Olave the lap-king. Stenkil himself was son-in-law of Anund Jacob, and step-son of Edmund the old. Earl Ragwald had been twice married; first to Ingeborg, sister of king Olave Tryggvason, by whom he had two sons, Ulf and Eilif, mentioned as leaders in the war between king Anund Jacob and Canute the Great, in Denmark; afterwards to Astrid, a dame of royal birth in Norwegian Halogaland, who bore to him a son named Stenkil, and contracted a subsequent alliance with king Edmund Gammal. Stenkil, who is styled a powerful and far descended earl in *Suthiod*, had already shown himself during the reign of his predecessor a zealous Christian. His election to the crown is the first sign of the undisputed preponderance of the Christian party; thus too the expression in the old *Table of Kings*, that "he held the West Goths dear before all the other men of his realm," and that "the West Goths rejoiced in him as long as he lived," evinces by what part of the country this preponderance was maintained. West-Gothland had been the chief seat of Christianity since the time of Olave the lap-king. Here this sovereign received baptism, and founded in Skara the first episcopal see. When the heathens demanded that he should choose some province of Sweden, whichever he preferred, for the exercise of his religion, and leave theirs on the other hand unmolested, forcing no man to be a Christian, he selected West-Gothland. By adhering throughout to the observance of this covenant, STENKIL in like manner maintained himself on the throne. Olave had already meditated destroying the old temple at Upsala, but he was withheld from his design by the above-mentioned decree. When the Christian teachers now again insisted on the measure, Stenkil answered them, that the only consequence of complying with their request would be for them death, and for himself the loss of his kingdom; his subjects would expel him as one who had brought malefactors into the land, and heathenism would anew become dominant⁴. The context shows that it was chiefly the inhabitants of Upper Sweden who excited these apprehensions; since we are told that the same teachers, Adelward, bishop of Skara, and Egino, bishop of Lund, had destroyed the idols everywhere among the Goths without incurring any danger. It is also worthy of remark, that Goths alone are mentioned as taking part in the otherwise unimportant war with the Norwegians under this king's reign. Stenkil, it is said, died at the same time as the Norwegian king Harald Hardrada (hard-ruler) fell in England⁵, which happened in 1066, shortly before William the Conqueror became master of England by the battle of Hastings.

⁸ So too Adam of Bremen; Edmund Gamal Pessimus. See l. iii. c. 17.

⁹ The account of the boundary line which is inserted in the law of West-Gothland, makes him, however, contemporary at the time of the transaction with Swen Fork-Bear, king of Denmark, which would refer it to the time of Olave the lap-king, unless this Swen was confounded with Swen Estridson. The so-called bull of Pope Agapetus of 954, adopting and confirming this boundary, but with many blunders, is manifestly a fabrication.

¹ So the race of Ivar, their ancestor on the maternal side, is termed in Hyndla's song in the elder Edda.

² Ad. Brem. iii. 17. *Saga of St. Olave*, 96. Olave the lap-king reckoned himself the tenth of this dynasty. Ibid. 71.

³ According to the appendix to the *Hervarar* Saga, Olave changed his title into that of Swede-king (*Sveakonung*).

⁴ Ad. Brem.

⁵ Appendix to *Hervarar* Saga. *Saga of Magnus Barefoot*, c. 13.

A great civil war now broke out in Sweden. "After the death of that most Christian king Stenkil," says Adam of Bremen, "two kings, both bearing the name of Eric, contended for the throne, and in the war between them, all the chief men among the Swedes, and the kings themselves, are said to have fallen. When in this way the royal house had become extinct, the condition of the realm was so utterly changed, and the Christians were so molested, that from fear of persecution no bishops dared to enter Sweden. Only the bishop of Scania directed the congregations of the faithful in Gothland." A single Swedish chief is mentioned as a defender of Christianity. This is the sole account preserved to us of these intestine commotions, and it deserves the more attention, as proceeding from almost the only contemporary witness to whom we can appeal for the events of those times. Who these contending princes were that drew down with them in their fall the chief men of Sweden, no other source informs us. They belonged to the old reigning family, as we may infer from the statement, that with them the royal lineage became extinct; for this cannot apply to the house of Stenkil, since he left two sons, both of whom afterwards filled the throne. We observe here the first violent outbreak of those civil wars, often subsequently renewed, and extending over a long period, but which both in the motives immediately producing them, and in their progress, are but imperfectly known to us. The great general causes, however, lie before our eyes; in them was fought the last struggle between heathenism and Christianity; in them, after the federal association founded on the ancient religion was dissolved, the rival peoples combated for predominance. That this was a war waged between the Pagans and the Christians is proved by the sufferings which the Christians are said to have undergone, but it appears also to have been a contest against the new sovereign house. Another nearly contemporaneous account informs us, that when the contending princes had perished in their mutual hostility, both the sons of Stenkil, one after the other, were raised to the throne, and expelled therefrom, after which a king named Haco was chosen⁶.

This Haco is also mentioned after Stenkil by Snorro Sturleson. The old Table of Kings in the Westgothic Law, on the contrary, assigns him a place before Stenkil, and names him Haco the Red, but communicates no other particulars of his history, than that he had been king for thirteen winters, and that he died in West-Gothland at the place of his birth. He probably possessed the name and dignity of king in this province during the period when the remainder of the country was torn by civil discord, for both these troubles and the thirteen years' reign of Haco fall between 1066 and 1081. The first is the year of Stenkil's demise; in the latter we already find his sons Inge and Halstan reigning conjointly; for they are doubtless the same "kings of the West Goths" whom

Pope Gregory VII. in a rescript of this date, exhorts to protection of the Christians, and submission towards the Church⁷.

INGE, who is also called INGEMUNDER and Anunder, is said to have been invited over from Russia. In the course of more than two centuries from the foundation of the Russian empire by the Varangians, both the Russian and Scandinavian annals contain manifold proofs of the closeness of the ties which connected our forefathers with Russia. About 980, in the reign of Eric the victorious, the Russian grand-duke Vladimir (in the sagas Valdemar) the Great, sought and obtained help beyond the sea among the Varangians, and if any further proof were required that these Russian Varangians are the same who in the north, from their service in the imperial body-guard at Constantinople, were called Værings, it would be found in the fact that Vladimir, designing after his object had been attained to rid himself of his dangerous auxiliaries, induced them to repair to Constantinople, at the same time requesting the Greek emperor not to permit their return to Russia⁸. With the assistance of the Varangians, Vladimir's son Jaroslav afterwards consolidated his power, and chose for his bride a princess of their nation, the daughter of Olave of Sweden. She was accompanied to Russia by Earl Ragwald, father of king Stenkil. Ragwald and his son Earl Eilif are both mentioned among the chiefs of the Russians, and with them Inge, who was now called to the throne, passed a portion of his youth⁹.

Soon after the accession of this prince, discontents broke out anew in Upper Sweden. It is stated in the appendix to the Hervarar saga, "INGE was son of Stenkil, and the Swedes took him next for their king¹. His reign lasted a long time; he was blessed in his friends, and was a good Christian. He abolished the sacrifices in Suithiod, and enjoined that all folk should be christened, yet the Swedes put great trust in their heathen gods, and held firm to their old customs. They deemed that Ingé violated the old law of the land, because he annulled much that king Stenkil had allowed to subsist. At a diet which the Swedes held with Ingé, they proposed to him two alternatives, either to follow the old law or to abdicate the kingship. Ingé answered and said, that he would not reject the faith which was the truest. Then the Swedes raised a cry, pelted him with stones, and drove him out of the diet. SWEN, the king's brother-in-law, the most powerful man in Suithiod, remained behind him in the meeting. He offered the Swedes to maintain the sacrifices, if they would grant him the kingship, and to this they all consented. Then Swen was made king over all Suithiod. A horse was led forward in the assembly, cut in pieces, and divided for the sacrificial feast, and the tree of victims (the idol) was besprinkled with the blood. Then all the Swedes again rejected Christianity, began to sacrifice, and drove out Ingé, who repaired to West-Gothland. Blot Swen² was for three winters king over the Swedes. Thereafter

⁹ Saga of St. Olave, c. 95. Saga of Harald Hardrada, c. 2.

¹ This narrative, which ends with the sons of Halstan, and was probably written not long after these occurrences, knows of no king Haco, although the sagas occasionally mention him as successor of Stenkil. He was probably never acknowledged by the Swedes.

² Blot Swen, from *blota*, to sacrifice.

⁶ The Scholiast on Adam of Bremen, iv. 15. He calls them Halstein and Anunder, which latter must mean Ingemunder, as Ingé the elder was sometimes named. This writer states himself to have been a contemporary of that prince.

⁷ Celse, Apparatus ad Hist. Sviog. Sectio Prima Bullarii, p. 23.

⁸ Karamsin, after Nestor.

Ingé marched with his household-men and an army, although but small in number, eastwards to Smaland, thence to East-Gothland, and so on to Suithiod. He marched continually day and night, and came unexpectedly upon Swen one morning, surrounded the house, set fire thereto, and burned all that were within. Swen came forth and was there slain. Then Ingé again recovered the kingship over the Swedes, and raised up the Christians anew, governing the realm to his latest day, and dying a natural death. Halstein was also son of Stenkil, and was king together with his brother Ingé.² It is doubtless by this relation that more recent historians have been induced to ascribe to the king the destruction of the idol temple in Upsala, although of this old writers say nothing.

INGE waged war with the Norwegian king, Magnus Barefoot³, who claimed the land between the Vener lake, the Göta river and the sea, as belonging to Norway, and obliged him to abandon this pretension. At a personal conference of the three Scandian sovereigns (Eric Eiegod of Denmark was also present), held in Konghall in the year 1101, a peace was concluded⁴. This reconciliation was strengthened by the marriage of Magnus with Ingé's daughter Margaret, who thence received the surname of Fridkulla (the maid of peace). Another of his daughters was married to a Russian grand-duke⁵. To what period his life was prolonged is not known⁶. Probably the defection of the Jemtelanders to Norway in the year 1111, would not have been left unpunished if it had occurred under his reign. The sagas celebrate him as a gracious and mighty king, the strongest and tallest of men. The Upper Swedes rose in rebellion against him, alleging as their grievance that he did not keep to the old law of the land. The West Goths allege that he ruled over Sweden with rigorous hand, but never violated the laws observed in each individual province⁷. The testimonies of Pagans and Christians differ upon this point. His brother Halstan survived him, and was succeeded by his own sons, whence it is probable that the son whom some accounts give to Ingé died before him.

The sons of Halstan, who reigned conjointly after their father and uncle, were called Philip and Ingo, but have left to history little beside their names. The former died in 1118⁸; the year of the latter's decease is unknown, but in 1129 he had already a successor. That conspiracies were formed against him may be concluded from the manner of his death. He expired of poison, "brought to his end by an ill draught." He was the last of his house on the male side, and with him the progeny of Stenkil became extinct, of which the Table of Kings in the Westgothic law attests that it had ever gone well with the realm of Sweden so long as this family reigned.

² So named because in his wars in Scotland he adopted the garb of the Scottish Highlanders.

⁴ See the Chronology to the third volume of the Sagas of the Kings, Copenhagen edition.

⁵ Mistislav. The sagas call him Harald. The Russian annals inform us that his wife Christina died in 1122.

⁶ His tombstone in the Abbey Church of Warnhem in West-Gothland, which invents a date for his death, in 1061, is of a much more recent period.

⁷ Table of Kings, W. L.

⁸ Are Frode, Schedal.

In the royal house of Denmark there still existed descendants of this line on the female side, through Margaret Fridkulla, daughter of Ingo the elder, who after a long and childless wedlock with the Norwegian sovereign, her first husband, married Nils Swenson, king of Denmark, and bore him a son called Magnus. This prince, of traitorous memory, by the hereditary estates of his mother, and his descent from the family of Stenkil, acquired in West-Gothland influence sufficient to procure his election to the throne upon the death of Ingé, a choice which incensed in the highest degree the people of Upper Sweden. Saxo, who wrote towards the end of the same century, and whose testimony respecting these times is perfectly trustworthy, says⁹; "The Goths, venturing to offer the supreme power to Magnus, and passing over the Swedes, who alone possessed the right of conferring it, attempted to raise their own importance at the expense of the prerogative of their neighbours. But the Swedes, despising this usurpation, did not suffer their own privilege to be diminished by the envy of an inferior people. Fixing their gaze on the shadow of their ancient power, they declared the title of king, prematurely usurped, to be invalid, and themselves elected a new sovereign who was forthwith slain by the Goths, and by his death left the kingship open to Magnus." Who this sovereign was, the old catalogues inform us; they mention after Ingo a king Ragwald, surnamed Short-head (Knaphöfde), of whom they remark, that he came audaciously and arrogantly to the diet of the West Goths, without receiving their hostages, and not as the law prescribed, and therefore they slew him for the disrespect he had shown to the nation. This befel in the year 1129¹. He was a son of Olave Näskonung, who himself appears as king in some catalogues, and thus, notwithstanding the power of Stenkil's family, must have governed independently some portion of the kingdom. The Danish prince appears hardly to have reached the threshold of his reign; he murdered in 1131 his cousin Canute Laward², who was venerated as a saint after death, and fell three years afterwards in the civil war which this homicide produced in Denmark. But in 1133 a new election had already taken place in Sweden, by which SWERKER was called to the throne.

By the conversion of Blot-Swen's family to Christianity the Pagans had now lost the last support of their cause. This prince, set up by them as the antagonist of Ingo the elder, had a son named Kol, who, notwithstanding the disastrous fate of his father, obtained after some time the sovereignty of Upper Sweden; for he is mentioned as king, with the remark that the Swedes styled him "happy in harvests," to denote the plenty which they enjoyed under his reign. He is said to have become a Christian in his old age, and to have died in East-

⁹ L. xiii.

¹ Of the two dates, 1130 and 1139, given for this event, the latter is, beyond doubt, an error of the pen for 1129.

² Laward is lord (Hlaford, Anglo-Sax.). Canute was son of Eric Eiegod (the good), duke of Sleswick, and king or prince of the Obotrites, or Slavons of Wagria. Magnus was jealous of his designs, real or pretended, on the Danish crown. His son was afterwards Valdemar I. of Denmark, called the Great. See Dahlmann, History of Denmark, i. 218—228. Trans.

Gothland³; and according to the most probable accounts, he was the father of SWERKER, whom the East Goths, moved by the fear of having a foreigner to rule them, first raised to the throne⁴. The West Goths delayed to acknowledge him, and were for some time without a king, for we are told that after the death of Ragwald, "the justiciary and the chief men of the districts governed West-Gothland well, and were all faithful to their charge." The first monasteries in Sweden were founded in the time of king Swerker; the oldest were Alvastra, Nydala, and Warnhem. Monks of Clairvaux in France were sent thither by St. Bernard, who had at first to contend with great difficulties⁵. A Romish legate, the Cardinal Nicolaus Albanensis, who himself subsequently filled the papal chair under the name of Adrian IV., visited the North at this period, and arrived in Sweden in 1152⁶. Upon this occasion, the contribution to the see of Rome known by the name of St. Peter's pence was established, and prohibitions were issued against the universal and constant practice of carrying arms. The legate designed to erect an archbishopric in Sweden, as he had already done in Norway (in Denmark one had been established, at Lund, since 1103); but a quarrel arising between the Swedes and Goths, who disagreed both as to the person and the place, obliged him to postpone the measure⁷. SWERKER was an unwarlike king, yet he lived to see many troubles in his old age. His son John, who had made himself by his excesses an object of hatred, and had occasioned hostilities with Denmark, fell a victim to popular indignation. King Swerker was assassinated by his groom while on his way to church, upon Christmas day, 1155.

We are now arrived at the times of St. Eric, the first sovereign who saw Christianity firmly established in Upper Sweden, and may cast a glance retrospectively upon its slow progress. Regular ministers were first appointed in Gothland, where episcopal sees were speedily erected in Skara and Linköping. The measures previously taken for the diffusion of Christianity in Swedeland, were confined to Birca and its environs. While Christianity had attained ascendancy in Gothland, the old sacrifices were still continued for a long time in Upsala, and the first Christians were compelled to purchase exemption from the obligation of attending at their performance and contributing to their support⁸. Conformably to a public decree, both religions had been recognized by law since the time

of Olave; the same edict remained in force under his sons, and even Stenkil found himself obliged to observe its provisions. This peace, or truce of long duration, terminated in the civil war which followed his death, and the change in the relations of parties, appears clearly from the attempt of Ingo the elder to abolish the sacrifices, the ensuing revolt of the Swedes, and the election by the heathens of counter-kings⁹.

These commotions extended to Gothland and the rest of the North. Sigurd, king of Norway, and Nils of Denmark, had concerted in 1123 a crusade against the heathens of Smaland, which however was only carried into execution by the former; and the Danish prince Magnus Nilson, the same who afterwards procured himself to be chosen king of the Goths, boasted of plundering a temple consecrated to Thor, among the islets of the coast of Swedeland, whence the Swedish Pagans held him in abhorrence as a robber of sanctuaries. Meanwhile Christianity was advancing among them through detached efforts of individual zeal, and almost every province of Sweden had its own apostle. Thus the Westmanlanders revered St. David, the Sudermanians St. Botwid and St. Askil, the Norrlanders St. Stephen. Most of them were English, and all those we have mentioned, excepting the first, died the death of martyrs. Gradually the sacrifices were abolished, and Christian churches sprang up in the former seats of idolatry¹. The festivals of heathenism were replaced by those of Christianity, observed about the same periods as the former²; and when at last the old Folklands, which had been the chief stronghold of Paganism, embraced the faith of the gospel, they retained their old prerogatives under the new religion, and elected a Christian monarch, to whom both divisions of the kingdom paid obedience. Thus it came to pass that the Upper Swedes "placed in the royal chair of Upsala" Eric, called after his death the Saint, although the Eastgothlanders chose for their king Charles the son of Swerker.

Eric's father was called Edward, "a good and wealthy yeoman," says the old Swedish chronicle³; his mother Cecilia was sister of Eric, already mentioned as reigning in Swedeland. He was himself married to Christina, daughter of the younger Ingo, or as others state, the grand-daughter of Ingo the elder. Three things did holy king Eric endeavour—says the old legend—to build churches and reform religion, to govern the people as law and justice pointed out, and to overcome the enemies of his faith and realm. The establishment of Christianity

³ The parish church of Kaga is said, according to a tradition in the neighbourhood, to have been built by him. He is also named Kornuba, or Kornike, which latter is manifestly a corruption of kornrike, corn-rich.

⁴ Saxo.

⁵ Compare Langebek, S. R. D. iv. 453.

⁶ This was Nicholas Breakspere, the English pope. T.

⁷ Saxo, l. xiv.

⁸ Ad. Brem. de Situ Dan.

⁹ "At this time were found in Swedeland many heathens and bad Christians; for there were some kings who rejected Christianity and maintained the sacrifices, as Blot-Swen and Eric Aorsell." Heimsk. Saga of Sigurd the Pilgrim, c. 27.

¹ It was not in the spirit of catholicism to destroy the old idol-houses; on the contrary, Pope Gregory the Great, at the introduction of Christianity into England, enjoined "that the temples should not be demolished, but consecrated and turned into Christian churches, after the idols were broken." Henr. Huntingdon, Hist. l. iii.

² It is related of Sigurd Thorson, a rich Norwegian, that "he had the custom, while heathenism existed, of keeping three sacrifices every year; one at the commencement of winter, the second in mid-winter, and the third towards summer. But after he had embraced Christianity, he preserved the custom of giving entertainments. In harvest he kept with his friends a harvest-home, in winter a Christmas revel, and the third feast he held at Easter; and many guests were gathered at his board." Saga of St. Olave, c. 123. Haco the Good of Norway had removed the pagan Yule, formerly observed as midwinter's night (midwintersnatten), called also hawk's night (hökenatten), and kept at the beginning of February, according to the Harvarar Saga, to the catholic Christmas. Saga of Haco, c. 15. Candlemas, celebrated at the time of the old winter sacrifice, is still called in some provinces Little Yule.

³ Script. rer. Suec. i. 246.

in Upper Sweden was undoubtedly his work. Before him there were, even at Upsala, neither priests nor a conveniently built house for the congregation, wherefore he first applied himself to complete the Church "now called Old Upsala, and appointed clerks for the ministry of the altar⁴." An old table of kings denominates him the Law-giver, and the rights of Swedish matrons to the place of honour and housewifedom, to lock and key, to the half of the marriage-bed, and the legal third of the property, as the law of Upland expresses it, are said to have been conferred by the law of St. Eric. Against the heathens of Finland, whose piracies harassed the Swedish coast, he undertook a crusade, and by introducing Christianity, as also probably by transplanting Swedish colonists thither, he laid the foundation of the connection which so long subsists between Sweden and that country. St. Henry, the first bishop of Upsala, of whose active exertions in propagating Christianity history has preserved some record, accompanied the king on this expedition; he was the first apostle of the Finns, and suffered at their hands the death of a martyr. At last, ERIC was unexpectedly beleaguered in Upsala by the Danish prince Magnus Henryson, during the celebration of divine service. The king heard the mass out, and marched against the enemy. After a short but valiant resistance he fell dead covered with wounds, at East Aros, the present Upsala, on the 18th of May, 1160. His virtues, and the austerity of his life, procured him after death the reputation of a saint. He was revered as the Protector of Sweden; his banner waved in the field to encourage the Swedes in battle with the enemies of the realm; the anniversary of his death was kept sacred throughout all the provinces; the town of Stockholm bears his effigy on its arms, and the cathedral of Upsala still preserves his relics, once the objects of veneration. By the Church he was never canonized, although a hundred years after his death, the papacy, informed of the homage which the people continued to pay to his memory, exhorted the devout to make pilgrimages to his tomb. The Romish court, however, was far from being well-inclined to him at a period nearer his own, for in a papal rescript of 1203 his family is represented as having violently usurped the crown, to the injury of the house of Swerker, its legitimate owners. The old accounts unanimously assign him a reign of ten years; he was therefore raised to the crown in 1159, five years before the death of Swerker. His sovereignty at first extended only over Sweden Proper; indeed he was acknowledged but for a time in Gothland, whose inhabitants had nominated Charles Swerkerson. The latter is said to have held real possession of the government for two years before the death of St. Eric⁵, and is even accused of having been a party to the plot against him.

The Danish prince Magnus Henryson was descended from Stenkil by his mother, who was

daughter of the elder Iugo's son, and was thereby a coparcener of those hereditary estates in West-Gothland devolving on the Danish royal family, which according to Saxo were the source of so much strife. It is expressly said that Magnus claimed the throne as his inheritance in right of his mother, and that he obtained a powerful native party of supporters. If we consider that he already possessed by his descent the strongest claim on the attachment of the West Gotls, and that the latter had once before called a Danish prince to the crown upon a like occasion, we shall probably conclude that this was the last attempt at the restoration of the Westgothic dynasty. Magnus Henryson, who is charged with having been privy to the murder of the old king Swerker⁶, was in effect elected, and the Westgothic catalogue of kings mentions him as the fourteenth Christian sovereign of Sweden. He was not long allowed to remain in the enjoyment of his new dignity; the people revolted, and Charles Swerkerson also turning his arms against him, he was defeated and slain in the year 1161. Canute, son of St. Eric, was constrained to flee into Norway, where two of his sisters afterwards married⁷; he had a brother named Philip⁸ of whom nothing is known.

CHARLES SWERKERSON is the first whom we find mentioned as king of the Swedes and Goths⁹; he is likewise, so far as is known, the first Swedish king who bore the name of Charles. In the fabulous and partly invented list of sovereigns of early ages given by Joannes Magnus, Charles Swerkerson was made the seventh of his name among Swedish kings, a computation which usage afterwards sanctioned¹. During the reign of Charles was established, in 1163, the archbishopric of Upsala. Bishops of Skara, Linköping, Strenghans, Westeras, and shortly afterwards of Wexio and Abo, are mentioned as suffragans of his see; and he was himself subordinate to the archbishop of Lund, who bore the title of Primate of Sweden. This precedence, however, was afterwards brought into question, and finally abrogated. Papal briefs to the archbishops and their suffragans begin now to throw some light on the condition of the Swedish Church. Complaints are made that secular persons, at their own caprice or for money, and without the consent of the spiritual authorities, often ordained as priests runaway monks, homicides, or other malefactors; that they embezzled the revenues of the churches, especially during the vacancy of benefices, and even broke open and plundered the sacred buildings; that they cited the clergy to appear before secular tribunals, subjecting them to the ordeals of battle, red hot iron, or boiling water, and if they refused to obey the summons, burning down their houses. Repeated mention of these remonstrances shows that the disorders complained of long continued. Bequests to the Church, in particular, furnished incessant matter of dispute. Pope Alexander III. had himself enacted that no man should be allowed in this way to dispose of his whole property, but only,

⁴ Life of St. Eric, *ibid.* ii. 273. From the account of his death, it appears that he also built a church at East Aros, or the present Upsala.

⁵ *Chronica Erici Olai*.

⁶ Saxo, l. xiv.

⁷ Margaret married the Norwegian king Sverre in 1185.

⁸ Liljegren, *Swenskt Diplomatarium*, p. 95.

⁹ In a letter from Pope Alexander III. in 1161.

¹ Just as St. Eric is styled Eric IX., although this is in some measure defensible, if we include all the heathen kings of this name in the calculation. He was himself the first Christian king of the name, whence his grandson is called in the old chronologies and catalogues Ericus Secundus, and his son again, Eric Ericson, actually entitles himself Ericus Tertius.

if he chose, of the main portion; the heirs demanded that no part should be allowed to be alienated without their consent. Payment of tithe was enjoined, and we find it introduced before the end of the century, yet complaints were still made in 1232 that it was withheld by the peasants at pleasure. The Christian ceremony of wedlock was yet far from being in general use; marriages were contracted and dissolved after the barbarous fashion of the Pagans, and the heathen practice of exposing children had not yet ceased. We observe too that the first monks tilled their fields with their own hands; that they introduced horticulture, constructed water-mills, boiled salt, and opened mines. To build bridges and level roads were looked upon as works beseming good Christians, and in these the bishops set the example.

CHARLES SWERKERSON, who is said to have governed the realm sagaciously and with good intent, was slain in 1167 on the isle of Vising² by Canute, son of St. Eric, who returned from Norway after a three years' exile. A civil war ensued, in which Kol and Burislev, sons of the brother of Charles, were raised "one after the other to be kings against Canute; but he overcame and slew them both. It may certainly be presumed that Canute had with him the men of Upland, who chose his father to be king, and the followers of Charles who opposed him, had on their side the East Goths, and perhaps several other provinces." Such are the expressions employed by Olave Peterson³ respecting these intestine troubles. In the Westgothic catalogue of kings it is said of CANUTE ERICSON, that he had won Sweden with the sword, bereft three kings of life, and fought many battles before he possessed the realm in quiet; afterwards he proved a good king, and reigned twenty-three years. These however are not to be reckoned from the death of Charles Swerker, but from the end of the civil war, which therefore lasted five years; for king Canute Ericson died, according to the most credible accounts, in the autumn of the year 1195⁴. By a Swedish wife he had four sons.

Although the king had previously to his death caused his subjects to pay homage to one of his sons as his successor elect⁵, yet SWERKER 11., son of Charles, who was carried while a child at his father's death to Denmark, where he obtained protection, was now raised to the throne. In the fourth year of his reign (1200), this sovereign exempted the clergy from suit to the temporal courts, and freed the estates of the church from all services due to the crown. Under the year 1205, the short chronologies, which are for the most part the only sources for the history of this period, make mention of the so-called massacre of Eljaras in West-Gothland, at which all the sons of Canute Ericson, except one who escaped by flight, were put to death. Some writers denominate this transaction the "feud of Eljaras." A papal brief of 1203 contains an account of the event, from which it appears that, the sons of Canute having revolted against Swerker, three of them had lost their lives in one encounter, while the fourth fled, but re-

turning after some interval, succeeded in expelling the king from his throne. Swerker took refuge in Deumark, whence he brought back an army to aid him in asserting his rights, but after an utter defeat at Lena in West-Gothland in the year 1208, he saw himself again compelled to flee. The memory of this bloody engagement was long preserved, and in the neighbourhood of the field of battle it is not yet forgotten; children's children, says the Swedish chronicle, yet spoke of the deeds done that day. A Norwegian account represents the spirit of Odin as present (for the last time) in this conflict⁶. Monkish verses celebrate the victory as won over a doubly superior number of Danes. An old Danish ballad asserts that the preponderance of force was on the Swedish side, and that of eight thousand men who marched out of Denmark only five and fifty returned, representing the combat likewise as one of a civil war, in which the nearest kinsmen bore arms against each other. The gaining of the victory is ascribed to the peasants of Upland; and a Swedish chronicle informs us, that the Upper Swedes were animated by a profound hatred of Swerker, on account of the fate which had befallen the sons of king Canute⁷. Gothic records, on the contrary, attest that the memory of Swerker held a high place in the popular affections⁸. He made a fresh attempt to regain the crown, but fell in another battle which was fought at Gestibren in the same province in the year 1210, it is said by the hands of his own kinsmen, the Folkungers. His second wife Ingrid was of this powerful family, a daughter of the earl of Swedeland, Birger Brosa. By her Swerker had two children, Helen (whose abduction from the convent of Vreta an old Swedish song describes), and Johu, who at his father's death was still of tender years.

ERIC CANUTESON had resided during his exile with his kinsmen in Norway, and succeeded to the government by his victory over his competitor. He essayed to invest his office with new sanctity, for he is the first Swedish sovereign who is mentioned as having been crowned. That he augmented the privileges of the clergy we learn from his charter to the monastery of Risberg in 1212, empowering the convent to receive from its vassals the royal share in the amercements fixed by law for offences. A reconciliation with Denmark was solemnized by a marriage between Eric and Rikissa, sister of the Danish monarch, Waldemar 11. Sweden was still deficient in many of the conveniences of life which had already been introduced into Denmark. The Danish princess, arrived on the coast of Sweden, complained that she must climb on horseback, and could not have, as in her father's country, a car and a driver; but the Swedish dames, we are told, made answer; "Ye shall bring us no Jutish customs here⁹." Eric Canuteson, who from the abundant harvests which marked the seven years of his peaceful reign, is called a good harvest-king, died in 1216, his son Eric being born after the father's death.

The Swedish prelates and magnates now elected John son of Swerker, called the young or the pious,

² In the southern part of lake Wetter, in Gothland. T.

³ Or Olaus Petri, the chronicler. T.

⁴ A letter of this king of the year 1199, quoted by Lagerbring, has demonstrably an incorrect date.

⁵ Celse, Bullarium, p. 45.

⁶ Saga of K. Inge Bardson, c. 20.

⁷ Chronica Erici Olai.

⁸ Table of Kings in the Westgothic Law.

⁹ See the popular song referred to this time in Peder Syv, p. 212. (The name Jutes, Juta, pron. Yutar, seems to be a mere variation of Götar, Goths, pronounced Yötar. T.)

to fill the throne, though he was still a child. On his coronation-day he freed the estates and property of the churches from contribution to the crown, and granted to the bishops the right of levying all fines from the peasants holding land of the church. These privileges he confirmed in 1219, the third year of his reign, by a special brief setting forth as his ground, that 'since our first father's transgression, all human memory is frail and perishable without the undying evidence of letters.' Against the election of the Swedes king Waldemar appealed to the papal chair, alleging the hereditary right of his nephew, the young prince Eric, to the throne, in preference to John¹. On the other side, the princes of Swerker's family style themselves in their letters hereditary kings of the dominion of Sweden². Considering the frequent civil wars, which only died away because the competitors were of too tender age to appear in person at the head of their followers, it is impossible to suppose that in the so-called partition of the kingdom between the houses of SWERKER and ERIC, there was any other compact between the parties than what might be extorted by arms, and written in characters of blood.

After John, the last of Swerker's lineage, had died in 1222, the young ERIC ERICSON, called "the halt and the lisper," was in fact raised to the throne, which, however, was scarcely to prove a more tranquil possession, although the family which had so long struggled with his had now descended to the tomb.

The contests between the Gothic and Swedish ruling houses had gradually effaced the old generic diversities among the population. At the same time they powerfully contributed to elevate the magnates of the country at the expense of the kingly power, and one circumstance which marks their growing importance is, that in papal briefs they are separately addressed as the lords and princes of Sweden³. One family in particular attained great influence in affairs, that of the FOLKUNGERS. Their ancestry ascended into the heathen times; they were nearly related to all the three royal houses of the north, and had held the rank of Earl of Sweden since the days of Birger Brosa, who died in 1202; for this ancient princely dignity had now become the chief office at court, and thereby also in the government of the country. Its holder, who is called Earl of the Swedes, Earl of the Swedes and Goths⁴, Duke of Sweden by the grace of God⁵, is named in the public documents next in order after the king, and was destined, like a similar high officer among the Franks in former times, speedily to usurp the power and place of the sovereign. Canute Johanson, called the Long, a member of this family, espoused the king's sister, and was powerful enough, both from natural endowments and the alliances he had formed, to assert claims to the throne against a sovereign yet in his minority. Old writers denominate him the

Folkunger king; he took up arms, and with him, says the Rhyme Chronicle, "all the rout of the Folkungs;" and he in effect filled the throne from the fight of Alvastra⁶ in 1229, which compelled the young king to flee into Denmark, till 1234, when the victory of Sparafatra (near Upsala), won by the king's party after his return, ended the power of the usurper with his life. Eric recovered his crown upon his rival's death, although his influence in the government was really less than that of the Folkunger Ulf Fasi⁷, who had already been earl under his kinsman Canute, and retained the office under Eric. Holmgeir, son of Canute, fled to Gestrilund, and held his ground against the king in the northern portion of the country. So late as 1248, a papal legate who visited Sweden in that year speaks of intestine war between the king and the magnates as continuing, and the conflict was brought to an end at this time partly through the mediation of the legate himself, after the revolter Holmgeir (who is nevertheless reckoned among Swedish saints), had been made prisoner and beheaded.

This papal legate was the Cardinal William, bishop of Sabina, who had repaired thither to settle ecclesiastical affairs. The first laws of the Swedish Church were framed in the republican spirit which reigned in the old political constitution, therein not at all contravening the usages of elder catholicism, before the hierarchy, swelling in greatness, demanded the separation of the Church from the state⁸. In Sweden the priest was an officer of the people, elected by them with the consent of the bishop, who was himself chosen by the voices of the faithful, and inducted into his office by the king, who delivered to him the crozier and ring. But if the Church was thus more closely incorporated with the state, her members from this very cause took in times of violence a more prominent share in the disorders of the temporal commonwealth. Therefore, when the popes make complaints of the "untamed hardness" of the people of Sweden, these in effect apply not less to the clergy themselves than to the laity. We find the former as well as the latter charged with homicide, outrages, disorderly and vicious lives. Priests, who were bound to keep aloof from the secular tribunals, appeared in the diets to plead as advocates for others⁹; instead of husbanding the property of the Church, they appropriated it to their own use, and transmitted it as a heritage to their children, whence the sons of priests often made solicitation, and with success, to be appointed to their fathers' office. From the scarcity of preachers, little strictness could be exercised in their selection. While the upper part of the kingdom had too few churches, their number in West-Gothland was already so large, that in 1234 the junction of the smaller parishes was decreed¹. For their privilege of contracting marriage the Swedish priesthood appealed to an

¹ Celse, Bullarium, 56.

² So king Swerker II. entitles himself; Ego Swerco, filius Caroli regis, rex Sveorum, ejusdem regni monarchiam, Dei gratia, hereditario jure assecutus.

³ Proceres Svehiæ, Magnates, Principes.

⁴ Dux Sveorum—dux Sveorum et Gothorum.

⁵ In a Swedish charter of 1248.

⁶ The records have Oluström and Alvastrum, which are manifestly the same.

⁷ Compare the Saga of Haco Hakanson, c. 259.

⁸ Antiquiores canones habent, quod consensus honoratorum in civitate requirendus et admittendus sit in electionibus episcoporum. Disputatum est de illo canone acriter postea. Celse, Bullarium, 37.

⁹ This was forbidden under the penalty of excommunication by a brief of Pope Gregory IX., in 1234, to the bishop of Skara.

¹ Diplomatarium Suec.

old papal grace². In the Scanian revolt of 1180, it was one of the demands of the peasants, that their priests should be allowed to marry. Those of the clergy whose marriages were not connived at, generally formed instead irregular connections; and if the bishops were zealous against all this, we find the priests on the other hand entering into bonds to pay no obedience to their mandates, and imposing penalties on those who should not make common cause with their colleagues in this respect. Remonstrances were also made by the minor clergy as to the burden of the expensive episcopal visitations, as well as the disagreements between the various classes of the spirituality; for great animosity prevailed among the secular priesthood against the monks, of whom the numbers in Sweden were now augmented by the introduction of the Franciscans and Dominicans, or the so-called Gray and Black Friars.

At the Synod convoked by the Cardinal at Skenninge in 1248, which was also attended by the earl and several temporal lords, marriage was forbidden to the Swedish clergy on penalty of excommunication, and abolished; the study of the canon law also was enjoined, and in conformity to its rules every episcopal election was to be managed by the chapter, all laical interference being excluded. To this end, in all cathedral churches which did not already possess them, capitular bodies were to be formed. As is generally the case, the execution of the law did not correspond to its letter. Ten years afterwards we still hear the complaint, that the ordinance respecting chapters had had no results; these were, however, gradually founded, and the prebends endowed with revenues. How the prohibition of clerical marriages was obeyed, may be inferred from the circumstance, that for a long time after the synod of Skenninge, the provincial laws retained their enactments regarding inheritances by sons of priests and bishops. In consequence of this prohibition also a papal bull was issued, by which the penalties against irregular connections of clergymen were mitigated.

Earl BIRGER the younger, elevated to this dignity in 1248, and like his predecessor Ulf a Folkunger, was married to the sister of king Eric. The greatness of his power is attested by the words of the papal legate; "By him is this land wholly governed." After the synod of Skenninge, measures were taken for the restoration of harmony with Norway, which had been for a long time back disturbed by the frequent interference of the Verme-landers in the Norwegian troubles, and a Norse inroad thereby provoked. The earl next put himself at the head of a crusade against the Tavasters of Finland, who had relapsed into Paganism, practising the most horrid cruelties against the Christians residing in that country, and often annoying the Swedish coasts in conjunction with the Carelians and Esthonians. Birger subdued the Tavasters, and compelled them to embrace Christianity; he also founded the castle of Tavasteborg, and transplanted Christian settlers into the country. To him is ascribed the location of the Swedish colony in East Bothnia, as that in Nyland is to St. Eric. The Rhyme Chronicle asserts that Tavastland, now become Christian, had formerly been subject to Russia. It is certain that the Swedes made an incursion into Russia shortly before or during this war³; but they were driven back, as the Russian annals tell us, by the grand duke Alexander Newsky. He is alleged to have wounded Birger in the battle⁴, wherein the earl's son, perhaps his natural son Guttorm, is said to have been also present.

King ERIC ERICSON died on the 2nd February, 1250; a grave and righteous prince, say the old writers, but little versed in martial exercises. He had been married since 1243 to Catherine, whose parents were the Folkunger Sune Folkerson, and a daughter of Swerker II.; but she gave her husband no heirs, and after his death entered a cloister. A hundred years after St. Eric had been chosen king, his line upon the Swedish throne became extinct with Eric Ericson⁵.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOLKUNGERS.

EARL BIRGER AND HIS SONS. KING BIRGER AND HIS BROTHERS. MAGNUS ERICSON WITH HIS SONS.

A. D. 1250—1365.

THE accession of the powerful family now elevated to the throne betokens a new epoch, as well for the authority of the crown as the power of the aristocracy. Both gained increase of strength at the cost of the people, agreeing themselves in but one object, that of curbing the mass into obedience; hence an age of absoluteness for the powerful, is also one of legislation for the people. This legislation, taken literally, shows the old federative system confirmed by the kings, but above its level two privileged classes are created, raised beyond the

law in their most important representatives, and usurping the place of the people in council and in the transaction of public affairs. At the same time, the contests which formerly divided the people are now transferred to a higher grade, and waged between their legislators. These remind us of builders who, when they have reared some lofty fabric, precipitate each other from its walls.

Laws associated with such recollections, however, are not the only memorials which this age has transmitted to us. The great Rhyme Chro-

the unbelieving Russians, to whose assaults the Christians of Finland were exposed.

² The pope's letters exhort to crusades as well against the Tavasters, who had apostatized from Christianity, as against

³ Compare Karamsin.

⁴ Chronica Erici Olai.

⁵ Chronica Erici Olai.

nicle, the main source for the history of Sweden during the latter period of the middle age, begins with the revolt of the Folkungers against king Eric Ericson. It is the production of several writers nearly contemporary with the events it describes, though for the most part unknown by name, of whom the oldest lived about the year 1319. The best treatise of morals or politics which the Swedish middle age affords, upon "the government of kings and princes⁶," was also composed under this dynasty. The author, who is unknown, had probably like many of his countrymen in this age studied at Paris⁷, where the dissertation of *Ægidius Romanus*⁸, composed it is said for Philip the Fair of France, afforded him a model, although his work has much that is peculiar to itself. He seems to have written under a king who was still in childhood, and probably under the minority of Magnus Ericson. He is by no means zealous, though himself in all likelihood a clergyman, for the ascendancy of the church in temporal affairs; and seems to have learned from the dangers of an elective monarchy and the tyranny of an unbridled oligarchy, to advocate a hereditary throne and a kingly power fortified by the law and the people. The language is admirable for its olden simplicity and force, and its antique character affords the best proof of the authenticity of the work. The great GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, by whose order the book was first published, valued it so highly that he desired it to be used for the instruction of his daughter, and designed to introduce it as a text book in the public schools. From this age also have come down the greatest number of our old popular ballads. It was the age of knighthood in Sweden; the romances of chivalry now found their way to the North, and there are copies of some existing in the Swedish language, of which the German and French originals are lost⁹.

Earl BIRGER, who in the last days of Eric Ericson was already the real possessor of supreme power, was absent on his crusade against the Finlanders, when the throne became vacant. It was suddenly filled by the election of the earl's eldest son, young WALDEMAR, brought about chiefly through the influence of the lord Ivar Blå of Gröneborg, a powerful baron, whose object in this expedient seems to have been to avert a civil war. To elevate Waldemar to the throne was to deliver the government into his father's hands; yet Birger, having returned with his army, manifested no small dissatisfaction, and demanded in wrath who it was that had dared to appoint a king? "That have I dared," was lord Ivar's answer; "and if thou rest not content herewith, we know right well where stands a king." The earl was silent for a while, and at last exclaimed, "Whom then would you have to be king?" "Under this mantle of mine," Ivar replied, "a king might well enough be found at need." With that earl Birger was fain to be content, and Waldemar, yet

a child, who with his brother was under the care of a preceptor, was crowned at Linköping in 1251.

They, whose rivalry for power the earl had really to dread, were his own kinsmen. In those times, it is said, the Folkungers were powerful for every ill deed, and roamed through the land with their armed bands, like robbers rather than nobles¹. The sagas of the Norwegian kings inform us, that great dissensions were produced in Sweden by the election which had been made, because there were several claimants who regarded themselves as having an equal title to the crown. The heads of the malecontents were Philip, son of the Folkunger king, overthrown under the former reign; Canute, son of the powerful Magnus Brok, by a daughter of king Eric Canuteson; another Philip, the chief abettor of Holmgeir, who was beheaded in 1248 by order of earl Birger; lastly, the young and brave Charles Ulfsen, whose father had been earl of Sweden before Birger. These were all Folkungers, and the first-named two were also pretenders to the crown; the last is termed the most powerful of Birger's enemies, although he took no part in the revolt of his kinsmen. Philip and Canute sought foreign assistance, first unsuccessfully in Norway, next with better fortune in Denmark and Germany. Thence they returned with levies of troops, and made a descent on Upper Sweden, where probably the greatest number of their partisans was to be found, as especial mention is made of the Uplanders in their army. The earl met them at Herrevad's Bridge in Westmanland, and proffered peace and reconciliation. The insurgent leaders crossed the bridge unarmed to hold a conference for the purpose of adjusting terms of agreement, but Birger had them seized, and caused them to be immediately beheaded. This is the account of the Rhyme Chronicle, with which the sagas of Norway agree, adding that the earl, for this deed, had to bear much blame². Tidings of it were brought to Charles Ulfsen in Norway, whither he had conducted Birger's daughter to be the bride of king Haco's eldest son. Dreading on his return home that he might fall a victim to the machinations of the earl, he quitted the kingdom, and fell in a crusade against the Lithuanians. From this time no man in Sweden dared to rise against earl BIRGER.

In 1255, the earl solicited and obtained permission from the pope to confer upon his other sons as well as Waldemar the government of certain portions of the kingdom, which, as is said, had legally devolved upon him as duke of the Swedes. His design in this was to exalt his family above all other competitors; but while he succeeded in this, he also threw the torch of discord into his own house. His first consort, mother of four sons, whose dissensions broke out over their father's grave, had died in 1254. Birger contracted a second marriage with Matilda, widow of the fratricide king Abel of Denmark, where he had also chosen a wife for his son in the daughter of the murdered king Eric Plowpenny³. Waldemar

⁶ Um Styrlise Konunga ock Höfdinga. First published by Joh. Bureus, 1634.

⁷ A letter of John, archbishop of Upsala, in 1291, contains instructions for the Swedes studying in Paris, who inhabited a particular house in that city bequeathed for their use, and received a fund for their support from the tithes of the see of Upsala.

⁸ *Deregimine principum*. The edition I have used, Leyden, 12mo, 1630, is published under the name of Thomas Aquinas.

⁹ As for example, the Swedish Saga of Theodoric of Berne

(distinct from the Icelandic), and the poetical romaunt, "Duke Frederic of Normandy," published in the *Journal Iduna*, Nos. 9 and 10.

¹ Rhyme Chronicle. Joannes Magnus Goth. *Sueonumque Historia*.

² Saga of K. Haco Hakanson, c. 269.

³ (Plogpenning. So called, *ad invidiam*, from a tax or gavel imposed by him upon every ploughland. T.)

was distinguished for the beauty of his person, and was now in his twentieth year; his nuptials with the Danish princess Sophia were solemnized with great pomp at Jenköping in 1262. At this time earl Birger made the law, that a sister should inherit half as much as a brother⁴, for before this time the daughter only inherited when there was no son; in other cases the law said, "cap, come in; hood, begone⁵." By him was also introduced the general land's-peace, called Edsöre, because "it was confirmed by the oath of the king, and all the principal men of the realm⁶." By this covenant was guaranteed under severe penalties, the peace of the domestic hearth, of women, of churches, of courts of justice, and the exercise of irregular revenge was forbidden, for the power of the law did not yet extend further. Whosoever broke the pact, was to be proclaimed throughout the kingdom as having lost his peace; he forfeited all that he possessed "above ground," and was not allowed to atone for his transgression by fine without the intercession of the complainant. To earl Birger's legislation appertains also the abolition of the ordeal by red-hot iron as a legal proof, and the interdiction of gift-thralls (gaftrålar), as those were called who had voluntarily given themselves up to servitude, with several other ordinances, which the Law of East-Gothland more especially has preserved.

The foundation of the town of STOCKHOLM has also been ascribed to Birger, although a settlement had been in progress upon this site since the destruction of Sigtuna by the Finnish pirates in 1187. The little island lying between the two outlets of lake Mälär, which contained the first town, was now fortified⁷ for defence against the piratical incursions of the Finns. These were still so formidable in this age, that a papal bull of the year 1259 exhorted the kings of Sweden and Denmark to make a joint effort to check the ravages of the pirates on the Swedish coast. Stockholm was a castle before the Mälär, says the Rhyme Chronicle; its earliest author enumerates seven towns upon the banks of that lake, and the rise of these is also attested by several commercial treaties. With Lübeck and Hamburg reciprocal freedom of trade was established, which was not long afterwards extended to Riga. In the renewed treaty with Lübeck, reference is made to the alliance which had already subsisted between Sweden and the German towns since king Cauute Ericson's time. Birger sought also to form connections with England. In the disputes of Denmark and Norway his mediation was received with deference, and he afforded shelter in his court to a Russian grand duke⁸. Earl BIRGER, king without the name, the last and most powerful of the earls of Sweden, died on the 21st of October, (A. D. 1266,) lamented after his death, whatever blame might have attached to

many of his actions during life. Old and young, it is said, mourned for him, and the women, whose rights and peace he had taken under his guard, prayed for his soul.

WALDEMAR now began really to reign, but he now also yielded up the provinces which his father had allotted to his brothers. Magnus obtained Sudermania with the castle of Nyköping; in Waldemar's time he alone among the brothers bore the title of duke. Eric, whose fief is not specified, did not receive the title before the accession of Magnus, and died shortly afterwards, in the year 1275. Bennet, the youngest, who entered the spiritual state, is styled, during the reign of Magnus, his brother's chancellor; he was made duke of Finland in 1284, bishop of Linköping two years afterwards, and died in the possession of these dignities in 1291. He was mild and well-beloved, and sought, though vainly, to preserve harmony between his brothers, of whom the elder two were speedily at strife with the king. Waldemar thought only of his own enjoyments; the queen scoffed at her brothers-in-law. Eric, whom from his insignificance, she nicknamed Good-for-nothing, repaired to Norway, and made the king's ear the receptacle of his complaints. Magnus, who was lean and dark-complexioned, she called Tinker. But he kept a far more splendid court than the king, and his numerous retainers excelled in all knightly exercises. A love-intrigue at length lost Waldemar his crown. His consort Sophia, who had already brought him several heirs⁹, received in 1273 a visit from her sister Jutta, who left her cloister and came to the Swedish court, "fair as an angel from heaven," as the Rhyme Chronicle has it. Her guilty intercourse with the king, of which a child was the fruit, produced discord in his house, degraded him in the eyes of the people, and drew down upon his head the censures of the church. That he was obliged to expiate his offence by a pilgrimage to Rome is probable, as the bull of January 9, 1274¹, by which the pope forbids the choice of another king in Sweden, appears to have been procured by Waldemar during this journey. No letters from Magnus with the kingly title are found of earlier date than the beginning of 1275, but as in a subsequent document he mentions the year 1285 as the twelfth of his reign, he seems to have included in it his regency during the absence of Waldemar. The duke felt by no means inclined to restore the reins of power to the king on his return. A conference of all the four brothers took place in the summer of 1274, at which the youngest, for the promotion of amity, vainly offered to renounce his governments. It led to no salutary result; and in the following year intestine war broke out. Magnus and Eric concluded a league with king Eric Glipping in Denmark, who assisted them with troops, they engaging to pay six thousand marks silver. The royal army, consisting chiefly

⁴ This was called "to inherit by the new law." East-Gothland Law, Aarf. B. f. 2.

⁵ The law of East-Gothland uses this form of words, to express the preference given to males in the rights of inheritance.

⁶ So king Magnus Ladulas expresses himself in the confirmation of his father's peace-laws. Edsöre means oath.

⁷ "With towers and walls," says Olave Peterson. But the walls were of wood, as were those with which the town was still encompassed in 1317, as is remarked in the Script. rer. Suec. i. sect. i. p. 56.

⁸ Andrei Jaroslawitsch, brother of Alexander Newsky. Compare Karamsin.

⁹ Namely, a son, Eric (an elder of the same name had died in 1268), and two daughters, Richissa and Marina, of whom the former married Duke Primislaus of Kalisch, afterwards King of Poland; the latter (of whose marriage a romantic tradition is preserved, compare S. R. S. i. s. 2. 12), Count Rudolph of Diepholt. Another daughter, Margaret, was, according to Eric Olavson, a nun in the convent of Skeninge.

¹ Celse, Bullarium.

of levies of country-people, took post at Hofva in West-Gothland, to defend against them the entrance of the Tiwed forest. Waldemar with his court remained in the rear at Ramundeboda, in the heart of the wood, and abandoned himself to complete security. The king slept, it is said, the queen was playing chess, and made herself merry respecting duke Magnus, when a blood-stained messenger announced the overthrow and flight of the army. WALDEMAR, with his consort, and a son three years old, fled through the forests of Vermeland into Norway. He returned, was made prisoner, and obliged to submit to the conditions imposed by Magnus, according to which he was to be left in possession of Gothland. MAGNUS was crowned in 1279, at Upsala, whither the archiepiscopal see had been removed from old Upsala. Waldemar, indeed, made some endeavours to recover his dominions by Norwegian mediation, and when the king of Denmark embraced his party, by Danish co-operation, but he soon gave up all for lost, and consoled himself with a new mistress. An old account says: In the year 1279, Waldemar delivered his part of the kingdom into the hands of his brother Magnus, and betook himself to Denmark, moved by his love for a certain woman called Christina. After this we find him deserting his wife for the arms of three successive paramours, renewing more than once both his claim to the throne, and his renunciation, and at last, in 1283, consigned to imprisonment in the castle of Nyköping. His captivity, however, was at no time rigorous², and became still more easy after the death of Magnus; though his son Eric was now also arrested, and obliged to share his own lot. Waldemar died in prison in 1302³. Thereafter his son was released, and resided for some time in Norway; he is styled duke in Norwegian records⁴, and was in 1322 one of the councillors of king Magnus Ericson.

MAGNUS had been first elevated to the throne by the Uplanders, an appellation by which the Rhyme Chronicle designates the inhabitants of Sweden Proper generally. These appear to have forgotten neither their former privilege of nominating and deposing kings, nor their old spirit of contentious turbulence, for we find them taking up arms in every rising of the Folkungers. Magnus, as well as his father, had to quell one of these insurrections after the close of the war with Denmark, which was confined to mutual predatory inroads. The favour and confidence which he lavished on foreigners in preference to his own countrymen, was intolerable to the Upper Swedes, and the more, that this partiality was not infrequently rewarded with ingratitude. Peter Forse, an exiled Dane who had won his good graces, made the king prisoner in the very castle of which the royal confidence had entrusted to him the custody, in order to enforce payment of a debt which he claimed. Magnus is said, nevertheless, to have remained as much attached to him as before. Ingemar Nilson, another Danish knight whom the king favoured, and had married to his kinswoman Helena, was the object of universal hatred. The Folkungers

excited fresh disturbances. Proceeding from menace to violence, they slew Ingemar Nilson (A. D. 1278), seized the king's father-in-law, Count Gerard of Holstein, who had come on a visit to his daughter, and compelled the queen to take refuge in a convent. Apparently they were not indisposed to replace Waldemar on the throne, and Magnus, who felt the danger of his position, resorted to dissimulation, and endeavoured to mollify the revolvers by caresses and promises. Letters and records of this time attest his seeming intimacy with Birger Philipson, one of the insurgent chiefs. He accepted their hospitality, and invited them to his manor of Galaquist near Skara. Here, where the assassination of the king's favourite had taken place, they were seized and thrown into prison. Afterwards they were removed to Stockholm, where four of the ringleaders were beheaded in 1280, many others also losing life and property. It is with some surprise we find the Roman law of treason adduced against the rebels on this occasion⁵. This was the third and last insurrection of the Folkungers during three successive reigns. Of that dreaded name we no longer hear anything, although it is known, that besides the branch which was elevated to the throne, other important members of the family had survived their last fatal disaster. This seems to prove that it was latterly used oftenest as the appellation of a party, denoting the most powerful of those military leagues and factious which the long-continued civil wars had generated. It is worthy of remark, that subsequently (A. D. 1285), the king, in the ordinance of Skenninge, forbids under the severest penalties, all party associations or "secret confederacies," especially among the nobility, as a deeply-rooted evil, of which the kingdom had had painful experience. Whosoever, by writing, oath, or in any other mode should give consent to such an union, his estates should be wasted and he should be declared to have lost his peace for ever, unless the king's pardon were interposed.

Much light is thrown on the condition of the country, by the statutes that were now passed, after the cessation of civil discords. These perhaps have been regarded too much as the offspring of a legislation novel in its principles; though they relate rather to an order of society previously subsisting, and it is chiefly in this point of view that they are instructive. It is usually stated that king Magnus introduced diets of lords (*herredagarna*) for the transaction of public affairs, and thereby deprived the people of their legislative rights, which had been exercised in the old general assemblies (*allshärjarting*). But these had for the most part disappeared with the ancient sacrifices, and could not again be revived in the form of diets, so long as the contests regarding religion and the throne continued. Amidst the disputes and counter-elections of opposite parties, and the struggles of rival dynasties, the real power ad already long passed into the hands of the magnates. Surrounded by bands of martial followers, between whom a slight-

² He subscribed his attestation to a rescript of Magnus a short time before the latter's death.

³ S. R. S. i. s. 1, 27.

⁴ Suhm, *History of Denmark* xi. 673. Those who have made him court-chaplain to Haco Magnuson of Norway are

in error. The words "*Magister capellarum nostrarum*," which in the signatures of the charter mentioned by Suhm, id. 613, follow after the words "*Dominus Ericus Waldemari quondam regis Svecorum filius*," relate to another person.

⁵ In legem Julianam majestatis incidereunt. Letter of the king's brother Bennet, July 25, 1282.

ing word might cause a deadly strife, as may be seen from the prohibition by king Magnus of injurious expressions, they employed their dependents in mutual feuds, and made use of their influence on the common people for the instigation of revolts. Dangers of this kind threatened especially when the king convoked the men of his realm to a parley, on which occasions likewise the multitude of men that was assembled and claimed to live at the king's charge produced delay and heavy expense. It is thus we understand the strict injunctions issued by king Magnus for the preservation of general peace in every place where the king should come to hold a conference, the cessation of all deadly feud at the same time between individuals, "howsoever highly born they might be," and even the removal of all weapons of strife, under penalty of loss of property and perpetual banishment; thus is to be explained the prohibition against appearing on such an occasion without a summons, or with a greater retinue than the king, and the right of legislation which he claimed to himself "with his council and his good men (*goda män*)" in various cases which were "not guarded against by the law, nor set down in it⁶." In that age this was an improvement, and was so deemed by the people, for this power it was which enabled the king to give new force to the laws, passed by his father for the maintenance of peace, in virtue of which he took under his especial protection widows, fatherless children, and old men, especially those who had done service to him, and issued edicts against exacting quarters from the peasants by force, or against "that abuse which had long existed, that all who travel through the country, be they ever so rich, demand entertainment without paying for it, and spend in a little while what the poor man has earned by the labour of a long time⁷." By these laws and the general strictness of his administration, king Magnus acquired the surname of Ladulas (barn-locker), because he was a lock for the peasant's barn. "And this name of Ladulas," says Olave Peterson in his *Swedish Chronicle*, "is an honourable title, which has conferred greater praise and fame on king Magnus, than if he had been called a Roman emperor. For there be found not many in the world, who can be styled barn-lock; barn-breaker has ever been more common."

It is necessary not to forget, that both the great rulers who enacted laws to secure the maintenance

of public peace in Sweden, had themselves stained their hands with blood treacherously shed; as Magnus seems not to have reflected upon the transactions attending his own accession to the crown, when he obtained from the clergy assembled at the Synod of Telje in 1279, a declaration, that in future every man who offered violence to the person of a crowned king of Sweden, should be placed under the ban of excommunication, and never be acknowledged as a legitimate sovereign. But his age is incontestably distinguished by new and extended ideas of the rights and power of the sovereign, a spirit which shows itself so manifestly in all directions, as long afterwards to allow of several ordinances, fabricated in the same view, being imputed to Magnus Ladulas with some appearance of probability. This is the case with the so-called statute of Helgeand's Holm⁸, whereof no one had heard anything till in 1587 an individual, otherwise notorious for his striving after court favour, produced a memoir on the subject. According to this, the crown obtained in 1282 an exclusive right of possession over all mines, all fisheries in the great waters and streams of Sweden, all settlements upon unenclosed forests and lands, whereon a general assessment of taxes was asserted to have been ordered and carried into effect, on the ground that the estate of Upsala was no longer adequate to the supply of the king's necessities and the public expenditure in general. This statement, although its truth was doubted almost from the first, attained a kind of prescriptive credit in our history, which however cannot be sustained against indubitable evidence. Mines in Sweden were formerly, as now, demonstrably the property of private persons⁹. So too were fisheries, as for example, those in the great streams of Norrland¹, although there were instances in which property of this nature was held by our kings. With regard to common forests a similar tenure prevailed. In the provincial laws these are said to be the property of the several parishes, although common (*allmenning*) is also sometimes mentioned as belonging to the king², and where no right of property existed, the crown naturally bestowed an authorized possession, as may be seen even in the time of the Folkungers, from royal ordinances concerning the disposal of the waste tracts surrounding the upper portion of the Gulf of Bothnia. Touching the general assessment of the taxes, that repartition of the ground, which is said to have served

⁶ These words are quoted from the ordinance of Skenninge in 1285.

⁷ Ordinance of Alsno in the same year. A purveyor was to be named for every village, who should provide sustenance for travellers upon payment being made. No man could demand a horse without the king's letters. Bishops' and noblemen's mansions were freed from the obligation of entertainment. (The offence of *valdgästning* above described, is that of sorning, or exacting free quarters by intimidation, a practice common in former ages in Scotland and Ireland. T.)

⁸ So called because it was alleged to have been agreed to at a folk-mote held on Helgeand's Holm (or Isle) at Stockholm. The memorial was laid before the Royal Chancery and Chamber of Accounts by one Palne Ericson (Rosenträle), a flatterer of King John III. This person is styled in an inscription on the document in another hand, "a capital liar," and the memoir itself, "Palne Ericson's imagined information."

⁹ Compare the edict of 1485, upon the dues which the

crown might claim from mines, and the rights of the proprietor. If a pit was commenced upon ground liable to the taxes, the proprietor was to pay "tithe and rate to the crown, as heretofore hath been wont in the case of other mines;" if the ground were tax-free, the crown could claim no dues upon the procedure. The decree of 1396, by which the whole of the Kopparberg, with the exception of the portion belonging to the bishop of Westera, was pronounced to be crown property, is directed against the heirs of the high-steward Bo Jonsson, and appears not to have been put in execution. In the time of Charles IX. the crown still possessed only a fourth part of the mine at Falun.

¹ King Birger Magnusson's ordinance of 1297, respecting the tithes payable by the Helsingers from salmon, herring, and seal fisheries, lays claim to no right of "property" in the same on the part of the crown.

² Common is spoken of as crown property in the Law of East-Gothland. Egnas. i. 2.

for its basis³, is just as certainly older than the reign of Magnus Ladulas, as it is clear that tributes already existed before his time. Originally these were benevolences for the maintenance of the yearly sacrifices, and for the warlike expeditions of the king, which formerly for the most part took place every year, or his progresses of pleasure through the country; but various contributions for the occasion, accruing in some cases from the soil, in others from personal taxes, had gradually assumed under dissimilar appellations in different provinces the character of permanent taxes. For every new impost the consent of the people was requisite, although in this respect many abuses even in these times existed, as we learn from the injunctions of Magnus to his governors (Länsmen), not to levy gavel against the will of the commonalty, and from his own apologies to the Helsingers for the demand of various extraordinary imposts, which they had paid "of grace and not of obligation," and which he "humbly for God's sake prays them indulgently to judge and to pardon, bearing in remembrance on the other hand whatever good he might have effected in his day⁴." Even this king nevertheless looked upon the crown taxes as his private property, and gives assignments on their produce to furnish means for the rich endowments, which he bequeaths by his will to churches and monasteries.

It is an essentially false theory of the tenure of taxed lands in Sweden, which gave importance to the pretended statute of Helgand's Holm. It was observed that from ancient times the settler on commonable ground acquired by payments to the crown a public recognition of his right of property, and the conclusion was thence drawn, that the crown had always been the possessor of the soil; although when the common previously belonged to a determinate parish, the payment of gavel (skatt) to the crown, as old law cases in which the point was tried establish, was a method by which the new settler freed himself from the dependence in which he had stood towards that parish⁵. From this position there was but one step to another, that liability to taxation was generally incompatible with a full right of property in the soil, or that the latter always belonged to the receiver of the taxes; an opinion which has been asserted in Sweden, as it has also been triumphantly refuted⁶. In itself, it is irreconcilable with the municipal law of Sweden, which is a stranger to the ideas that in other countries sprang out of a feudal system founded upon conquest⁷. Such a system was always foreign to Swedish institutions, and hence these relations have but an external resemblance

to those which are found in other countries. This holds true especially of the distinction between free and unfree (Frælse and Ofælse), defined no doubt more sharply under Magnus Ladulas, but still denoting only the exemption from or liability to payment of taxes to the crown; the latter as well as the former being conjoined not only with personal freedom, but with the full right of property in the soil.

Magnus extended to their complete development the immunities and privileges of the Swedish clergy, and granted to the secular nobility their first charter of exemption from taxation; although this privilege was originally intended less to increase the power of the nobles than that of the crown. It may be properly described as an attempt to transform all nobility into the feudatory class, or to make the performance of service the condition of possessing its immunities. Exemption from tribute was, without doubt, anciently among the rights of the so-called 'king's-men,' who, to use the words of Magnus himself, "attended him with rede and help, and therefore were worthy of greater honour." They were likewise, for the most part, men of birth; at least, none but free-born could attain to the distinction of being the king's comrade in arms; but this nobility was essentially personal, not hereditary. There was besides a nobility of birth, acknowledged by general consent, older than all charters, and powerful enough to be able to dispense with them, although the crown made attempts betimes to transform this into a courtly or feudal nobility. The members of this old aristocracy, originally sprung from families either themselves of royal condition or allied with royal houses, are styled in the records of those times "the great⁸," "free barons and nobles of the realm⁹," "high and well-born men." These too were surrounded by martial retainers, whose numbers had been augmented in the intestine troubles of the country, who used their power as the measure of their freedom, and probably wanted as little the will as the ability to shake off their due share of taxation. That the "greater honour" which household service obtained was not confined merely to the king's court, may be seen from the higher value which the laws set upon the life of a courtier, whether the person were in the service of an earl, a bishop, or like great baron, who maintains at least forty serving men in his household¹. In the measure by which Magnus exempted from payment to the king "all persons serving on horseback, in the service of whomsoever they might be²," there is an evident design, partly to array in defence of the crown bands of warlike yeomen, who dis-

³ As the coins were classed by the mark, the öre, the örtug, so the cultivated ground was reckoned by markland, öresland, örtugland. Another division, by eighths (attingar), was followed chiefly in Gothland, though it is found also in Upper Sweden. Compare *Diplomat. Suec.* i. 179.

⁴ *Quare vobis universis ac singulis humiliter in Domino supplicamus, quatinus in hoc velitis nobis parcere, et sic vestris de cordibus omnino dimittere, ut non nobis hoc coram summi Judicis oculis imputetur.*

⁵ A whole parish, that of the Forest (Skog), in South Helginsland, was formed in this way by a judgment given in 1343, granting a right of independent property to persons settling there.

⁶ Edward Ehrensten (councillor of state in 1683), wrote in the last years of Christina's reign the excellent "Proof

against the Nobility's Claim of right to assessable Lands granted in fief;" printed at Stockholm, 1769.

⁷ Thus the Folkland of the Anglo-Saxons (so called as distinguished from land granted in fief), was in time called *terra regia*, or crown-land; and the false view that the king originally possessed the whole land, *jure coronæ*, insinuated itself into the English laws from the Norman conquest.

⁸ Magnates, majores in old letters. *Ivihera* (overlords), in the Law of East-Gothland.

⁹ Barones Suecice, nobiles, in Eric Olaveson.

¹ Law of East-Gothland, Drap. B. 14. Whatever was paid above the usual fine for the life of a freeman was called in those cases *thukkabot* (shame-bote), because it was to atone for the shame put upon the servitor's lord.

² Ordinance of Aslnö, 1285.

tinguished themselves by more costly and brilliant equipment; and partly, to establish service generally as the condition of earning the privileges of nobility. Thus was instituted the tenure "of knight-service"³ by which every man who served on horseback against the enemies of the kingdom, furnished at his own cost, gained exemption from taxation for himself and his estate, on conditions which were more exactly defined in the sequel. This was called "to serve for a freehold" (*tjena för frælset*), in contradistinction to "paying taxes and dues as a peasant." But the peasant might acquire his freedom from tallage by the like service, and many of them actually did so gain it; as, on the other hand, the knight, according to the letter of the law, forfeited his freedom by neglecting to render his service⁴. Knighthood, which Magnus was the first of the Swedish sovereigns to confer, had become in Sweden also a personal distinction for the nobility, whose whole classification at this time was formed upon the model of chivalry. In public documents, after the bishops, the knights are always first, and they alone are styled lords (*herremen*); next the arm-bearers (*väpnare*) or squires-at-arms (*svenar af vapen*), literally, the serving nobility⁵. Both are included under the denomination of well-born men, which again was, seemingly, not extended to the mere free proprietors or *frälsemen*, who had earned their freedom from taxes by horse-service.

After the termination of the civil war and the hostilities with Denmark, MAGNUS enjoyed a tranquil reign. By his neighbours he was held in great respect, and he had alliances with several German princes⁶. In the quarrel between Norway and the Hanse Towns, in which the "Germans of Wisby" appear on an equal footing of independence with the other parties, Magnus acted as arbiter, and having adjusted (in 1283) the disputes between the peasants of Gothland and the burghers of Wisby, he re-established the old Swedish rights of sovereignty over the island. His court was brilliant, and enlivened by the continual practice of knightly exercises. The Marshal (*marsk*) and the Steward (*drots*), officers of the household who are very anciently mentioned, attained at this period so great influence, that the holders of those dignities resembled in power and consequence the former jarls. Magnus, during his reign, checked the excesses of the nobles. The powerful family of the Algotsons, of whom one had carried off a bride by force, expiated the offence by exile, imprisonment, or death⁷. In bounty to the church he was surpassed by no one who ever sat on the Swedish throne, whence he is sometimes called the Holy King Magnus. He founded five monasteries, and

from his testament, which was framed in 1285, we learn that he had made a vow of a crusade to the Holy Land, for the deliverance of which a separate tithe was raised, during five years, by Papal envoys.

By his marriage, in 1276, with Helviga of Holstein, who survived him, he had several children, of whom one son and one daughter died in infancy, while the rest, at the death of their father, had not yet passed their childhood. Three of his sons, Birger, Eric, and Valdemar, of whom the first-named bore the title of king during his father's life-time, the others that of duke, were one day to contend for the crown. Of his daughters, Rikissa, while yet a child, had been placed with great solemnities in the convent of St. Clara at Stockholm; Ingeborg, in 1296, was married to King Eric Menved, in Denmark, where her memory was long affectionately cherished. When Magnus felt his end approaching, he called his grandees together, recommended his children to their care, and appointed the marshal Thorkel Canuteson guardian of his sons. He died in the isle of Wising⁸, December 18, 1290, and was interred in the burial place which he had set apart for himself in the Franciscan monastery at Stockholm, expressing his hope that "his memory might not die away with the sounds of the bells over his grave."

BIRGER, who had been chosen in 1284, when but three years of age, to succeed his father, was now placed upon the throne, while Thorkel Canuteson assumed the functions of government. By his regency, the marshal won for himself so famous a memory, that according to the Rhyme Chronicle, "things stood so well with Sweden, that better days would scarcely come;" yet it opened with a universal calamity, famine and great mortality prevailing, and most severely in 1291. Thorkel Canuteson completed the work begun by St. Eric and earl Birger in Finland, establishing Christianity and Swedish dominion in the eastern part of the country, whence the heathen Carélians continued to issue on their devastating forays, which were marked by hideous cruelties⁹. In a crusade undertaken in 1293, the Carélians were subdued, made tributary, and again brought to Christianity, at least in name¹. For the security of the conquest Wiborg was founded, by which the Swedes were placed in immediate contact with Russia. In effect this Finnish crusade also produced a war with the Russians, in the course of which the Swedes took and fortified Kexholm. This place however was again lost, as was some years afterwards Landscrona, founded by the marshal himself.

Sweden yet possessed no code of laws collected

³ *Adeliga rusttjenst*, horse-service of the nobles. The word is from *rus*, *ros*, which in old Swedish means horse (*häst*).

⁴ Compare Magnus Ericson's ordinance of 1345

⁵ *Sven* means servant (*swain*).

⁶ The Margraves of Brandenburg, Otho, Conrad, and John, who with Gerard, Count of Holstein and Schauenburg, bound themselves to furnish him with assistance when necessary. The last-named received in consideration of this a yearly sum of 600 marks in money, which, according to Olave Pettersen, at this time amounted to 200 marks (pounds weight) silver.

⁷ Algot, the father of the culprit, was lagman of West-Gothland. Joannes Magnus, xx. 8. T.

⁸ Lying in the great lake Vetter, and containing one of the royal mansions. T.

⁹ In a letter of king Birger to Lubeck and several Hanse towns, renewing the prohibition against exporting arms to the Finns, it is said that the Carélians spared neither sex, age, nor rank, and martyred their captives by flaying them alive and tearing out the entrails. Such cruelties (see a brief of Gregory IX. in 1237) had occasioned the crusade of earl Birger against the Tavasters.

¹ The Russians, according to Karamsin, maintain that they had previously baptized them in 1227. Pope Alexander III. remarks that the Finns, when menaced by a hostile army, always engaged to embrace Christianity, but on its departure renounced their profession and persecuted the Christian teachers.

and ratified by royal authority. The legal customs observed in the different provinces, out of which our old provincial laws were formed, were indeed generally confirmed by every king, when after his election at the Mora Stone he made his Eric's gait (Eriks-gata), or ordinary progress of homage throughout the country; but the conservation of the laws was left to the personal care of the justiciaries, whose duty it is stated to have been, to make yearly proclamation of them before the people². In the earliest times these appear to have consisted of short rules for the aidance of the memory, embodied in verses framed after the fashion then in use, as the alliteration found in our ancient law language proves; and a collection of legal rules of this nature was distinguished by the name of *Flock*, which means a collection (or *flock*) of verses. As it is expressly stated to have been the function of the justiciaries "to make and promulgate the law³," while we cannot ascribe to them any right to enact new rules of their own authority, this may be so understood as that it belonged to them from the first, not only to bear in remembrance beyond others the judiciary customs, but to clothe them in the form best adapted for recollection, and declare them in such sort before the people. Therefore the earliest legislation was uttered by speech, and not in writing. The law is spoken—a *lagsaga*, or law-saying⁴; and the oldest law-giver was a judicial poet—*lagavjarkir*, a law-maker. Such was Wiger Spa in the days of heathenism⁵, the preface to the law of Upland tells us; his law is called Wigers Flockar, or Flocks, and forms the basis of the law of Upland⁶, as the law of the heathen Lumb was adopted for the framework of that of West Gothland. It was late before the laws were transferred from the custody of memory to the records of ordinary scription; since it is certain that what was called in the North, after the introduction of Christianity, "to reduce the law to writing" (*att komma lag i skrift*), refers not to the Runes, although these were even earlier employed for short inscriptions on stone or wood, but to the manner of writing now in use, which was introduced by the clergy. Christianity itself supplied matter for new legislation which occupied the first place; for the West-gothic code says, "through Christianity the name of Christ first came into our laws." Thus was formed the so-called Christian or Church section (*Kristnubalk*, *Kyrkobalk*) in the books, and with

the establishment of the Edsöre, or general land's-peace, the ordinances deriving therefrom became common to them all⁷. Particular alterations were also introduced by St. Eric, Canute Ericson, Eric Ericson, earl Birger, and Magnus Ladulas. Meanwhile the laws mostly remained in scattered collections⁸, without any other arrangement than what the individual text-writer had applied to them for his own use, till in 1295 the law of Upland was revised and amended by the Justice of Tiundaland, Birger Pederson⁹ of Finsta, with the aid of twelve assessors from all the three Folklands. The law in its new form was proclaimed in the judicial moots, "approved by all men," and lastly it received the written confirmation of king Birger. The style given to the lagman in the act of confirmation, "the king's true servant," shows that these judges, from being men of the people, had now become the men of the king. From this time they continued to be members of the royal council.

In the year 1298 were celebrated the nuptials of king Birger with the Danish princess Martha, who had been betrothed to him from her childhood, and educated at the Swedish court; four years subsequently, the coronation of the royal pair, and the union of duke Waldemar with the Marshal's daughter. The condition of the land was prosperous, and the joy of the people at the harmony prevailing between the three brothers universal. But in the following year, when the marshal laid down the guardianship, and the princes were to enter upon possession of the dukedoms assigned to them by Magnus Ladulas, "they began to recollect how their father, when himself duke, had dethroned his brother Waldemar, and took counsel thereupon with one another¹." The king prevailed upon Thorkel Canuteson to continue in his service; the others planned their affairs under the management of the lord Ambirn Sixtenson (Sparre), steward of duke Eric. The magnates arranged themselves in parties on either side, and then were sown those discords which were to have so fatal an end. The continued influence of the marshal gave especial umbrage to the clergy. The war with the Carelians and Russians, the pomp and expense with which the marriages of the royal family had been solemnized, the cost of maintaining several courts, of which the marshal's, after his marriage with a countess of the German empire², seems to have

² *Legislatores regni annis singulis tenentur coram populo legem consuetudinibus publicare.* Letter of pope Innocent III. to the Swedish bishops, March 6, 1206, complaining that the justices upon such occasions forbade death-bed bequests to be made to the church without the consent of the heirs. Of all this king Swerker II. had informed him.

³ See the catalogue of the justices of West-Gothland, at the end of the law-book. *Göra och framföra lagen.*

⁴ So Wiger's law is called in the preface to the law of Upland. *Lagsaga* afterwards meant the circuit of a jurisdiction.

⁵ Spa, probably instead of *spamadr*, soothsayer (*spåman*), vates.

⁶ The statement concerning Wiger Spa in the preface to the printed law of Upland, "that he was sent out by Ingjald, king of Sweden," is not found, according to an observation obligingly communicated to me by Dr. Schlüter, in the old text; yet this interpolation has been the cause of the history of Swedish law being commenced with a code of the time of Ingjald Ilirada.

⁷ Compiled into a so-called *edsöres balk*, or king's balk. *Balk*, properly a beam, or block, means also generally a division or section. Hence, the partition of the laws into *balks*, which again comprise several *flocks* or collections. (From what is above stated, the explanation which has been given of the term *flocks*, as originally "flakes, planks, or tablets," engraved with Runic characters, appears to be erroneous. See the article on the Ancient Laws of the Scandinavians, in the *Edinburgh Review* (xxxiv. 184), probably by the late Mr. Allen. The common meaning of *flock*, which is the same word as our own, and never occurs in the sense supposed, is all that we need look to. T.)

⁸ See king Birger's confirmation of the Law of Upland.

⁹ Of the same family afterwards called Brahe.

¹ The words of Eric Olavson. Eric had been nominated in his father's lifetime duke of the Swedes (*Svearnas hertig*), a title corresponding to the former one of earl. He possessed also his father's duchy of Sudermania, and a portion of Upland besides. Waldemar is named duke of Finland, from 1302.

² Helviga, daughter of Otho II., count of Ravensburg.

been not the least brilliant,—all this had occasioned the imposition of new taxes, from which the clergy themselves were not, according to the usage, exempted. A portion even of the tithes was confiscated to the public necessities, and the king, instigated by Thorkel Canuteson, entertained a design of incarcerating the prelates who proved refractory. The bishop of Westera, the former ally of the marshal in his Finnish crusade, fled into Norway. Nevertheless, in the same year, the succession of Birger's son Magnus, who was still of tender age, was guaranteed, with the consent of the dukes as well as of the bishops and nobles, and the king engaged by a proclamation never to separate his interests from those of the marshal, or to prefer any other to him. In 1304 the dissensions between the brothers at length openly broke out. The dukes were obliged to give surety that they would not leave the kingdom without the royal permission, nor appear in the king's presence without summons, or with a greater retinue than he should appoint, and never enter into any plot against him, his consort, or his children. In no long time thereafter they were called before the king; Eric was the only one who ventured to appear. Several heads of complaints were read, upon which the king angrily bade him begone from his sight, and soon afterwards commanded both his brothers into banishment. Intestine war ensued, in which the dukes were supported by Norway, and the western provinces of the kingdom were plundered. Next year, however, a reconciliation was effected, of which THORKEL CANUTESON was the sacrifice. The marshal was seized in the presence of the king and the dukes, and exclaimed to Birger, "For this shame will be your part, lord king, so long as you live." He was thrown upon a horse's back, his feet being bound under its belly, and so was dragged night and day to Stockholm, where his head fell under the axe of the executioner on the sixth of February, 1306. Duke Waldemar repudiated his wife, the marshal's daughter, under the pretext that they were within the bounds of spiritual affinity, her father having held the duke at the baptismal font.

Scarcely had eight months passed away since the death of Thorkel Canuteson, before king BIRGER was the prisoner of his brothers. On a friendly visit to the royal mansion of Hatuna in Upland, having secretly brought with them a train of armed followers, they fell upon the king and took him captive with his wife and children, the crown prince alone escaping in the arms of a faithful servant, who carried him into Denmark, and placed him at the knee of king Eric Menved. Connected by a double tie of affinity with Birger, the Danish monarch made his cause his own, and assailed the dukes. In consequence of this, Birger, who had been meanwhile kept close prisoner in the castle of Nyköping, was liberated in 1308, and declared himself satisfied to retain that portion of his kingdom of which the dukes might leave him the possession. Immediately on his release he repaired to Denmark, and returning with his father-in-law at the head of a Danish army, he advanced to Nyköping, and laid siege to the place. Duke Eric had in the mean time quarrelled with Haco, king of

Norway, for the possession of North Halland, and the war had already commenced upon this side, when a conference was held at Helsingborg (A. D. 1310), the three kings, the Swedish dukes, and several princes being present, and a treaty was concluded. By this compact the kingdom was in fact divided between Birger and his brothers, who acknowledged him indeed as their feudal superior, but were otherwise to be independent in their several duchies. Not long afterwards the misunderstandings with Norway, which had again broken out, were removed by the marriage of duke Eric with a daughter, and that of Waldemar with a niece of the Norwegian king³, amidst festivities of which the contemporary description recalls all the pomp of the age of chivalry. "Yet these dukes," says Eric Olavson in his chronicle, "who violently grasped at dominion, brought manifold plagues upon the land by their feuds and harryings, by the intolerable soring, or rather hostile incursions of themselves and their companies of vagabond followers; by the heaviest imposts, obliging the peasant sometimes to pay thrice in a year a contribution to the amount of one mark each time (which was double the price of a cow⁴); wherefore these lords, though they are styled bounteous and pranksome, were so to the extreme misery of the poor." Yet they seem to have been less disliked by the people than was the king. The Helsingers expelled his bailiff; the Gottlanders on one occasion seized his person; the Smallanders elected a prince of their own, whom Birger eventually succeeded in cutting off.

Thus several years passed away in general distress, aggravated by failure of the crops and a pestilence, but without any eruption of public hostilities between the brothers. Towards the close of 1317 duke Waldemar, journeying from Öland to Stockholm, took his way to Nyköping, where Birger usually held his court. His welcome by the king and queen appeared so cordial that he promised to visit them anew, and also to persuade his brother to bear him company. The dukes arrived, although they were warned by the way not to deliver themselves together into the hands of the king, and the seeming warmth of their reception so totally removed every suspicion from their minds, that they caused all their people to take quarters in the town, while they themselves remained in the castle. After they had betaken themselves to rest, heavy with wine, king Birger, late in the night, caused his men to arm, and ordered the dukes to be seized. Of three Swedish knights who refused to execute the order, two were themselves laid in fetters. There were others who showed greater willingness, foreigners for the most part, of whom many served in the courts of all these princes. The dukes were seized and bound, the king himself being present, "with glaring eyes, and sorely enraged," and demanding of his brothers, "whether they remembered the game of Hatuna?" Thereupon they were thrown into the castle dungeon, and chains riveted upon their limbs. When the plunder taken from them and their companions, who were imprisoned in the town, was divided, the king clapped his hands as one in ecstasy⁵, blessed the counsels of his queen,

³ Both were named Ingeborg.

⁴ The legal value of a cow, in the law of Upland, con-

firmed in 1296, is half a mark, but the value of the coin had since fallen.

⁵ "Just as were he an Amblode," says the Rhyme Chro-

and exclaimed, "Now have I Sweden in my hand!"

From the middle of December (A. D. 1317), when this came to pass, the dukes remained about four months in prison⁶, until BIRGER, yet more exasperated by the revolt which was spreading on all sides, caused the dungeon tower to be locked, and the keys to be thrown into the stream, and taking to flight, left his brothers to die of hunger. It is related that Eric, who had been beaten and wounded beforehand, lived but three days longer, and Waldemar eleven. The former was upwards of thirty years old, the latter younger. The cruel fate of these princes awakened the profoundest horror throughout the north. The ballad upon their death, so well known throughout Sweden, Denmark, and Iceland, imputes it to the treachery of the steward John Brunke. Contemporary accounts are full of their praises, and extol, especially, the beauty and knightly grace of the "gentle duke Eric." Posterity has not had the heart to blame those who were the victims of so fell a disaster; they have had this compensation, that their faults have died with them, and only their virtues have survived in the memory of men.

At the first rumour of the imprisonment of the dukes, their partisans took up arms. The inhabitants of several provinces revolted, to set them at liberty, and Norway prepared to afford them succour. Stockholm closed its gates against the king, and he was obliged to flee from Nyköping, which was besieged. The royal garrison of the castle exposed the dead bodies of the dukes, covered with cloth of gold, on biers outside the castle gate, in order to convince the besiegers that those for whom they fought were no longer alive. This had no other effect than that of still further incensing them; the castle was taken, and razed to the ground. In vain Birger endeavoured to win the clergy by the privileges he conferred upon them, and to defend the crown by the troops brought by his son from Denmark. After a short war, marked on his side by new acts of perfidy, he saw himself compelled, with his wife and two daughters⁷, to seek refuge, first in Gottland, and afterwards in Denmark. The crown prince Magnus was obliged, after a valiant resistance in the castle of Stegeborg, to surrender to the enemy. The steward, John Brunke, was made prisoner, in a desperate attempt to relieve the prince, and shortly thereafter, with two of his accomplices in the murder of the dukes, beheaded and broken on the wheel at Norrmalm by Stockholm, on the sandhill, which from the circumstance is to this day called Brunkeberg.

nicle, which Ibre has explained by the context as frenzied. But this Amblode is undoubtedly Saxo's Amlethus or Amlethus, the Hamlet whom Shakspeare has immortalized, and the words quoted show how generally known in Sweden at this time the legend of this Danish prince was.

⁶ Their testament is dated January 18, 1318. In a deed of the 18th April in the same year they are mentioned as captives though still living; in another, the duchesses entitle themselves their reliefs. The deaths of the dukes must therefore have fallen between the 18th April and 6th May, 1318.

⁷ Agnes and Catherine. Suhm, History of Denmark.

⁸ Eric Olavesson. The Rhymie Chronicle does not name them.

⁹ Stora. Upon the mode of election, Olaus Magnus says, "The glorious constitution of our ancestors, handed down

Two years subsequently (Oct. 28, 1320), prince Magnus Birgeron, the designated successor to the throne, was executed by the sword at Stockholm, in his twentieth year, although he was innocent of his father's misdeeds, and had received assurance of his life by compact. Grief for this calamity brought the fugitive king Birger to his grave in the following year. Thus the revenge exacted was not less fearful than the crime itself. Justly do the old writers observe, that since the settlement of Sweden a more miserable time had hardly been known than during the fraternal war which desolated the house of king Magnus Ladulas.

The survivor of these scenes of mutual destruction was a child of three years old, who was now acknowledged as the sovereign of two kingdoms. On Midsummer-day of the year 1319, the magnates of the realm, the bishops, the nobility, and burgesses of the towns, who are now first mentioned as participating in the management of public affairs⁸, together with four peasants from every hundred, met at Upsala, to proceed to the election of a new king. Matthew Ketilmundson, a knight who, having signalized himself in the wars of the foregoing years by the most chivalrous valour, had eventually risen to be the leader of the ducal party, presented himself before the people assembled on the meadow by the Mora stone. The voices of the magnates⁹ had raised him in the past year to the office of Administrator¹, and he now carried in his arms MAGNUS, the orphan son of duke Eric, who was proposed and elected king, receiving at the same time the Norwegian crown, as his inheritance from his maternal grandfather king Haco, not long before deceased without male issue. Several lords of the council² were despatched to Norway, in order to express assent to the elevation of Magnus to the throne of that country, "in the name of all Swedish men." Administrations were arranged in both kingdoms to conduct affairs during the minority. The Swedish government lasted till the year 1333, and is highly lauded by the chronicles; it restored peace to the people³, extended its bounds by the redemption of Scania, and at first even watched over the rights of the commonalty. In effect, however, it strengthened the power of the magnates, and for a hundred years to come Sweden was governed chiefly by aristocratic associations.

On the very day of the new king's election, the principal spiritual and temporal lords, together with the justiciaries, entered into a bond to support with rede and deed the High Steward Matthew

by successive ages and generations, prescribes in the outset that, the inhabitants of Sweden being about to elect a king, the senators and nobles, and messengers of all the provinces, communities, and towns of the realm, shall be bound to assemble in Upsala, not far from which is a great field-stone (*lapis campestris amplius*), called by the inhabitants from immemorial time, Mora sten, having twelve stones, of somewhat smaller size, fixed in the ground in a circle, whither the aforesaid senators, or councillors of the realm, and messengers, are wont to resort." On the meaning of the word Mora, see note p. 21 of this volume. See also Chap. VII. T.

¹ Riksstörstandare.

² Radsherrar.

³ The war with Denmark for Birger's sake ended in 1319, on the death of his brother-in-law king Eric Menved. Some warlike movements took place on the Russian frontier in 1322, but were quieted by a peace in the same year.

Ketilmundson, or whosoever should be appointed in his stead to conduct the government until the king should be of age. Promises were made to the people, on the other hand, that the arbitrary tallages by which some of the preceding kings and princes had violated the old liberties of the kingdom, should be no longer imposed, and that all should be left in possession of their former rights. Should the defence or welfare of the state require a new tax, it must be proclaimed to the people by the confederate lords; in case it were approved, it was to be collected by their commissioners with the aid of two peasants from every province, and applied only to its declared purpose. The true nature of these leagues is still more clearly explained by the union of Skara, which took place in 1322. By this act, thirty-five spiritual and temporal lords confederated to govern the realm in such a fashion, that they might be able to answer it before God and the king. They engaged to defend one another like brethren, to submit their mutual disputes to the judgment of the league, from which they were on no pretext to separate. This association, which throws so much light on the nature of those older confederacies among the nobility, forbidden by Magnus Ladulas under heavy penalties, is remarkable in other respects. It was an act of reconciliation between the royalist and ducal parties⁴, and contains an engagement mutually to counteract the influence of foreigners in public affairs. This latter condition, produced chiefly by the circumstance, that many foreigners had insinuated themselves into favour at court, since the time of Magnus Ladulas, and taken an active part in the intestine commotions of the country, was directed especially against the partiality which the young king's mother cherished for Canute Porse, a powerful foreigner, who had been raised by king Christopher II. to the ducal rank, and governed South Halland. Banished from the kingdom by a compact with the confederated lords, to which the duchess acceded in 1326, he nevertheless received her hand in the following year. Both parties forfeited by this step all influence in Sweden, and death shortly afterwards set bounds to the ambition of the duke. The counts of Holstein at this time ruled with absolute sway in the internally divided and dissevered kingdom of Denmark. The peasants of Scania, impatient of its yoke, revolted, and slaying or expelling the Holsteiners (A. D. 1332), submitted themselves, with the inhabitants of Bleking and South Halland⁵, to the dominion of Sweden. Yet for the redemption of these provinces from the claims of Count John of Holstein, as well as for the payment of other pressing debts, so considerable a sum was required, that to procure it, the Swedish government was obliged to levy new taxes, to appropriate the tithes, and to mortgage a large share of the crown revenues.

MAGNUS ERICSON, who now styled himself king of Sweden, Norway, and Scania, personally assumed the government in 1333, at the age of eighteen,

and two years afterwards rode his Eric's Gait, on which occasion he declared, for the honour of God and the Virgin Mary, and "for the repose of the souls of his father and uncle," that in future no one born of Christian parents should be or be called a slave. In 1336, Magnus was crowned with his consort Blanch, Countess of Namur, and in the same year, died Matthew Ketilmundson⁶, a man, in whom the king is said to have lost his best counsellor, and the strongest prop of his throne. Nils Ambirnson⁷ was named steward with authority almost unlimited. Not only did the king himself defend him and all his partisans, but twenty-three barons, as well as the king's sister Euphemia, subscribed a similar engagement. Renewed ordinances against the violation of the land's peace, and the roving of armed bands for plunder throughout the country, as well as the complaints made by the king himself, that no man guided himself by his wishes, whether he prayed, exhorted, or threatened, all this shows the independence assumed by the magnates, and after what fashion they were accustomed to observe the laws that had been enacted.

In respect to legislation, the present reign is not destitute of memorials. During the minority of the sovereign, the law of Södermanland was revised and amended, and in 1327 it received the royal sanction for all its sections, that concerning donations and legacies to the Church excepted, upon which head it is remarked, that the clergy and laity had not been able to come to an agreement. The same obstacle was encountered twenty years afterwards, when the work of preparing a general code to replace the various provincial laws was at length really completed. At the baronial diet of Örebro, in 1347, the clergy entered their protest, and the whole matter fell to the ground. Nevertheless the Land's Law of king Magnus Ericson, excepting the section on the Church, gradually obtained acceptance, and became of established authority.

At the congress of Warberg, in 1343, where king Magnus, king Waldemar of Denmark, together with the councillors of Sweden and Norway, and deputies from the newly acquired Swedish provinces were assembled, Ilaco, the younger son of Magnus, was proclaimed king of Norway, and Eric, the elder, his successor upon the Swedish throne. The annexation of Scania, Halland, and Bleking to Sweden was confirmed, and Waldemar absolutely renounced all claims upon these territories.

Hitherto the reign of MAGNUS had been one of almost unbroken tranquillity, yet the people were burdened with such oppressive imposts, that the king, acknowledging that many landowners had been obliged to abandon their estates, in order to escape from the weight of them, granted in 1346 exemption from the taxes to all who would return and again cultivate their fields. In one of the

decease have 1326, probably a clerical error for 1336; the rather as the conclusion of the king's marriage, which took place in 1335, is mentioned in the Rhyme Chronicle as the last public transaction in which Matt. Ketilmundson was concerned.

⁷ Son of the Steward Ambirn Sixtenson Sparre, formerly mentioned. The son assumed the arms of his mother's family of Oxenstierna.

⁴ Therefore we now find Canute Jonson appointed to the dignity of king's steward. He had before filled this office under king Birger, and was one of those who refused to take any part in the seizure of the dukes.

⁵ The northern part had been annexed to Sweden by duke Eric's marriage.

⁶ Both the old chronologies which state the year of his

public apologies issued by him, couched in very humble terms, he attributes this evil to the ransom of Scania; but others were inclined to lay the blame rather upon his own carelessness which suffered the crown to be robbed of its proper patrimony, in his profusion, and in that depraved partiality to young favorites which procured him the repulsive surname of the caresser (Smek). His manners gave general scandal, and drew upon him the reproaches of his contemporaries, especially of his famous kinswoman *St. BRIDGET*. She predicted the fate which would overtake him, saying that he was but a child in understanding, which he returned by calling her revelations, dreams. Under his minority, a considerable loan had been granted to him from the tithes, for the purpose of making war upon the unbelieving Russians, who are still denominated *heathens* by the popes themselves, as also by the Swedish Chronicles. To fulfil this engagement, as well as, apparently, to raise his sinking reputation, *MAGNUS* in 1343 undertook in person a crusade of great magnitude and cost against Russia, offering the Russians the alternative of death or the pope, and causing, as the Rhyme Chronicle declares, all whom he could lay hold of to cut off their beards and receive baptism. But the Russians soon showed, it is added, that their beards had grown again anew, and surrounded the king and his army, so that he escaped with difficulty and great loss. Count Henry of Holstein, who accompanied him, made demands which he was obliged to satisfy by the grant of territorial fiefs; the foreign mercenaries who clamoured for their pay, plundered the country; fresh loans granted by the Church for the expenses of the war⁸, which still remained unpaid after the lapse of ten years, drew down an excommunication on his head; and now his dominions were about to be visited by that terrible pestilence, which in the middle of this century, coming from the uttermost bounds of India, traversed the world in its devastating course.

This plague was brought from London to Bergen in Norway by a ship, whose crew had every man perished, the cargo being imprudently landed. From Norway, where scarcely a third part of the population, it is said, remained alive, the contagion spread to Sweden, raging there with extreme violence in 1350. This year was marked by great drought, and the next is likewise mentioned as being one of scarcity⁹. The malady discovered itself by spots on the breast, vomition of blood, and boils, killing both men and animals in a fearfully short time. Many quarters were utterly desolated¹; after a long time churches were discovered in the midst of forests, as is related of that in the hundred of Eke, in Vermeland. In the mine-district of that province, only a young man and two maidens are said to have survived. In Upland, scarcely the

sixth part of the inhabitants was left². The plague reached Western Russia in the spring of 1352, often breaking out anew in the same region throughout an entire century, as it did more than once in the rest of the north. Sweden was again visited in 1360, by the same or another pestilential disease which attacked the young more particularly³, and was therefore called the child's death. It was otherwise generally designated as the great mortality. An ordinance of *Magnus Ericson*, issued in 1350, yet remains, prescribing days of public prayer and penance to be observed for deliverance from the plague. In it the king declares, that the greater part of the inhabitants in the countries lying to the west had been swept away by this sudden death, which was now running through all Norway and Halland, and approaching Sweden with such virulence and speed that, as was notorious, people fell dead in crowds, and the living were not able to bury the dead.

Amidst such calamities, *Haco*, the younger son of *Magnus* (A. D. 1350), personally assumed the government of the greatest part of Norway, and at the same time his eldest brother *ERIC* was raised to the Swedish throne by the malcontent party. A civil war now broke out between the son and father, or rather between the former and *Bennet Algotson*, one of the king's youthful favourites, who had found means likewise to insinuate himself into the good graces of the queen, and thereby became a duke, and the most powerful man in the kingdom. The war terminated in the banishment of the favourite, and *Magnus* now relinquished to his son a portion of his dominions, along with the newly acquired provinces, which he was suspected of intending to cede to Denmark, in order to obtain its support. King *Waldemar*, the ally of *Magnus*, also broke into Scania, and the war between the father and son was about to be rekindled, when in 1359 the latter suddenly died. *Eric* himself declared on his death-bed that he was conscious that he had been poisoned by his mother's hand⁴; the Icelandic annals again state that the prince, with his wife *Beatrice* of Brandenburg, and two children, fell victims to the pestilence. After *Eric's* death, *MAGNUS* was again acknowledged as king, upon condition that the favourite should not be recalled. This notwithstanding was done⁵, and Scania, Halland, and Bleking, were actually ceded to Denmark, in 1360, upon a promise of supporting *Magnus* against the Swedish council. At the very time when the rumour of this transaction excited among the people the most bitter exasperation against their sovereign⁶, *Oeland* was ravaged by the Danish king, whom *Magnus* called his friend, *Gottland* was captured after the loss of three battles by the peasants of the country and the burghers of *Wisby*, which town was so completely

she was discovered, received the name of *Ripa* (the grouse). She was in time wedded, and her descendants were called the *Ripa* family.

² *Vix sexta pars hominum remansit. Script. Rer. Suec. i. 1. 29.*

³ *Ibid.* In 1361 mention is again made of the plague in Denmark.

⁴ The Rhyme Chronicle. See *Torfæus, Hist. Norv. iv. 484.*

⁵ *Bengt Algotson* was at this time slain.

⁶ The Rhyme Chronicle says that both young and old spat upon him, pelted him with rotten cabbage, and sang lampoons upon him.

⁸ From the computation of the amount of these loans in silver made by the papal treasury (see *Celse, Bullarium*, i. 109, 127), we learn that a mark of silver at this time amounted to almost five marks of Swedish money.

⁹ *S. R. S. i. 1. 29. Sulm, History of Denmark, xiii. 240.*

¹ *Ramus* in his description of Norway (*Norges Beskrivelse*, 166), relates after an old tradition, that *Justedale* in the diocese of Bergen was now first settled by persons flying before the infection, who all perished, one little girl only excepted, who grew up in solitude, wild as a bird, and thence, when

sacked, that it never recovered its former prosperity.

The Swedish council now induced the king's younger son, Haco of Norway, to seize his person (A. D. 1361), to break off his own betrothal to Margaret, daughter of Waldemar, who afterwards became so famous, and choose instead Elizabeth, sister of Count Henry of Holstein, for his consort. The new bride, while on her voyage to Sweden, being driven by a storm on the Danish coast, was detained there. Haco, now elected also king of Sweden, reconciled himself nevertheless with his father, and concluded the marriage he had formerly resolved upon with Margaret, after which, Magnus banished twenty-four of the most powerful among the Swedish barons. These, repairing to Germany, offered the crown of their native country to ALBERT Duke of Mecklenburg, a son of Euphemia, sister of king Magnus. Thereupon he set sail with a fleet

for Sweden, where he arrived escorted by the exiled lords. Albert was chosen king in Stockholm, on the 30th of November, 1363, and in the following year he received the homage of his subjects at the Mora Stone. Both MAGNUS and his son were declared to have forfeited the crown, and they were unsuccessful in an attempt to assert their cause by arms, losing the battle of Enköping in 1365. Magnus was made prisoner, and did not recover his liberty until the peace with Norway, in 1371. Subsequently he received certain revenues which were allotted to him in Sweden for his subsistence; he spent the residue of his days with his son, and was drowned, in 1374, in the neighbourhood of Bergen. The Norwegians, over whom he had reigned in peace, if we except some disturbances in 1339, styled him Magnus the Good. Thus ended the power of the Folkunger family in Sweden.

CHAPTER V.

FOREIGN KINGS. THE UNION, UNTIL THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE STURES.

ALBERT OF MECKLENBURG. MARGARET AND ERIC OF POMERANIA. ENGELBERT, CHRISTOPHER OF BAVARIA. CHARLES CANUTESON AGAINST CHRISTIAN OF OLDENBURG.

A. D. 1365—1470.

IN the Swedish commonwealth, the place of the sovereign was now really vacant. The name indeed was still retained, and the magnates, who could not endure that one of their own number should wear the crown, imposed a succession of foreign princes upon their countrymen. The domination of the stranger made even such a king as Magnus Ericson to be regretted, and for a long time after his death it was common to hear the people extol his government, when they compared it with the tyranny of the foreigners. The fate of the throne and the country was decided by the holders of power from the casual motives of temporary interest, and by such was the famous union of the three northern kingdoms produced—a mere incident, which bears some resemblance to a design. But of a consciousness of what such a union was, or of what it might become, no glimpse is to be perceived, either among its founders or in any other quarter. Hence external colligation produced division within, and the union is only a great name which has passed away without a meaning. The fountains of history flow more plentifully in this troubled period. The narrative of the great Rhyme Chronicle becomes more copious; Eric Olavson⁷ in his Latin, the brothers Olave and Lawrence Peterson in their Swedish chronicles⁸, afford much valuable light for the explanation of the period of the union, which was in part their own. Even Joannes Magnus, however much he may have invented in his account of the more ancient period,

may for the annals of that which we are now approaching, be consulted with profit, if with caution. The works of his brother Olaus Magnus are of importance, with reference to the knowledge of old northern manners⁹.

ALBERT's victory over his rival did not leave him master of the kingdom. The deposed sovereign had still during his captivity a strong party, and the governors of most of the castles continued faithful to him for several years. By the preference which Albert showed for his countrymen of Germany, and his lavish bounty to them, great disgusts were excited. The Upper Swedes sent a proclamation to the inhabitants of Gothland, or the dwellers below the great forest, complaining of the oppressions and slavery they endured at the hands of king Albert and his Germans, renouncing fealty and obedience to him as a perjurer and traitor, and exhorting every man to return to his allegiance to the good and honourable lord, king Magnus, and to set him free from captivity. "If the councillors of the realm," they add, "will aid us, we will gladly pray their help; if not, the guilt will be theirs, and the loss as well theirs as ours." The foreign notions, especially, which the king and those about him entertained respecting the serfdom of the common people appear to have awakened among them general indignation, and increased their impatience of the overweening arrogance of the strangers, which is depicted with so much life

⁷ The *Chronica Erii Olai*, in the *Script. Rer. Suec.* t. ii., comes down to the year 1464. The author, who was dean and professor of theology at Upsala, died in 1486.

⁸ First printed in S. R. S. t. i. ii. They come down to the massacre of Stockholm in 1520. The chronicle of Laurentius Petri is a compilation from that of his brother, omitting such passages as gave offence to Gustavus I., and adding the history of the kings, and military achievements of the extra-

neous Goths, which Johannes Magnus treated diffusely, but which Olaus Petri, to the discontent of the king, excluded.

⁹ Joannis Magni Gothorum Sueonumque Historia, or, as the title runs in the first edition, *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus*, &c., appeared at Rome in 1554, under the revision of his brother Olaus Magnus, who published in the year following his own *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus, earumque diversis statibus, conditionibus, moribus*, &c.

in the old Swedish verses, entitled "a pleasant likeness of king Albert and Sweden".¹ The great number of Germans who are mentioned at that time as members of the council and in command of the royal castles, sufficiently indicate that these complaints were not unfounded. Such was the prevalent mood of men's minds while the kingdom was exposed at once to intestine war, and to hostilities from Norway and Denmark. Albert's allies, the powerful towns of the Hanseatic league, compelled indeed the foreign enemies to remain quiet, but king Haco, having in vain endeavoured by negotiation to obtain his father's release, broke anew into Sweden, and pushing on to Stockholm, laid siege to the town. In this emergency Albert had no other resource than that of unreserved submission to the council. The plenary grant by which he in 1369 appointed Bo Jonson Grip "his managing agent" over his court, houses and manors, his revenues, bailiffs and servants, with the right even of inflicting capital punishment, bestowed upon this nobleman the same powers in all these respects as were possessed by the king himself. In the compact made with the council, August 9, 1371, he admits that the royal commanders had, contrary to his wishes, exercised many violences against men of every class in the realm, for which reason he now transferred all the castles and fortresses of the crown, with the domains appertaining to them, to the custody of the council, by whom they should be bestowed only upon natives of Sweden. The vacated places in the council were also to be filled up by themselves, and no foreigners admitted to be members. Thus the whole administration of affairs passed into the hands of the council, now so much the more powerful, because the great plague had amassed extraordinary riches in the hands of a few. No man in Sweden ever attained to greater opulence than the high steward Jonson. Besides enormous property of his own, he held in pledge for loans which he had advanced to the crown the whole of Finland and the largest portion of Sweden, with the principal castles of the kingdom, and the lands belonging to the Upsala estate. And thus an old relation declares, that he ruled the country with his beck. In what excesses men such as he could sometimes give loose to their passions, we may learn from the circumstance, that the baron Matthew Gustavson in 1372 assassinated Gottskalk, bishop of Linköping, in a quarrel respecting the title to certain estates, and Jonson himself, in 1381, being in feud with baron Charles Nilson Färila, pursued his antagonist into the Franciscan church at Stockholm, and cut him down before the high altar. When such were the manners of the possessors of power, it may well seem futile to observe that in 1375 they confirmed anew with king Albert the covenant of land's-peace.²

Unsuccessful attempts to reconquer Scania aggravated the king's necessities, and occasioned new inroads on the property of the church. These again gave rise to new compacts, always ending on the king's side on more absolute dependence, till after the death of Jonson in 1386 he ventured to come to an open rupture with the magnates, and to appropriate to himself, it is said, a third part of the estates of the spiritual and temporal lords³, proceeding forthwith to exact by force compliance with his demand. So runs the poetical account of the Rhyme Chronicle, which has been understood literally, and explained as a confiscation by the crown of the third part of the spiritual and temporal freeholds (*frälset*). But such an attempt is wholly incredible, even on the part of so rash a sovereign as ALBERT, and it is also clear from other sources of information, that here the question concerned only property of right belonging to the crown; for a contemporary account declares that "when Boece Jonson, the steward of Sweden, died, dissensions sprang up between the knights and nobles of the realm and king Albert, because he required from them by authority of law a certain portion of the crown estates which they and their forefathers had for a long time held, having appropriated them during the wars; wherefore the said nobles being dissatisfied, began to conspire against the king, pretending that he wished to seize upon their patrimonies in order to bestow them upon his Germans."⁴

It was against the heirs of the steward more especially, that this demand of revocation was levelled, but it was sufficient to kindle a civil war, and we now find the executors appointed under the will of this powerful thane disposing of the Swedish crown, and thereby preparing the union of the three northern kingdoms. Waldemar of Denmark had died in 1375, Haco of Norway in 1380. OLAVE, son of Haco by Margaret, and by his father and maternal grandfather king of both Norway and Denmark, died young in 1387, the last male scion of the royal line of the Folkungers, in virtue of which descent he styled himself the rightful heir of Sweden. After his death, MARGARET was named regent in Denmark, and queen regnant in Norway; and in the same year the executors of Jonson's testament, in whose custody were the principal castles and strongholds of the kingdom, made an overture to her of the Swedish crown⁵. They were not diverted from their purposes by any scruples as to the want of any authority better than their own; the disaffection generally prevalent among the Swedes found them adherents, Margaret furnished them with supplies of war and auxiliary troops; and Albert's fate was decided by the battle of Falköping⁶, fought on the 21st September, 1389,

¹ Script. Rer. Suec. i. 2, 210.

² For three years, it is said.

³ Every third man of their own property.

⁴ *Post ejus mortem milites et optimates Sueciæ cum rege Alberto discordare cœperunt, eo quod idem rex ab ipsis quandam partem bonorum regalium, quam ipsi a multis retroactis temporibus ac progenitoribus eorum tempore guerrarum sibi usurpaverant, juri dicere exigebat; quod quidem prædicti nobiles regni indigne ferentes contra regem conspirare cœperunt, allegando quod rex patrimonialia ipsorum vellet diripere ac Theutoniciis suis elargiri.* Script. Rer. Suec. i. Chronologia xiv. 45, 46.

⁵ His testament is to be found in Hadorph's edition of the translation of the "History of Alexander the Great," made from the Latin into Swedish verse, at Bo Jonson's instance (Wisingsborg, 1672). In later times, indeed, we occasionally find this versified translation attributed to Jonson himself; but he had made so little progress in Latin that in his will, which is written in Swedish, he styles his executors invariably executeribus.

⁶ In West-Gothland. The 24th February, St. Matthias's day, in spring, is usually stated as that of the battle; but the Rhyme Chronicle names St. Matthew's day, in harvest, though it gives the wrong year, 1388. (Joannes Magnus also says, on the day of Matthew the apostle, xxi. 14. T.)

in which he himself and his son Eric, with several German princes and knights, were made prisoners. This victory, which threw open the kingdom to MARGARET, was won by the high marshal of Sweden, Eric Kiellson⁷. Margaret, in revenge for the boastful and contemptuous sayings in which Albert had indulged himself at her expense, received him with contumely, set a fool's cap on his head⁸, and threw both father and son into the dungeon of Lundholm castle in Scania, where they remained for seven years.

During this whole period Sweden was a prey to all the horrors of party hatreds and wars, almost no other trace of a government being visible than the taxes imposed by Margaret. The capital and many of the castles were in the hands of the Germans, and from these stations they made incursions in all directions through the country with plunder and conflagration. In Stockholm an old grudge subsisted among the Germans and Swedes, a hostile outbreak of which king Albert had with difficulty averted, and the Swedish burgesses were now treacherously assaulted by the Teutonic faction. A proscription list, including seventy of the principal Swedes, had been drawn up twelve years before, and was now again produced and publicly read⁹. Those of the selected victims who were still to be found were seized and laid in fetters, some of them being tortured with carpenters' saws; at length they were shut up in an old building and burned alive.

The towns of Wismar and Rostock, as also the Duke of Mecklenburg, embraced Albert's cause, relieved Stockholm, and gave protection in their harbours to every pirate who chose to seek plunder on the Swedish coast. These sea-robbers formed the original stock of the freebooters who long afterwards continued to infest the waters of the Baltic¹. Several Swedish towns were laid in ashes; in the country some held with Albert, others with Margaret. The people also suffered from failures of the crops, as in 1391, in which year, to quote the words of the complaint, "Nothing grew upon the earth, and the little that sprung up was snatched away by robbers or forceful sorners, so that one might easily find a hundred yeomen, who together did not possess half a ton of barley or a load of hay²." The nobles fortified their houses, and so many petty robber fortresses arose, that the general demolition of these castles was afterwards found necessary. "In Sweden at this time," says the Rhyme Chronicle, "there were enemies on all sides, son against father, and brother against brother." Other writers lament that the fields lay untilled, and that the land had well-nigh become

a desert. Peace was at length restored by a treaty which in 1395 set Albert and his son at liberty. They bound themselves to pay not less than 60,000 marks of silver³, for which the Hanse towns found security, receiving the town of Stockholm in pledge for the sum. Part of the ransom was discharged by the women of Mecklenburg, with the generous sacrifice of their jewels; the last arrears were remitted upon the delivery of Stockholm into the hands of Margaret. Albert's son died in Gottland in 1397; he himself did not fully renounce his pretensions until 1405, and is said, though the authorities differ, to have died in 1412.

Sweden was now sufficiently depressed to accept the conditions offered by Margaret. ERIC Duke of Pomerania⁴, her grand-nephew, had been already declared the future sovereign of Denmark and Norway; he was now also elected king of Sweden by the council, in presence of MARGARET, on the 11th day of July, 1396, and received the formal homage of the people at the Mora Stone. What Albert had fruitlessly attempted was now effected with full consent of the Magnates. All the estates of the crown that had come into their possession since "the war between king Magnus and the men of the realm began," in 1363, were resumed, it now being settled that the occupiers, especially the heirs of Boece Jonson, were to arrange their differences with the crown within a determinate time. It was likewise decreed that all new castles, erected within the above-mentioned period, should be destroyed, unless exempted by special grace; that all the privileges of nobility, so lavishly bestowed by king Albert, should be revoked, unless acquired on the terms prescribed by law; and that all landed yeomen, whom the nobility had made their vassals, should again pay gavel to the crown.

The coronation of the new sovereign took place in the following year at CALMAR, where the chief spiritual and temporal barons of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden assembled. Here, on St. Margaret's day, the 20th of July (A. D. 1397), was concluded that union which was for the future to combine the three kingdoms of the north under a common sceptre. The chief conditions, besides those relating to Margaret personally, stipulated that peace and amity should thenceforth prevail between the kingdoms; that the election of the king should in future be transacted conjointly, the sons of the sovereign being preferred, if such existed; each realm was to be governed according to its own laws; fugitives from one country were not to be protected in another; all were bound to take arms for the common defence, nor were the subjects of any of the three to pretend any right of not serving

⁷ He is said by our later historians to have been of the family of Vasa; but he did not bear their arms, and is called Puké in the Diary of Vadstena.

⁸ Sie liess ihm auch eine cappe schneide,
Hatte fünfzehn ellen in die weite,
Der timpel wohl neunzehn ellen langk.

A cap she caused set on his head,
That had full fifteen ells in breadth,
The peak was nineteen good ells long.

(Mecklenburg Rhyme Chronicle in Behr,
Rer. Meckleburgicarum lib. ii. c. 7.)

⁹ In the council-chamber of the town, at a convocation of the German burgesses and soldiery. Olave Peterson, S. R. S. i. 33. 277; Eric Olavson, ii. 1. 119. The latter states that the burgomasters were at this time all Germans. Trans.

¹ These were called Vitalians or Victualling Brethren, because they exercised their piracy under pretext of supplying Stockholm during its investment with provisions.

² Letter of the chapter of Linköping in this year.

³ Each of 45 Lubeck shillings, about 3s. 6d. sterling, so that the ransom would be about £10,500. T.

⁴ His father was Wratislaus VII., duke of Pomerania, his mother Mary, daughter of Henry, duke of Mecklenburg, brother of king Albert, and Ingeborg, sister of Queen Margaret.

Margaret . Ingeborg—Henry . Albert
|
Mary—Wratislaus
|
Eric.

beyond its limits. This short and imperfect record of the terms of union, hurriedly drawn up it is plain, is subscribed by seventeen barons. Its real contents were so little known in Sweden, that we find among the Swedish claims on Denmark, in 1435, a demand that Sweden should be correctly informed of the true purport of the Act of Union. Our old chroniclers are entirely ignorant of the first convention, and are acquainted only with the more recent forms it assumed in consequence of the alterations and renewals which the conditions underwent.

Margaret retained possession of the government; for Eric was but in his sixteenth year when the union of Calmar was concluded. Some years afterwards he married PHILIPPA of England⁵, a princess who brought him a rich dowry, and was distinguished by her gentleness no less than by her intelligence and courage. Her memory was cherished in the popular affections, but her wedlock was childless and unhappy, and she was even personally maltreated by her husband. ERIC may be regarded as the co-regent of Margaret from the year 1401, when he accomplished his Ericsgait in Sweden. On this occasion a portion of those extraordinary taxes which now appear under different appellations was remitted. Margaret also promised the abolition of the rest in a proclamation two years afterwards, in which she humbly entreats forgiveness for the burdens she has been obliged to impose upon the people, laying the blame upon the exactions of the crown bailiffs and the expenses of wars.

Yet, not long afterwards, a new and extraordinary tax upon every hearth was levied for the redemption of the Isle of Gottland, which Albert had mortgaged to the knights of the Prussian order, and Margaret now repurchased, while she severed it from the dominion of Sweden. The above-mentioned letter of apology enables us to understand the incessant complaints of the people. From it we learn, that the commanders of the royal castles, who were chiefly foreigners, or adventurers without a country, vexed the peasantry by arbitrary exaction of labour and imposition of tribute, quartering the soldiery with their horses about the surrounding district, where these demeaned themselves as if in an enemy's territory. For the rest, the same law, or absence of law, reigned in the manor-houses of the powerful nobles as in the court of the sovereign. In the former, as in the latter, the privilege of private judicature over retainers and servants, was exercised⁶; we even find the magnates raising individuals of this class to the rank of nobility for themselves and their posterity⁷. That the oppressions which produced these complaints, however, were not inflicted

by foreigners only, is shown by the example of Abraham Broderson, who is praised indeed by the Rhyne Chronicle (generally favourable to the nobility) for his bravery and skill, but whose tyranny, we learn from various other accounts, spared neither men's property nor maidens' honour. Eric brought this nobleman, in 1410, to trial and execution, less however, apparently, from love of justice, than because the knight had been unsuccessful in his siege of the castle of Sonderburg, during the war of Sleswick, and because the fiefs which he possessed, both in Denmark and Sweden, made him too formidable a subject. He was the favourite of Margaret, who sought to save him from his doom; she founded masses in memory of herself and him conjointly, and did not long survive him. She died, at the age of sixty, in a vessel before Flensburg, some say of the plague, which in this year (A. D. 1412) ravaged the north, extolled by the Danes, and famous in Sweden for her sagacity, but loaded by our chroniclers with all that weight of hatred which was generated by the results of the union.

ERIC of Pomerania, as he is styled, sacrificed the greatest part of his long reign, from the time when he became sole king, in fruitless endeavours to secure the succession for the ducal house of Pomerania, and in a war for the possession of Sleswick, which the ruler of the north waged for nearly thirty years, without success, against the not very powerful Counts of Holstein⁸. The former was, doubtless, the chief reason why the king thought it expedient to commit to foreigners the custody of the Swedish castles; the latter, conducted with equal folly and obstinacy, although with frequent interruptions and negotiations, occasioned continual levies of men, who for the most part perished miserably in captivity, and new taxes extremely oppressive, the weight of which was felt the more severely as they were mostly levied in money, in order that their produce might be transmitted to Denmark. Every town and mine-district was held responsible for a certain amount which the authorities did not blush to extort by means the most violent and inhuman. Notwithstanding the depreciation of the coins to which the king had recourse, these were so rare, that the property of the taxpayers was often taken in pledge for a small part of its real value. Justice was no longer administered; not only the provincial diets and courts of inquisition had fallen into disuse, but the ordinary judicial offices were either left tenantless, or filled by foreigners for the sake of the emoluments; and "such right as they have had therewith, such also have they shown to us," the peasants complain⁹. All affairs were left to the management of the

⁵ Daughter of Henry IV. of England, betrothed in 1401, married in 1406. She presided over the government in 1423, during the king's foreign travel and pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, introduced improvements in the coinage, and defended Copenhagen in 1428 against the combined squadrons of the Hanse Towns and Holstein, while Eric lay hidden in the monastery of Soroe. She died in the convent of Wadstena in 1430.

⁶ According to king Magnus Ericson's household law (*gardsrätt*), which Margaret and Eric of Pomerania confirmed.

⁷ Such a right was exercised by Bo Jonson and Charles Ulsson (*Sparre*) of Tofta, patents issued by whom for this purpose are extant. Eric of Pomerania first, of the Swedish kings, granted letters of nobility with armorial shields.

⁸ The Holsteiners admitted the right of the king of Denmark to feudal superiority over Sleswick, but claimed the territory as a hereditary fief, which the latter refused, aiming at the possession of the duchy. The contest began after the death of Gerard of Holstein in 1404, respecting the guardianship of his children, and did not end before 1435, when the king was compelled by the expenses which it entailed to make a treaty with Adolphus, count of Holstein, in which, however, the matter in dispute remained undetermined. In the same year peace was made with the Vendish towns Hamburg, Lüneburg, and Wismar, which in the nine last years had taken part with Holstein.

⁹ See the remonstrances of the Swedish peasants in Hvitfeld's Danish Chronicle, Copenhagen, 1652, iii. 781.

foreign governors, whose character may be judged from the fact that, among the commanders of the Swedish castles, were found four of the most notorious pirates of that day. In this trade, one of Eric's own chaplains¹, even when archbishop of Upsala, was shameless enough to participate. A Danish nobleman, Jösse Ericson, born in Jutland, and for many years royal governor of Westmanland and Dalecarlia, is charged with having tortured the peasants by hanging them up in smoke, and with having yoked pregnant women to hay waggons. An old Swedish ballad relates similar cruelties of the tyrannical feudatory of Faxaholm in Helsingland.

Not far from the Kopparberg, in Dalecarlia, there dwelt at this time a miner, by name ENGELBERT ENGELBERTSON², a man of great spirit though of slight frame, having such skill in war as might be learned by one who had passed his youth in the households of great barons, eloquent and brave. This person undertook to lay before king Eric the grievances of the Dalecarlians, and repaired to Denmark, where he preferred a demand for justice against the tyranny of the governor, engaging to deliver himself up for imprisonment, and to stake his life against that of the accused, in case the latter should be found innocent. A royal mandate was sent to the Swedish council, agreeably to which an investigation was instituted, proving the charges to be well-founded; but as the council confined themselves to admonitions, and the governor would not consent to relinquish his office, Engelbert lost no time in again repairing to the king, before whom he urged the punishment of the offender with such boldness, that Eric in wrath commanded him to be gone, and never again to appear in his presence. Engelbert replied, "Yet once more will I return." The men of his province chose him for their leader, and he marched with them against Westera, which was held by Jösse Ericson. The council indeed interposed its mediation, and twice induced the Dalecarlians to return home. But the governor continuing with impunity to enforce the payment of his contributions, and his place, when at length he was removed, being filled up by a foreigner, who was regarded with dread, all the Dalesmen rose upon Midsummer's Day of 1434, it is said, "like one man, and swore to drive the strangers out of the land." The castle of Borgnäs, lying upon an island in the Dalelf, was stormed and burned to the ground. The Dalecarlians next invaded Westmanland, the peasants of which province joined the insurgent force. Westera speedily surrendered, and thither ENGELBERT summoned the surrounding nobility, calling upon them to give their aid, and warning them that if they refused, they must look themselves to the security of their lives and properties. They promised fidelity to him and to the popular cause.

At Upsala, the Uplanders came to join his banner. Here, in an immense assembly of the people, he explained the occasion and the object of his enterprise, the people answering with blessings. Speaking so loudly that his voice was heard throughout the whole multitude, he asked them whether they would assist him in his endeavours to liberate the realm from the slavery in which it was held. Every man declared himself willing to follow his banner. With the assent of the nobles who were present, Engelbert now remitted a third part of the imposts. His letters and messengers traversed every district of the country. The Norrlanders and East Bothnians took up arms under Eric Puké; the Sudermanians stormed Gripsholm, whose detested governor took to flight, and himself set the castle on fire. For the town of Stockholm, a truce was concluded with the knight Hans Cropelin, the only one of the foreign commanders who was esteemed for his justness and mildness towards the people. A convention was entered into with the governors of Nyköping and Örebro, by which these towns were to be surrendered if not relieved within six weeks. In Verneland and Dalecarlia, the castles of the governors were razed to the ground by the peasants. At Vadstena, ENGELBERT, on his way to the southern division of the kingdom, met the Swedish council which was returning from Denmark. He exhorted them to join him in restoring the ancient rights and liberties of the kingdom; since the times of the last king Magnus³, he told them Sweden had been ruled by tyrants, not kings. The council appealed to the oath they had taken to the sovereign, but he, Engelbert replied, had broken his oath.

"They said him nay, nor stirred a jot,
But swift he caught them by the throat,"

and threatened the bishops who acted as their spokesmen, that he would cast them out among the people⁴. The council now showed themselves inclined to be pliable. An absolute renunciation of fealty and allegiance to king Eric was subscribed upon the spot, and immediately despatched by Engelbert to Denmark. He now divided his forces into three companies, and marched southwards, but not before he had exhorted the Uplanders in a public letter, to pay true service and obedience to the council of the kingdom at Stockholm, for the capital had in the mean time passed over to his party. The style he adopted in this communication was, "I Engelbert Engelbertson, with all my coadjutors." Throughout all the provinces, the people took up arms and streamed in troops to his standard. If we may trust an account of later times, his army at last amounted to a hundred thousand men⁵. More than twenty strongholds and fortresses in all quarters of the kingdom

and there are authorities for both designations. See Lagerbring, iv. 74; Tuneld, Engelbrekt Engelbrektson's Historia, p. 76. T.)

³ Magni regis ultimi. Eric Olavson. The manuscripts used for the edition of the Chronicle of Olave Peterson in the Script. Rer. Suec. have Magnus Smek (not Magnus Ladulas).

⁴ The Rhyme Chronicle, which adds, "then he first grasped Bishop Canute (of Linköping), and was about to drag him out to the people; Bishop Sigge of Skara he made as if he would treat likewise; Bishop Thomas of Strengus was in trouble too," &c. Script. Rer. Suec. i. 32, p. 70. T.

⁵ Joannes Magnus.

¹ Arendt Clemens. "A worse knave was no priest of that day," says the Rhyme Chronicle. A former archbishop, John Jerechini, a foreigner like the other, and like him thrust upon the chapter, was deposed for his many notorious vices, and thereafter appointed to the bishopric of Skalholt in Iceland. Here, after new enormities, the peasants tied a large stone about his neck, and drowned him in the Bruar stream.

² Ingenuus seu libertus, Eric Olavson styles him, which in that writer's phraseology means a freeman or franklin. (I use the English form instead of the Swedish Engelbrekt. Bergsman may be rendered either miner or mountaineer,

were taken and destroyed, and the more easily, that wood was the material of which many were constructed. Everywhere the foreign prefects were expelled, though none fell a victim to the popular vengeance, excepting Jösse Ericson, who remained for some time concealed in the monastery of Vadstena. Two years after these occurrences, the peasants dragged him from his retreat and put him to death, an outrage for which they were obliged to pay a large fine to the convent⁶. The property of the crown was plundered, but the effects of individuals were left unmolested, and we have the evidence of a current proverb, that no man lost so much as the value of a fowl by Engelbert and his army. All this passed with incredible quickness. On the 16th of August, 1434, the letter of renunciation to the king was drawn up in Vadstena. Before the end of October, the greater number of the castles and fortified places in the kingdom had been seized; Halland besides was wrested from the Danes, Engelbert returned to Westeras, and the peasant army dismissed to their homes.

In November the king came for a short time to Stockholm; which occasioned the issue of a new summons to the peasants to march towards the capital, and the holding of a diet at Arboga in the opening of the year 1435, by which ENGELBERT was unanimously chosen administrator. From this moment the magnates gradually fell into the ranks of the royalist party. Their differences with the king were adjusted by a treaty which, first concerted in Halmstad, and afterwards guaranteed by the councillors of Denmark and Norway, was ratified by the king in person upon his return to Stockholm in the autumn of the same year. The high offices of steward and marshal of Sweden were to be restored, the taxes determined by the consent of the council, and judges again appointed throughout the country; the castles which had not been burned down were to be delivered up to the king, and all of them, with the exception of Stockholm, Nyköping, and Calmar, placed under the charge of native governors. Örebro was to be granted in fief to Engelbert, and Halland to be restored to Denmark. Christer Nilson Vasa, an aged noble, was nominated high steward, Charles Canuteson Bondé, the most brilliant of the young nobles of Sweden, was made high marshal. When the latter requested instructions for the discharge of his functions, the king bade him be guided by the proverb, "not to stretch the feet further than the coverlet reached;" his answer to the representations addressed to him by the council was, that "he would not be their yea-lord." On his return he himself plundered the Swedish coasts, and among his new governors we find men who obtained a bad distinction by their inhumanities⁷.

ENGELBERT and CHARLES CANUTESON now made themselves masters of the town of Stockholm, although the Danish governor still held the castle. At the election of a new administrator, instituted by thirty barons, Charles Canuteson obtained nearly all the votes. Neither Engelbert nor Puké con-

cealed their discontent, and the murmurs of the yeomanry were so loud that Charles Canuteson found himself obliged to consent to a division of power with the former. Engelbert, in an expedition towards the Danish frontier, checked the tyranny of the new governors, once more reduced Halland, and falling sick returned to Örebro. In the neighbourhood of this town dwelt Bennet Stenson⁸, a powerful noble, and a partisan of King Eric⁹. Being at open feud with Engelbert, he requested and obtained a safe-conduct to hold an interview, at which an agreement was made, guaranteed by mutual sureties, that they should commit their disputes to award of the council, and in the mean time live at peace with each other. Engelbert now welcomed his enemy as his guest, and being called to Stockholm by the council, determined, it is said, at his proposal, to cross lake Hiernar on his route, the rather that the debility which still clung to him made travelling on horseback painful. In the evening, accordingly, Engelbert, his wife, and only a few attendants were conveyed in two boats for a distance of a mile and a half, to an island over against Bennet Stenson's castle of Göksholm, and lying no great way from it¹. Here Engelbert intended to pass the night, and caused a fire to be kindled, the cold, at the end of April, being still severe. Another boat approached the island, and Engelbert, who on seeing it, believed that it brought hospitable invitation to Göksholm, called the attention of his companions to the circumstance, as a proof of the good will of its owner. He beckoned to the new comers with his crutch, pointing out a proper landing-place. Suddenly Magnus, son of his new pretended friend, sprang out of the boat, and vehemently demanded whether he was to have no peace in the land on his account. Upon Engelbert replying that he knew of no unpeace betwixt them, Magnus Bennetson aimed at him a blow of his poleaxe, which, though the sick man tried to parry it with his crutch, wounded him in the hand. Repeated blows on the neck and head brought Engelbert to the ground. The murderer, with the frenzy of a wild beast, beat in pieces the head of his victim, stuck the body full of arrows, and left him weltering in his blood, carrying his wife and companions prisoners to the castle. This happened on the 27th of April, 1436. Peasants who dwelt near the spot took up Engelbert's body, and interred it in the church of Mallosa, whence it was afterwards carried to Örebro. The strong castle of Göksholm was stormed by an exasperated force of the neighbouring yeomen, but the object of their pursuit eluded them, and a letter of protection was issued by Charles Canuteson, the new administrator, forbidding any one to presume to molest the criminal, or to reproach him with the deed. Thus died Engelbert, who is said in a contemporary narrative "to have ruled over Sweden for three years." The powerful barons generally opposed him, but some of the noblest among them loved and honoured him. The valiant Broder Swenson was his brother in arms, and Thomas, bishop of Strengnas, lamented his death in verses which move our sympathies even at the present day. Engelbert's memory was kept

⁶ Diary of Vadstena under the year 1436, where it is said that this oppressor was "a special friend of the monastery, and conferred a great bequest."

⁷ See the account in the Rhyme Chronicle of the new governor of Stegeborg.

⁸ Of the family of Natt och Dag (night and day).

⁹ Hence he was one of those whom the king intended to nominate to the office of steward.

¹ It is still called Engelbert's Holm.

sacred by the people, as that of one who had died a martyr to the freedom of his country, and they believed that miracles were wrought at his tomb².

One who now sought to curb these popular movements had more than any other man reaped advantage from them; this was Charles Canuteson Bondé. In the means he employed, as we have seen, he was far from being scrupulous, but even after the death of Engelbert he was not undisturbed by competitors, who leant for support on the aristocratic interest, or popular favour, or upon both. Broder Swenson, a baron and councillor of state, discontented at being passed over in the distribution of the fiefs, now that all the castles had fallen into the hands of the administrator, excited an opposition to his measures at the baronial diet of Söderköping in 1436; he was arrested, and early on the following morning his body was found, after the executioner had dealt with him. The fierce and turbulent Eric Puké, who was all powerful with the peasants, persecuted the new regent with threats, plots, popular disturbances, and declarations of war, all of which Charles Canuteson bore with for a long time; but at length, during a conference for the settlement of their differences, held at Westeras in 1437, he treacherously seized upon his unfortunate rival, and caused his head to be struck off. The steward Christer Nilson, an old intriguer, accustomed to style the guardian, whose kinsman he was, his dear son, and to be called in return father, now covertly incited the Dalecarlians and Vermelanders to fresh commotions, and confederated with Nils Stenson, brother-in-law of Charles, whom Eric had lately nominated to the dignity of marshal, for the recall of the king. This revolt was however suppressed in 1438; in the year following, the steward, unsuspecting of danger, was surprised at his house, and carried to his fief, the castle of Wiborg in Finland, while the new marshal fled with the king back to Gottland³, where Eric, in the society of his concubine, and the pirates whose booty he was not ashamed to share, consoled himself for the loss of three kingdoms.

From 1434, the year of Engelbert's rising, until the close of even Eric's nominal reign, we may observe within five years, no fewer than ten different associations, guarantees, covenants, and confederacies, without reckoning those in which the Swedish council alone was concerned, formed sometimes under the mediation of Denmark and Norway, sometimes under that of the Hanse towns, all relating to the conditions on which the king's readmission might be acceded to. This is a species of diplomacy, which might not improperly be denominated the pastime of the Union age,—perpetual congresses, appointed, deferred, again renewed, exhibiting at once the weakness of the bonds by which the confederation was held together (although it was solemnly renewed at Calmar in 1438), the interest of the maguates in maintaining it, and the policy followed by all the Swedish party leaders from the time of Charles Canuteson, of labouring for their own aggrandizement to all practicable lengths, shielding themselves in case of necessity behind the convenient screen of the federal royalty. For this purpose Eric served as

well as any other prince, and therefore his followers did not desert him until he had deserted himself. Denmark and Sweden finally renounced fealty and obedience to him for ever in 1439; the Norsemen attempted during the same year an invasion of Sweden in his behalf, but were repulsed, and offered no further hindrance. Eric passed ten years in Gottland in the shameful pursuit of piracy, in allusion to which our annalists record a satirical saying of his nephew and successor, "My uncle must live." Eventually he repaired to his native country Pomerania, and died in his seventy-fourth year at Rügenwald, in 1459.

CHRISTOPHER of Bavaria, son of John, duke of the Upper Palatinate, by Eric's sister Catherine, had been called to the crown, in 1438, by the Danish council. Eric had made vain endeavours to secure the succession for his cousin-german Bogislaus, duke of Pomerania, accompanied by promises of privileges to the common people, which occasioned a sanguinary rising against the nobility in Zealand and Jutland, so that the Danish peasants took up arms for this king after those of Sweden had expelled him. Christopher, who at first assumed only the title of guardian, immediately opened negotiations with the Swedish and Norwegian councils. In Sweden, the movements of party fluctuated in their tendencies. At a congress of Danish and Swedish plenipotentiaries held in Jenköping in the autumn of 1439, it was decided to adhere to the Union of Calmar. Upon this occasion the clergy, ever conspicuous for their zeal in support of that settlement, declared their attachment to Christopher. In a baronial diet at Arboga, which met in the beginning of 1440, it was resolved, that a foreigner should never again be called to the Swedish throne; and at the elective diet on the 4th October, of the same year, CHRISTOPHER of Bavaria was chosen, after a private negotiation with Charles Canuteson had assured to the latter the possession of all that he calculated upon being able to gain for the present. He obtained the inféudation of Finland; Oeland was assigned to him in pledge of the satisfaction of his claims, and he was absolved from all responsibility on account of his administration. For Charles, this was but the postponement of the crown, not its perdition. Meanwhile it was generally rumoured, that a nun of great reputation for sanctity had foretold to him that he should yet be its wearer, and in the church of Vadstena a child had seen the diadem glistening on his head. On the royal entry into Stockholm, the people observed that the lofty stature of the marshal overtopped the king, a short, corpulent man, who walked arm in arm with him, and the general cry was, "the marshal is comelier, and more worthy to wear the crowns; woe to those who have ordered it thus⁴." Norway still hesitated. Here Eric had succeeded in procuring the hereditary kingship; an object which he had vainly striven for in his other dominions. Hence the Norsemen took up arms for a short time on his deposition, but in 1442, Christopher also received the homage and crown of Norway.

For his Swedish throne this king was so essentially indebted to the bishops, that the diary of

² Plurimis coruscant miraculis. *Diarium Vadstenense*.

³ In a new descent upon Sweden from Gottland, Nils Stenson was made prisoner, and died of the plague, which

in 1439 is said to have raged over all Sweden, "et diversa loca Christianitatis." *Diary of Vadstena*.

⁴ The Rhyme Chronicle.

Vadstena observes upon his election; "it took place conformably to the will of the prelates—God grant, of heaven." At his coronation and during his Eric's-gait, he showed dispositions so favourable to the clergy, that these now gave their consent to a measure which for a hundred years they had obstructed, the adoption of the general land's-law. This code accordingly received the royal sanction on the second of May, 1442, with reservation of the inviolability of privileges, both clerical and laical. The archbishop of Upsala, Nils Ragwaldson, formerly known as the representative of the Swedish church at the council of Basle, in 1434, obtained possession in perpetuity of the castle of Stacket, built and fortified by him, which was to attain mournful celebrity from its position during future internal commotions. At his visit to the monastery of Vadstena, the king, although his parade of devotion harmonized ill with his jovial temperament and the laxity of his manners, caused himself to be admitted into the holy brotherhood, which now instituted the first trial for heresy that Sweden had yet seen. A simple peasant, who styled himself the ambassador of the Holy Virgin, had declared before the monks various opinions, some of them relating to the life of the cloister, which occasioned an inquiry into the circumstances and the imprisonment of the accused, until, weakened by long fasting, he renounced his errors. His public recantation was solemnized by a procession in which the sinner, naked to the middle, carried a burning torch in his hand and a bundle of wood upon his back, thereby consigning himself to the flames if he should relapse into heresy.

CHARLES CANUTESON, whom the king at first gratified with the appellation of father, the honour of knighthood, and the office of high steward, at the same time confirming and augmenting the fiefs which he held, soon found himself superfluous at court. Among his many and powerful foes the first to move against him was Christer Nilson, the old steward, who, returned from exile, was loud in his complaints of the wrongs he had suffered. To him and his heirs, Charles was compelled to relinquish a portion of Finland. Shortly afterwards he was summoned by the king to Stockholm, and though he repaired thither with ten ships and five hundred knights and squires, Abo, Tavasteborg, Oeland, and Swartsjö, were demanded from him; and he was obliged in effect to surrender the first named place, for which he received Wiborg, now vacant by the death of Christer Nilson. Hastening to escape from the load of charges now poured upon him, he was forced to see himself excluded from the government to which the king, upon his own departure, committed affairs. This was composed of Swedish barons, who were for the most part enemies of Charles; foreign governors were now no longer appointed, and in the only case in which an attempt was made to place fiefs in the possession of a foreigner, the king is said to have abandoned it upon remonstrance being made⁵. On the other hand the eagerness of the Swedish magnates to obtain them was sharpened, and the king availed himself of their rivalry, to excite jealousies

among them, and to procure money for his own purposes, for the fiefs were sold in his chancery to every one who would pay the price of them, and the same often to several persons⁶. At this time the country was afflicted by scarcity and famine; and when the king, in 1446, again visited Sweden, accompanied by his young bride Dorothea of Brandenburg⁷, complaints were raised that every day five loads of corn were used for the horses of the royal household, while the common people were obliged to eat bark. Hence the peasants styled Christopher the bark-king, and called to mind the government of Charles Canuteson, with longing wishes for the return of those good times.

At a baronial diet in Stockholm, to which Charles was summoned from Finland, a convention was formed with the Livonian knights for a joint assault upon Novogorod, and the Swedes are said also to have subsequently participated in an irruption across the Russian frontier⁸. An expedition against Gottland was at the same time determined upon, as the pirates commissioned by the old king continued from that station to annoy the coasts and trade of Sweden. Nothing more came of this project, however, than a peaceful visit of Christopher to his uncle, which in Sweden was regarded as barren of good results, and ended on the return voyage in a shipwreck, by which the king lost all that he had amassed during his stay in Sweden. In general the king resorted to every possible expedient to procure money; in 1446 he caused a number of English and Dutch ships passing through the Sound to be brought in as prizes, and their cargoes to be sold. An enterprise of magnitude was planned by the king at this period. Drawing together a considerable force, he appeared with a fleet before the Venedic seaports, demanding a free passage through their territory for himself and his followers, upon pretence of a pilgrimage to Wilsnack, in Brandenburg. Rostock is said to have consented, Wismar and Stralsund to have refused compliance. The real design was to surprise Lubeck, to which place meanwhile several German princes, secretly confederated with Christopher, had repaired, as if on a friendly visit, carrying with them a supply of arms concealed in wine casks. A conflagration, which broke out during the night, was mistaken by them for the expected signal of assault, and hastening to take arms, they were discovered by the citizens and expelled from the town. Christopher now desisted from his abortive attempt and repaired to Sweden, having appointed to meet the council at Jenköping. He fell sick on the journey at Helsingborg, and died on the 5th January, 1448, of an imposthume, according to the Rhyne Chronicle, which, in common with every other domestic authority, knows nothing of the Palatine account making him to have been poisoned. Upon his death-bed he is said to have declared that his treasury had only been filled by him in the intent to annex Lubeck to the Danish dominions. He left no heirs. In Sweden he was lamented, we are told, by no one except Archbishop Nils, who on hearing the news of his death shed tears, and a few days after followed him to the grave.

⁵ Hvitfeld.⁶ Ita ut infra unius anni circulum octo vel decem unum fendum taliter comparasset. Adeo autem erant Sueci sua ambitione et mutua invidia excecati. Ericus Olai.⁷ Daughter of Margrave John, the alchymist, married in Copenhagen, 1445.⁸ In 1418. Karamsin.

CHARLES CANUTESON, who had continued to reside at the castle of Wiborg, remained in Finland four months after receiving intelligence of the king's death. With followers well armed and equipped he arrived, May 3, 1449, in Stockholm, whither the bishops, prelates, knights and nobles, with the franklins, and the deputies of the peasants and the towns, had been summoned to a general diet⁹. Prophecies of persons who were regarded as saints, by which Charles was designated as foredoomed to wear the Swedish crown, were again bruited about, and the circumstance of rain falling during his entry into the town was deemed by the people a pre-sage of good, inasmuch as the kingdom for several years previously had been visited by continual drought. Charles took up his quarters with his followers in the body of the town; the castle was held by his opponents, the brothers Bennet and Nils Jonson (Oxenstierna), who at the previous diet of Barons at Jenköping had been named administrators, and had held, together with the deceased archbishop, the chief share in the government during the time of king Christopher. To the vacant office of archbishop was named the young Jens Bennetson Oxenstierna, equally with his father and brother, the two administrators, the enemy of Charles. This powerful family is accused of having aimed at the crown, a purpose however which its heads soon renounced, in order to bring into play against the authority of the more powerful Charles the usual policy of the Union. Both factions provoked one another from the castle and from the town by the interchange of contumelious epithets, and they were upon the point of proceeding to blows, when at last it was agreed to proceed to the election of a new king, which however was not conducted in the ancient form enjoined by the land's-law¹. Seventy chosen plenipotentiaries gave their votes in secret, of which sixty-two fell upon CHARLES; the commonalty added their assent by acclamation. After the usual homage had been offered at the Mora Stone, the king's coronation was celebrated at Upsala on the 29th of June; and a few days after his consort Catharine² was crowned by the new archbishop, who had been consecrated in the interval. By this act the prelate gave a public proof that he acknowledged the new order of things, although his recognition had been tardy, and not yielded without reluctance.

The first object to which the new sovereign's attention was directed, was an expedition against Gottland and the old king Eric, and singularly enough, he conferred the command on Magnus

⁹ Episcopi, prelati, milites, nobiles, liberti, ac rusticorum et civitatum nuntii speciales. Ericus Olaf.

¹ Non secundum formam legistarii. Ibid.

² Af alla de fruer nan kan leta,
Skal man aldrid skönare quinna weta.

Of all dames heart can wish, I woen,
A fairer sure was never seen.

The Rhyme Chronicle.

This lady, the second wife of Charles, died in 1450. She was daughter of Charles Ormson, councillor of state, of Norwegian family, mother of four sons and five daughters, of whom all the former died in their childhood, and of the daughters, Magdalene was married to Ivar Axelsson Tott. Charles Canuteson was first wedded to Bridget, daughter of Thuré Bielke, and Christina, the offspring of this marriage, espoused Eric Ericson Gyllenstierna. On his death-bed the king was married to Christina, daughter of a captain in the castle of Roseborg, in order by this means to legitimate the

Gren, an ancient foe and new friend, whose good faith was more than suspected. The issue was as might be looked for. An easy reduction of the island and its town was followed by a long truce, which lasted until time was obtained for Eric to surrender the castle, and for Magnus Gren both the island and the Swedish squadron, to the Danes, who under the command of king Christian himself, surprised the Swedish garrison of Wisby (by treachery, as an old Swedish song complains), and set the town on fire.

Thus was Gottland won and lost, and in a short time the crown of Norway also disappeared. Upon this Charles had cast eyes of hope, the more confidently that the Norsemen had already in 1441 concluded a separate alliance with Sweden³, for the maintenance of the common liberties of both kingdoms, and now showed little inclination to follow in the steps of the Danes, who had raised CHRISTIAN of Oldenburg to the throne⁴. The archbishop of Dronheim with several of the Norwegian council and the mass of the peasants⁵, declared for Charles, who was chosen king, and crowned November 23, 1449, in the cathedral of the town. The collective body of the Norwegian commonalty both North and South of the Dofre mountains, now despatched a letter of renunciation to Christian, purporting that they would acknowledge neither him nor any other Dane or German as king of Norway, but had elected Charles to be their sovereign, seeing that Sweden and Norway, which two kingdoms God had so closely joined together, had from of old consorted in harmony and love. Two of the Norwegian council were named to manage the government, and Charles returned home by way of Jemteland.

Energy and unanimity, however, sufficient to maintain what thus had been won were wanting, and CHRISTIAN's party speedily attained predominance in Norway, although the people, especially in the northern portion of the country, to the last remained faithful in the cause of CHARLES. A vain attempt to besiege Opslo⁶, which had admitted a Danish garrison, is all that is related to have been done for the defence of the Norwegian crown; and at a conference held in Halmstad, May 1, 1450, twelve Swedish and Danish barons, specially deputed on either part, resolved that thenceforward, for the maintenance of the Union, both countries should choose one common sovereign. Meanwhile the plenipotentiaries of Charles himself renounced, on their own impulsion, and under the strictest personal responsibilities in case the stipulation was

son he had by her. But this union, to which the council were highly averse, was never recognized as valid, and the son lived and died in obscurity. Charles Ormson is mentioned in 1411 as Norwegian lieutenant of Jemteland, and contributed by his connections to the king's election in Norway.

³ The 9th February and 24th June, 1441. See Haderph, Appendix to the Rhyme Chronicle.

⁴ Son of Count Frederic of Oldenburg, and born in 1425. The settlement of the Danish crown upon him dates from the 1st September, 1448. He married Dorothy widow of King Christopher. It has been made matter of dispute whether the election of king took place earlier in Sweden or Denmark; but according to Eric Olaveson that of Charles Canuteson was prior.

⁵ See the different letters of the commons of Norway at Frosta Ting, in Voss, Hedemark, the Uplands, and Romerige, in Haderph, *ibid*.

⁶ Now Christiania. T.

not fulfilled, his right to the kingdom of Norway. By a secret article it was provided that the fiefs should thereafter be distributed at the pleasure of the council, that a security for the performance of this should be required from king Charles at a new congress in Calmar, and if he refused to confirm the article, that the council should declare for king Christian. The secret was divulged, and in requital, Charles deprived several of the barons of their fiefs and offices, a step which creates less surprise than the fact, that among his commissioners at Halmstad should again be found the same individual who had betrayed his cause in Gotland, and who now publicly passed over to the Danish party, while the rest were again seemingly reconciled to Charles. The new congress at Calmar, at which Charles appealed to the pope, expired without results. It appeared no longer doubtful that the quarrel between himself and his competitor could only be adjusted by arms, and hostilities had already been begun in the name of king Christian against Vermeland and East-Gotland.

In the opening of 1452, CHARLES caused an army to be assembled on the Scanian frontier, "greater than had ever before been known to be raised in Sweden⁷," says the Rhyme-Chronicle, which describes with complacency the declaration of war, the glancing banners, and the king's skill, acquired in foreign lands, of setting out his array. Twenty pieces of cannon, the first we find mentioned in any Swedish campaign, accompanied its march⁸, drawn upon sledges. A devastating inroad into Scania in the depth of winter, in which the land and towns were laid waste by fire, was all that was accomplished by this great army, which the king soon quitted, leaving orders that similar ravages should be extended to Bleking. For this purpose the force was divided, but it appears to have soon dispersed; for when in the following spring king CHRISTIAN commenced his campaign by an incursion into West-Gotland, the country lay open before him, and the castles fell into his hands in the course of the summer. Charles indeed purposed ultimately to meet the enemy in the forest of Tiwed, in order to prevent the invasion of Upper Sweden, but was recalled by the information that the capital, defended by peasants, was assailed by a Danish fleet. The Swedish squadron had been assembled at Stockholm and then sent on; when it returned, all the hostilities that occurred were confined to the exchange of a few shots. That this should be the case need not excite wonder if, as we are told, the commanders of the Swedish ships were Danes⁹, who allowed their countrymen to plunder and burn on the Swedish coast with impunity. Christian was

even permitted in the autumn to retire unpursued from the interior, without any other loss than he sustained from the exasperated peasants in his march across the forest of Holwed. The valiant Thord Bondé alone, cousin-german of the king, who had nominated him to the office of marshal, successfully defended the western frontiers of the kingdom.

The following years resembled in insecurity and disturbance that just described, and exceeded it in public misery. In 1455, the plague which had raged five years before again broke out in Sweden; at Stockholm alone 9000 men died. A scarcity of three years' duration engendered at the same time a more grievous famine than had ever happened within the memory of man¹. For the rest, military occurrences, without plan, alternated with proposals of peace which led to no result, and ineffectual conferences of the councils of both kingdoms. Sometimes these meetings were held amidst brilliant festivities, in which Charles displayed his pomp, his opulence, or his devotion; as for example, at the consecration of his daughter in the convent of Vadstena, where the king himself, decked in his royal robes, sang the gospel before the altar, and subsequently at the marriage of Thord Bondé, where he entertained the guests on fourteen hundred silver chargers. Within a year this brave nobleman was treacherously assassinated by a Dane who stood high in his service and confidence; a ballad still preserved attests the popular grief and indignation produced by his murder.

At this time it was not uncommon to find Danes in the service of Charles, as well as Swedes in that of Christian. In some instances these possessed property, and still more frequently had family connections in all the three kingdoms, or they sought their fortune by arms, indifferent what master they served; so that men of humble station were soon the only class who knew what it was to have a country, or to suffer in its behalf. Charles himself was without heart for his office, looked too narrowly to his individual advantage, and from being a brilliant party leader had become a feeble king. Towards the magnates he cherished a well-grounded mistrust, which out of fear he for the most part concealed, and thereby afforded to his secret enemies opportunities of openly injuring him. Astute and compliant in all save pecuniary matters², he sought his ministers in men of mean condition who resembled himself in these qualities, and betrayed his interests. In rapacity his governors fell not at all short of the foreigners whom they replaced, although they plundered under the cloak of law³.

Russia. In Novogorod alone, according to Karamsin, 48,000 men died.

² "Courteous, but greedy," an old account describes him.

³ Compare the character of Charles Canute-son as drawn by Eric Olavson, his contemporary. Although he has been charged with partiality, his representation is by no means deficient in truth, and contains a more apposite judgment than that of the Rhyme Chronicle, which dwells upon the princely and glittering exterior of Charles. He is also corroborated by other testimonies: "Habebat præfectos ad omnem nequitiam audacissimos et ad omnem virtutem resque præclaras imbellissimos," says Joannes Magnus. Olaus Magnus, who extols the justice of the governors under Steno Sturé the elder, blames at the same time those of Charles Canute-son; their conduct towards their own master, indeed, sufficiently evinces their character.

⁷ The number is variously stated at from 40,000 to 80,000 men. The army was preceded by skyrännare (skidlopärs), or skate-runners, using the skates made of long curved wooden staves, for sliding over the surface of the snow.

⁸ "Twenty carriage guns with powder and stone-balls belonging thereto." Cannon, however, were previously used in the fortresses. In the castle of Stegeborg in 1410 fourteen were kept (called Föglare, or birds), which were directed by a German master gunner. Under Engelbert's rising, guns are mentioned in the castle of Stockholm. The town in 1431 had a master gunner and a cannon founder, both salaried.

⁹ Eric Olavson.

¹ Diary of Vadstena. In the autumn of 1464 the plague broke out anew, carried off 7000 men in Stockholm, and lasted nearly two years, during which it also desolated

The people, in whose memories Engelbert lived, were averse to Charles, and when he attempted to revive the old contest regarding the liberty of testamentary bequests to the church, and attacked the property and privileges of the clergy⁴, his position became the more critical from his want of the martial qualities which might have enabled him successfully to oppose an order, whose members in that day were not seldom wont to bear the episcopal staff conjointly with the sword.

The intrigues of the archbishop Jens Bennetson and his party did not remain hidden from the king. The former, with Sigge bishop of Strengnäs, had once already been convicted of treason, and forfeited his fiefs. He had been reconciled to the king through the interposition of the council, but continued to hold a hostile tone. At a baronial diet in Westeras he openly expressed his discontentment with the administration of Charles, and his inclination to Christian. To this the king paid no regard, confiding in his treasures and his stipendiary troops⁵.

At the outset of 1457, when the archbishop was the king's guest in the castle of Stockholm, and each loudly upbraided the other with new grievances, a summons was again issued for one of those fruitless campaigns which every year of this reign witnessed. Oeland, which the Danes had seized, was now the object; and while Charles himself directed his march southwards, the archbishop received a mandate to accelerate his preparations in the upper portion of the country. But Jens Bennetson repaired instead to the cathedral of Upsala, and depositing his priestly vestments on the high altar, girt on helmet, sword, and armour, affixed to the church door a declaration of war against his sovereign, and immediately commenced hostilities. CHARLES indeed hastened his return, and opposed to the disorderly crowd collected by the prelate a disciplined, if not numerous, army; but he allowed himself with incompressible carelessness to be surprised in Strengnäs. After a short conflict, being wounded by an arrow, he fled to Stockholm, where he with difficulty obtained admission. "And because he saw," says Olave Peterson, "that the archbishop and those of his party had undertaken the matter in such a way as that they intended to carry it through, and he also dreaded that the burghers of Stockholm, now that the country was adverse to him, would not stand fast by his cause, he disposed of his gold and silver, of which he had great store, went secretly on board ship by night⁶, and so came to Dantzic the third day afterwards, where he received safeconduct, and abode for seven years.⁷"

The Swedish nobles whom fear of Charles had driven into exile now re-entered the country. The

town of Stockholm, which in Albert's time had sustained a siege of seven years, surrendered within a month to the Archbishop, who now styled himself prince and administrator of the realm. The governor of the castle yielded up both the fortress, and the children of his sovereign, who had been entrusted to his charge, without stroke of sword, only stipulating that no account should be required from him of the monies which had passed through his hands. His compeers, the royal governors in the various provinces, excepting only Gustavus Carlson⁷ at Calmar, "who stoutly upheld his knightly honour," all followed the example set them with so much alacrity, that when king Christian came before Stockholm with his fleet at Whitsunday, the Danes complained that nothing was left for them to do, and overwhelmed the clergy especially with scoffing eulogies. Yet realities were not forgotten for words, and the clerical order were gratified by a complete confirmation of all their privileges.

CHRISTIAN I. of Oldenburg was now chosen king of Sweden, crowned at Upsala, June 19, 1457, and at a congress of the councils of all three kingdoms held next year in Skara, he obtained their conjoint guarantee for the succession of his son. Even the peasants, against whose wishes he had been invited into the kingdom, although they had assisted the archbishop against Charles, acquiesced in the arrangement which had been effected, and to use the words of the chronicle, "it first went well with the land under the rule of king Christian." But when he had reigned some years, it is said, "he began to lay many new taxes upon the country, and all who had any money were obliged to lend him large sums, of which they received nothing back. He bought the land of Holstein from the Count of Schaumburg, and his brother Count Gerdt, for which end he gathered much money out of all his kingdoms. By reason of the burden of these tallages, and because he took all out of the land with him, he drew on himself much ill-will throughout the kingdom, and his unfriends began to call him a bottomless pouch, and said that he was a public spoiler, although he was otherwise a pious and good-natured man⁸." In 1463, a rumour was spread that king Charles would return with an army to reassert his claims to the crown, which proved ultimately to be unfounded. But a trader whom the archbishop caused to be imprisoned, was said to have brought with him letters of that purport to the relatives and partisans of Charles; several of whom, with the pretended letter-bearer, were subjected to the cruellest torture by the rack, so that some died, and others lost the use of their limbs. By these steps deep hatred was excited against the archbishop, who was a man of so

⁴ In 1451, when the clergy drew up a peremptory and detailed protest against his measures. Charles not only demanded that restrictions should be laid upon bequests to the church, but he confiscated a number of its estates, and insisted that no noble should be permitted to enter the spiritual order before he had sold his estates to his relatives. Investigations with a view to the reduction were prosecuted throughout the kingdom by his son-in-law, Eric Ericson Gyllenstierna, and the chancellor, Dr. Nicholas Rytting.

⁵ The Rhyme Chronicle.

⁶ February 24, 1457. Olave Peterson remarks, that of the "large treasure" which Charles carried with him, he lent a great sum in gold to the Prussian lords. Of this loan, made

in 1458 to the town of Dantzic, King Charles XII. exacted payment, in 1704, principal and interest, for the family of Gyllenstierna, which is descended from Christina, daughter of Charles Canuteson. Another part of his treasure was concealed in the Dominican monastery at Stockholm, but was taken by the monks to King Christian.

⁷ Son of Charles Ormsen, the king's father-in-law, before mentioned; he afterwards did homage to Christian.

⁸ Olave Peterson. Holstein had become vacant in 1459 by the death of Duke Adolphus, whereupon, the year following, Christian received homage as Duke and Count of Sleswick and Holstein, and bought off the claims of the other pretenders.

malignant and obdurate a nature, that "whomsoever he was wroth with, he was bent upon ruining utterly."

King CHRISTIAN came in person to Stockholm, to encounter the imaginary danger, imposed a new tax, and committed the levy of it to the archbishop, while he himself proceeded upon an expedition to Finland against the Russians, for which he had appropriated a portion of the subsidy lately collected by a Papal legate in the north for a war against the Turks. The peasants refused the new tax, protesting that they would rather die than pay any more illegal imposts, and taking up arms, they obtained a promise from the archbishop for the remission of the tax, perhaps the more readily, that even peasants holding of the church were not exempted by the king from its operation. Upon his return, however, Christian accused the archbishop of having himself instigated the revolt, and brought a multitude of charges against him bearing upon the prelate's conduct towards Charles, although it was his rival who now called him to account. Even in the council and among the burgesses the adversaries of the archbishop had the preponderance. In all the public places papers were posted up, bearing the words, "the archbishop is a traitor." Notwithstanding his threat of excommunication, the king caused him to be apprehended. The peasants, now regarding him as a martyr for the liberties of the realm, hurried to Stockholm, but were beaten back, and numbers of them treacherously slaughtered in a conflict which acquired for the marshal Thure Thureson Bielké, the surname of peasant slayer⁹. Before his departure, the king is said to have robbed the castle of Stockholm of all the articles of value it contained, from the gilt spire surmounting the tower, to the windows, pots and kettles, as well as to have broken down walls, dug in the ground, and even dragged the sea for hidden treasures; so that a contemporary letter indignantly reproaches him with having ransacked for money three elements, the air, the water, and the earth.

Scarcely had the king quitted the capital, carrying off the archbishop with him a prisoner to Denmark, when the insurrection broke out anew under the command of his kinsman Ketil Carlson (Vasa), bishop of Linköping, who in the beginning of 1464, assumed the title of administrator at Westeras, therein supported chiefly by the Dalecarlians, "the wildest and most warlike," say the monks of

Vadstena, among the inhabitants of Sweden¹. In the name of the Dalesmen and all the commonalty of Sweden, a letter was drawn up, full of the most vehement denunciations of the king's government². Christian now again came to the defence of Stockholm, in the depth of winter, but the Dalecarlians retired before him, and at length enticed him into a thick wood at Haraker's church in Westmanland, where he sustained a great overthrow, and after having been personally in danger, was obliged to flee to Stockholm, which the Dalecarlians kept besieged during the whole succeeding summer. "Then a sudden cry went among the peasants throughout the land, that they must have king Charles back; that Sweden was a kingdom, and not a captaincy nor a parsonage." The council was obliged to yield, and Charles was in effect recalled, but only to be again expelled after six months by the archbishop³, now let loose against him, and in league with bishop Ketil.

During nearly four years, from January, 1464, to November, 1467, which the king, now a second time deposed, spent at the castle of Raseborg, in Finland, in so great poverty that he complains in his letters of being unable to pay fifty marks which he owed, we observe first bishop Ketil, then after his death the archbishop, and within a short time, opposed to him, the powerful Eric Axelsson (Tott), filling the office of administrator, so that the partition of the kingdom into several petty sovereignties, which is said to have formed one of the plans of the magnates at this time, might soon have been accomplished⁴.

CHARLES CANUTESON was finally for the third time called to the throne upon the 13th of November, 1467. Shortly afterwards, his irreconcilable foe the archbishop died in exile. The old king spent the last years of his life in external and intestine warfare, against Christian, who attacked Sweden anew, and against Eric Carlson (Vasa), who put himself at the head of an insurrection, until the name of the Sturé began to gather lustre in Dalecarlia, and the success of Nicholas and Steno Sturé, first over domestic revolt, next over foreign aggression, allowed Charles to die in possession of his crown. He expired May 15, 1470, in the castle of Stockholm, in his sixty-first year, and upon his death-bed transferred the government to Steno Sturé, counselling him at the same time never to strive after the regal title and ensigns⁵.

⁹ The Rhyme Chronicle.

¹ Maxime feroces et bellicosi. Diar. Vadsten.

² See Memoirs relating to the History of Scandinavia (Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens Historia), v. 5. From this letter is taken the account of the dismantling of the castle of Stockholm by the king.

³ Olave Peterson. "And it wanted but little that he should have been obliged to beg grace of him."

⁴ "They would have divided the kingdom into four parts, and there were to have been four who should govern them." Id.

⁵ The Rhyme Chronicle. Joannes Magnus.

CHAPTER VI.

STENO STURÉ THE ELDER. KING JOHN. SUANTO STURÉ. STENO STURÉ THE YOUNGER, AND CHRISTIAN THE TYRANT.

A. D. 1470—1520.

Through Engelbert the people had again risen to be a power in the state, and the Union had become identified with foreign domination. Charles Canuteson, who could reap where he had not sowed, profited by this state of things to win a throne; yet his example proved that in Sweden at this time one might be all, but could not be king. While from his career the chiefs of the house of Sturé learned not to grasp at a diadem, and to cleave with more sincerity to the people, they on their side were doomed to experience how difficult it becomes for a party leader to rule, although he may be all, without being king. Meanwhile the Union nominally survived, still resting on the interest of the magnates; till all these false relations were snapped asunder by a Danish war of conquest against Sweden, and the axe of Christian II. drowned in blood even the name of the confederation.

STENO STURÉ, called the elder, was son of the councillor and knight Gustavus Anundson Sturé, by king Charles Canuteson's half-sister Bridget Bielké. He had first borne arms in the rising of bishop Ketil Vasa against king Christian in 1464; afterwards, in conjunction with Nicholas Sturé⁶, who, although of the same name, was of another family, he had saved the tottering throne of Charles Canuteson from overthrow in the last days of that sovereign. He was distinguished for great sagacity no less than for valor, "a skilful, cautious, and free-minded lord, and therewithal prosperous in his designs;"⁷ marked out by many qualities as the man of the people, yet influential also by his connexions, especially with the brothers Axelsson⁸, who were powerful both in Denmark and Sweden, and now hostile to king Christian.

The town of Stockholm and the Dalecarlians, between whom, according to one account, there now subsisted a special alliance, which formed the main-stay of the power of the Sturés, immediately acknowledged Steno Sturé as administrator. The people were generally on his side, and it is not without grounds that the Rhyme-Chronicle makes him say,

With Sweden's commons grace and love were mine,
Though all the lords would not my banner join.

The council was divided; as usual there was much discussion as to the maintenance of the Union. Eric Carlson Vasa and several exiled Swedish lords

of the old archbishop's party had returned with ships and men from Denmark, in order again to dispute the crown with the expiring Charles Canuteson. They were indeed put to flight by Steno Sturé, but the dissensions continued, and the kingdom remained nearly a year without any acknowledged head, until at length the peasants, twelve from every province, assembled of their own authority in Upsala, and urged the council of state to conclude upon some settlement among themselves, seeing, they said, that "such discords could nowise be endured in the land any longer."⁹ Thereupon, not without renewed hesitations, Steno Sturé was chosen (May 1, 1471,) administrator at Arboga, principally by the voices of the peasants and burgesses, but also with the concurrence of the greater number of the council. The delivery into his hands by Eric Axelsson of the castles which he had held, and also the declaration in his favour by the new archbishop Jacob Ulfson, his foster-father, and his friend in the first instance, doubtless mainly contributed to this result.

King CHRISTIAN himself now appeared before Stockholm with a fleet of seventy ships. Proposals of accommodation were made upon both sides. To the arbitrement of commissioners chosen from the councils of all three kingdoms, were to be referred the questions in dispute between Christian and Sweden, between the brothers Axelsson and their legitimate king, between the seceding Swedish lords and Steno Sturé's party in the council. All this was more than sufficient to hold the Danes in play through a whole summer, for the only object seems to have been to gain time. Neither Steno Sturé nor his friends appeared before the commission upon the day appointed for its sitting. The administrator had repaired to East-Gothland; Nicholas Sturé had betaken himself to Dalecarlia, to assemble forces from the more remote provinces, for in the environs of the capital the partisans of the Danes were most active. Eric Carlson Vasa, and Trotté Carlson, of Eka, had already induced the greater part of Upland to do homage to the king. The peasants were allured to the Danish camp by the cheap price of salt, the import of which had been designedly prohibited, and many remained under the royal standard. STENO STURÉ was careful to keep his movements secret, and as nothing was heard of him, the spirits of the Danes

⁶ Boece Stenson (Natt och Dag), councillor of state, and father of Nicholas (Nils) Sturé, married Catherine, daughter of Steno Sturé of Sleswick, of the Danish house, whose name Nicholas assumed after his mother.

⁷ Laurence Peterson.

⁸ There were nine brothers, sons of Eric Axelsson Tott in Denmark, of whom Eric Axelsson, then feudatory of F inland, married Elin Sturé (aunt of Steno, not sister, as has been in-

accurately stated); and Iwar Axelsson, feudatory of Gottland, married Magdalene, daughter of Charles Canuteson, an alliance which had re-opened the throne to this king. Steno Sturé himself was married to Ingeborg, daughter of Aké Axelsson. Through the death of another brother, and the sequestration of his fief, his family were brought into adverse relations with King Christian, against whom in 1467 Iwar Axelsson had declared war.

⁹ Olave Peterson.

rose proportionably¹. Christian called him "a lad who being about to be chastised with the rod, hid himself in the woods;" his soldiers vaunted of the shames they would put upon the burghers of Stockholm, and their wives. Meanwhile the Sturés approached on the north with combined forces for the relief of the capital, and upon the 11th October, 1471, battle was joined at the BRUNKEBERG.

This was a sandy height then lying without the town of Stockholm, but now levelled and built over, though still keeping the name it derived from the punishment of the inhuman Brunké; it had been fortified by king Christian "with some new inventions," as it is expressed. A retrenchment or sconce (skerma) had been erected there, and planted with "many great cannon." King Christian himself took post with the Danish banner on the eminence, with the intrenchment in his rear, to defend it against a sally which was apprehended from the town. A second division of the army was planted below the hill at the convent of St. Clara; the third remained stationary at the ships, which were moored by the Capuchins' (now Blasc's) Holm, then separated from Norrmalm (the North suburb) by water, across which the Danes had cast a bridge of poles in order to maintain the communication with their fleet. Steno Sturé, having notified the cessation of the truce, also divided his army into three portions, of which one was sent to make a circuit and fall upon the Danes at their ships, under the command of Nicholas Sturé, who met with so many obstacles from marshes and woods in one of the quarters of Norrmalm, now so populous, that the delay in his arrival almost caused the loss of the battle. Four times did STENO STURÉ storm the Brunkeberg, which was not won until the general had succeeded, by an attack upon the division of the Danish army posted beside the convent of St. Clara, in enticing part of the enemy's troops from their station on the hill. During this attack the wooden retrenchment on the mount was set in flames, having been taken by the burghers in a sally from the town. The arrival of Nicholas Sturé decided the victory. CHRISTIAN, who was himself wounded, with difficulty escaped to the ships, and many of the fugitives were drowned, as the burghers during the fight had sawn through the wooden bridge. This battle, long celebrated and sung by the Swedish country people, exhibits many characteristic features of old manners. Steno Sturé, with his whole army, heard prayers and made confession in the morning before going into action. All his men set badges of straw or green boughs in their helmets and caps, to distinguish themselves from those of their countrymen and brethren who fought in the ranks of the foe. As they marched to the attack they chanted St. George's song as their lay of battle, and to that knightly saint Steno Sturé afterwards dedicated an image, which may still be

seen in the high church of Stockholm. The fiercest conflict was waged around the two chief banners²; King Christian wounded with his own hand Canute Posse, who led the sally from the town; Steno Sturé was several times surrounded by the enemy. A poor peasant named Starke Biörn (the strong bear), ran during the whole battle before his horse, and cleared a path for him with a huge broadsword. The consort of the administrator, with the principal ladies of Stockholm, viewed the battle from the castle walls, and caused food and alms to be distributed to the poor of the town³.

The battle of BRUNKEBERG was more important from its consequences than remarkable from the forces engaged. The strength of Steno Sturé's army is stated at about ten thousand men, to which are to be added thirteen hundred well appointed horsemen of the town of Stockholm. The infantry consisted for the most part of peasants, whose chief arms were still the bow and the northern battle-axe⁴, well known since the days of paganism. In the camp at Norrmalm king Christian had five thousand men well-equipped, and provided with an artillery, which for that day was numerous. Including that part of the army which remained with the ships, and the levies raised by the Swedish lords of Christian's party, his array was probably not very unequal in numbers to the other, and superior in discipline and equipment. On his side many Swedes perished in the battle, among them that Trotté Carlson, whose wooden shield coated with leather hung in the cathedral of Upsala until the conflagration of 1702. The survivors among the Swedes who fought on the king's side fled to the ships; the Danes wished to sacrifice them to their fury and throw them into the sea. To the honour of king Christian be it said, he prevented this useless cruelty, and caused them to be liberated. He himself quitted Sweden never to return, and during the remaining ten years of his life he left it in peace.

The succeeding years were the happiest that the kingdom had known for a long time. The leaders of the opposition were reconciled to the administrator, who was now allowed to devote himself to the cares which peace demanded. Heretofore one half of the burgomasters and councillors in the towns had been Germans. After the fight of Brunkeberg, the burgesses and peasants demanded the alteration of this provision of the Swedish town-law, else, they declared, they never would come to the succour and relief of the lords and councillors of Sweden; it was accordingly abolished by a rescript of the administrator and the council⁵. Cultivation was now resumed in many tracts wherein the granges during the commotions had gone to waste, as appears from the ordinances issued upon the subject⁶. To prevent

¹ Konung Christian intet af Herr Sten visste,
Ty han for med stora tyssne.

King Christian nought of the lord Steno knew,
For in great silence on he drew.

The Rhyme Chronicle.

² (Dahlman (History of Denmark. 3, 231.) states that the Danebrog, or Danish standard, round which lay five hundred dead bodies, fell into the enemy's hands; this was a white cross upon a red ground, said to have been consecrated by Pope Honorius for King Waldemar II. upon his crusade against the Esthonians in 1219. It was again taken by the

Ditmarsers in 1500, and retaken on their subjugation by the Danes in 1559. T.) A Swedish ballad upon this battle still exists.

³ A manuscript in the library of Linköping (of the year 1519), states that sixteen knights, with 614 men, were taken prisoners, and 2060 slain. Linköpings Biblioteks Handl. i. 90.

⁴ Called the Swedish poleaxe in some old verses of the union age.

⁵ Of October 14, 1470.

⁶ See the Recess of Calmar, 1474.

the subdivision of the ancient yardlands, it was enacted that the oldest cultivator and inhabitant should possess the right of redeeming the allotment of the other heirs. STENO STURÉ kept his governors under strict supervision; when redress for wrong was sought by legal means, he allowed judicial sentences their due course, not only against them but himself, and it became a proverb, that the lord Sturé would rather risk his life than allow a peasant to be deprived of a sheep unjustly⁷. The Rhyme Chronicle extols the years crowned with plenty, the cheapness of all commodities, the store of salt, hops, and foreign wares, for now many a good ship sailed to the Swedish havens.

In the general prosperity there was now time to give ear to the claims of learning and knowledge. A seminary had been founded by the earl Birger in the archiepiscopal see of Upsala, for the support of which provision was made out of the tithes, according to a papal brief of the year 1250, and we find that scholars were sent thither from the diocesan schools of the kingdom to pursue their studies⁸; on which account the Swedish delegates to the council of Constance were commissioned to bring with them on their return home some learned men who might instruct the Swedish youth in the seminary of Upsala, and thereby contribute to remove from the clergy the reproach of ignorance⁹. Pursuant to this end, one academic professorship, for a beginning, was founded at Upsala in 1433, the incumbent of which was bound annually to hold prelections "in the manner which a master uses to follow in chartered seminaries¹." A papal brief had empowered king Eric of Pomerania to erect a university in the North, and a like permission was granted to king Christian for Denmark, on his visit to Rome in 1474. Archbishop Jacob Ulfson having in that year discussed the subject with the Swedish clergy at the synod of Arboga, an envoy was despatched to Rome, and obtained a brief from Pope Sixtus IV.², authorizing the establishment at Upsala of a general seminary of instruction in theology, canon and civil law, medicine and philosophy, with the privilege of conferring degrees. The university of Upsala was solemnly consecrated on the 21st of September, 1477, one year before that of Copenhagen, after the administrator and estates of the realm had granted to the new institution the same privileges as were possessed by that of Paris.

King CHRISTIAN I. died on the 22nd of May, 1481, "a prince," it is said, "in stature taller, larger, stronger, and more majestic than any of his successors; in disposition pious, mild, religious, tender-hearted, and moderate; who is reckoned among the good sovereigns that have ruled the kingdom of Denmark." Such is the Danish judgment of his character³; in Sweden his memory has shared those feelings of hatred cherished towards the Union, which strengthened in proportion as Denmark, under the house of Olden-

burg, appeared more dangerous for the liberties of the north. That family soon became naturalized in the kingdom from its possessions as well as the genius of its members, whereas its foreign predecessors in the monarchy of the Union were no more acceptable to the Danes, than to the Swedes and Norsemen.

Even Norway, although more tranquil than Sweden, because exhausted by the struggles of its middle age, began now to be more disquieted than heretofore by the predominance of Denmark in the Union. On the demise of Christian, the Norwegian council transmitted to that of Sweden a long list of grievances, adding, "that in Norway, during his time, foreigners had gained power and advantages far greater than ever before; that the article respecting the perpetual Union of the three kingdoms should be better considered, since that arrangement had hitherto led to no good result; on the other hand, a loving and friendly alliance between Sweden and Norway, would procure for both the full enjoyment of their freedom, their rights, and prosperity⁴." Meanwhile, a variety of negotiations had been in progress between Denmark and Sweden, from the battle of Brunkeberg to the death of Christian, and although often broken off without issue, they resulted, shortly after the latter event, in a renewal of the Union by the treaty of Calmar, in 1463. The conditions on which that monarch's son JOHN, or Hans as he is commonly called, now received the crown of Sweden, sufficiently evince by what interest the Union was really upheld. After a solemn recognition of all the privileges of the church, the plenipotentiaries of the three kingdoms agreed upon the following, among other terms of settlement. 1. The king, who was to be guided generally by his council, and was to reside one year in each of the kingdoms alternately, was to conduct the government by good men, natives of the country, not setting over them persons of mean birth; in the distribution of castles and fiefs, he was bound to have regard to the opinion of those members of his council, who resided in the district in which the appointment was to be made. 2. The council was to be composed of nobles of the realm, and as many of the clergy as should be found necessary; no new member was to be received without the consent of the rest, and every one who separated himself from his colleagues, to be expelled with disgrace; the keys of the register and treasury of each kingdom were to be committed to four councillors, bound to give an account, and responsible for their safe custody. 3. The king was precluded from buying any noble's estate, or acquiring hypothecary possession of it; on the other hand, a nobleman might hold crown estates in pledge, without service or burden; the nobility had full liberty to fortify their houses, and might refuse the king access to them, while they might afford an asylum to those who had incurred the

⁷ Scheffer, Memorabilia Suet. Gentis.

⁸ An example is mentioned in 1468, S. R. S. i. p. 83.

⁹ Celse, Apparatus ad Hist. Sveo-Goth. p. 2. MS. in the library of Upsala. The burgesses of Stockholm received in 1419 a papal charter for the old school connected with St. Nicholas' church. The school-house was burned down, and the Archbishop Joannes Jererchini, of evil repute, refused permission to rebuild it, unless he were allowed to nominate the teachers, which had previously been done by the minister and the burgesses. Their right was now confirmed by the pope.

¹ In studiis privilegiatis. For the teacher, Magister Andreas Bondonis, a salary was found out of the tithes formerly allocated to the hospital of Enköping. See on this subject the warrant of the bishops and the administrator Charles Camteson in the Collections for the History of Sweden. (Samlingen i Svenska Historien. Upsala, 1798, vol. i.)

² Given February 28, 1476.

³ Compare Hvítfeld.

⁴ Hadorph, Appendix to the Rhyme Chronicle.

royal displeasure. Lastly, it is laid down that every good man, whether of the clergy or laity, should be king over his own peasants, excepting in such cases as concerned the rights of the sovereign. "And though these were hard terms, yet king Hans promised with oath, letter, and seal, that he would hold by them."

The Calmar Recess of 1463, marks the highest point of aristocratic power in Sweden, and shows the end towards which the efforts of the nobles were directed. With respect to the fulfilment of its more immediate object, Steno Sturé well understood how to interpose hindrance and delays. "For though Sweden (to make use of the words of Olave Peterson) was promised and secured to king Hans by treaty, yet full fourteen years passed before he obtained possession of it, partly because the debts of king Christian were still unpaid, partly also, because the Swedes were not well inclined to the measure. In these fourteen years many prolonged conferences were held between the nobles of both kingdoms, that peace might be made and king Hans might obtain Sweden, but the matter made very slow progress, and was put off from one meeting to another. From all the proposals of the Swedes, it was easy to perceive that they wanted inclination and good-will to king Christian, else would they not so long have deferred the matter."

Among the subjects of dispute between Denmark and Sweden, was the isle of Gottland. By king Christian it had been pledged to Olave Axelsson Tott; its next possessor was his brother Iwar, to whom Charles Canuteson gave his daughter in marriage, in the hope thereby to reannex Gottland to the Swedish crown. But this potent Danish family, which had joined the administrator out of enmity to Christian, soon showed the former that their support was not to be counted upon. Upon the demise of Eric Axelsson, who held Finland in fief, he left the Finnish castles, contrary to his promise, not to his brother-in-law the administrator, but to his brothers Lawrence and Iwar, who took possession of the land on their own account. From this cause a feud at length arose between Steno Sturé and Iwar, of which the end was, that the latter in 1487 ceded the isle of Gottland to king John, and himself sought refuge in Denmark. This domestic quarrel revealed the dispositions of the magnates towards the administrator. Already in 1484 it had been proposed to deprive him of power, and he himself more than once offered to abdicate his office. Its functions were in their very nature indefinite, and the ambiguity of his position could scarcely fail to exercise an influence on his public conduct.

This vacillation was especially shown in the war with Russia, which, after several prelude disturbances, became really formidable by the Russian invasion of Finland, in 1495. While Canute Possé with admirable courage defended Wiborg, which

⁵ The so-called explosion of Wiborg, by which Canute Possé is said to have destroyed 60,000 Russians at once, is spoken of by no contemporary, though we are told that the Russians had in this siege amazingly large cannons of twenty-four feet in length (*bombardas et machinas magnas et mirabiles aliquas in longitudine xxiv. pedum*), and that their retreat was occasioned by miracles.

⁶ The standard was lost in the present campaign, and this was made one of the charges against Steno Sturé.

the Russians in vain besieged during three months⁵, STENO STURÉ assembled an army, the greatest that Sweden had seen in his time, and computed at more than forty thousand in number, placing himself at its head under the banner of St. Eric⁶, which was brought with great solemnity from the cathedral of Upsala. But the passage of the army was delayed to so late a period of the autumn, that great part of it perished by tempests and cold, and when the administrator at length reached Abo, he kept his attention so immovably fixed on his rivals in Sweden, that the Russians were allowed to devastate Finland with impunity. After a short interval, he relinquished the command to Suanto, son of Nicholas Sturé, who, while the administrator and the council were secretly watching one another, crossed the gulf in the summer of 1496 to Narva, and took and destroyed Ivangorod. A new army was raised in Sweden, and transported to Finland in the autumn of the same year, but these preparations were fruitless, especially as animosities now broke out between the two Sturés. Suanto Sturé, who maintained that he had been wronged in various points, and left ultimately without support in Finland, abandoned the army of his own authority. He was soon followed by the incensed administrator. Hastening to shut himself up in the castle of Stockholm, he thence carried on a negotiation with the council, which now renounced fealty and obedience to his authority. He was accused of having needlessly intermeddled in the quarrels of Livonia⁷, while Finland was left defenceless; of having withheld from Suanto Sturé his inheritance, and called him a runaway from the banner of the kingdom; of having designed to introduce peasants into the government, and to annul the council by preventing new members from being chosen in the places of those who had gone out; lastly, of having hindered the fulfilment of the convention of Calmar, although not long ago, in 1494, he had made a solemn covenant with the council for its execution.

Calamities of different kinds had darkened the last years of the government of STENO STURÉ, great drought and failure of crops, terrible storms, the burning of Stockholm, and a renewal of the ravages of the plague. A papal excommunication issued against the guardian, because he withheld the revenues claimed by the Danish queen dowager⁸ in respect of her dower in Sweden, gave his enemies a new pretext for their opposition, and the confusion of public affairs was increased by the competition also of several foreign princes for the Swedish crown⁹.

King JOHN now repaired to Sweden at the invitation of the council. Steno Sturé betook himself into Dalecarlia, and threatened to become a second Engelbert. The Dalecarlians despatched letters to the Westmanlanders, the Uplanders, and the peasantry of all Norrland, calling on them to join in "loving brotherhood," to avert injury and perpetual ruin from their country, their dear lord and captain, and their own hearths. To king Hans

⁷ By giving assistance to the Archbishop of Riga in 1485, in his war against the Grand Master of Livonia.

⁸ Dorothy of Brandenburg, the wife first of Christopher, and afterwards of Christian I., died in 1495.

⁹ Duke Frederic, brother of King John, and also the emperor's son Maximilian, who had sent an envoy and great presents to Lord Steno, according to Olave Peterson.

they declared they were all opposed, and would never submit themselves to his authority. The Hanse Towns, now in league with the administrator, fanned the existing disaffection against the king, whose alliance with the Russian czar at the very time when Finland was burning and bleeding from the cruelty of the Muscovites, the Swedes could not forgive.

STENO STURÉ, at the head of his levies of peasants, attacked the archbishop, who had long played the waverer, but was now shut up in his castle of Stacket with some of the council. The peasantry marched against Stockholm, while the royal army, chiefly consisting of mercenary troops, was likewise conveyed before the capital in the Danish fleet, and encamped anew on the Brunkeberg, as had been done five and twenty years before¹. Sturé's plan was that the Dalecarlians should attack the hill, whilst he himself, sallying from the town, whose suburbs he had caused to be burned, fell upon the enemy in the rear. His scheme was betrayed. The peasants, by the Danish account 30,000 in number, were first surprised and defeated at Rotebro, and when the victorious army of Danes returned with Swedish banners flying, Steno, mistaking them for his own men, marched out to meet them, and would have been made prisoner had he not thrown himself from his horse into the Norrtrom, and obtained entrance into the castle by a secret door. This happened on the 23th of October, 1497. A reconciliation was soon effected between Sturé and the king, on condition that the former should be discharged from all responsibility for his administration, and receive the investiture of fiefs of immense extent², the largest ever possessed by any Swedish subject excepting Boece Jonson. They made their entry arm in arm together into Stockholm, and on arriving at the castle, the king is said to have jestingly inquired whether he had made all things properly ready for him. Sturé pointing to the Swedish nobles standing behind the king, replied, "That you will hear best from these, for it is they who have brewed and baked here." To this the king observed, "Lord Steno, you have bequeathed to me an ill legacy in Sweden; the peasants, created by God to be slaves, you have raised to be lords, and those who should be lords you would degrade to be thralls³." So uncontrollable was the anger of the magnates against Sturé, that many of them clamoured for his death with a virulence that was blamed by the Danes themselves, and his head would perhaps have fallen if bishop Cordt of Strengness had not interceded in his favour⁴.

STENO STURÉ was still formidable from the devotion

of the common people in his cause. To pacify the Dalecarlians, who, in spite of their defeat, would not retire from before Stockholm, he employed his personal influence, and they submitted to the king only on condition that Steno Sturé should thenceforward be governor over Westmanland and Dalecarlia, an augmentation of power which he afterwards voluntarily relinquished to the king. That Sturé should have acknowledged king John seemed a thing so incredible to the people generally, that the council were obliged to despatch letters into all the provinces, with copies of the convention of Calmar, concluded in 1463, in order to prove that he had already set his name to that act fourteen years before. On the 25th November (A.D. 1497), the king was crowned in Stockholm, on which occasion many new knights were created from among the nobility. The Rhyme Chronicle asserts that the desire of the Swedish ladies to see their husbands bearing the title of lords contributed not a little to open to John the path to the throne; for knights only were at this time called lords, as their wives only were ladies, and this dignity, of which a golden chain round the neck was the badge⁵, could not be conferred by the administrator, though himself a knight, but by the king only. Steno Sturé was nominated high chamberlain, Suanto, marshal, and the former was one of the four councillors to whom the government was committed when the king, in January, 1498, repaired to Denmark. In the beginning of next year he returned, attended by his consort Christina⁶ and his eldest son Christian, who was now in his eighteenth year, and had in 1497 been acknowledged as his successor. Homage was now solemnly rendered to him in that capacity by the judiciary and twelve men of every province.

The exasperation of the domestic party which was hostile to Steno Sturé was by no means yet appeased. Notwithstanding the acquittal he had obtained from all responsibility, the archbishop, armed with a papal brief, insisted on receiving compensation for all the losses which his see had sustained during the late discords; the rest of the bishops also, with Suanto Sturé and the council, preferred complaints of violence committed by the guardian's order, and there are undoubtedly instances of wrong either commanded or permitted by Steno Sturé in those troublous times⁷. The king endeavoured to accommodate their disputes even by the expenditure of money. A letter of agreement was subscribed by Steno Sturé, containing a partial admission of the charges brought against him; he was obliged also to cede the greater portion of Finland, and to pledge his honour never

¹ The king was also accompanied by the so-called *great* or *Saxon* guard, famous at this time in the service of several princes, whose strength is differently stated from 3000 to 6000 men. (The text has fourteen years, but this must be a slip of the pen. T.)

² The whole of Finland with Norrbotten and Aland, Sudermania, Swartsjö, with Færing's isle, and the estate of Götala in West-Gothland.

³ A Danish account says, that in 1497 at the diet of Funen, king John produced evidence against Steno Sturé's accusation that he wished to enslave the peasants. Serfage was not yet introduced in Funen, although it was in Zealand.

⁴ Olave Peterson.

⁵ Hvítfeld, however, laments that the gold chain began, from 1500, to be the common ornament of the nobles.

⁶ Of Saxony; daughter of the elector Ernest, married in 1478.

⁷ In the court-book of the town of Stockholm, an extract from which is among the Nordin manuscripts in the library at Upsala, complaints are made in the year 1492, that Lord Steno had forbidden the export of grain on penalty of death, at the very time when he was an exporter himself. Towards the end of his administration he was not popular with the burghers of Stockholm, who began to take the side of the council. He was obliged to promise that he would replace out of his own means all the damage that had been caused in 1497 by the burning of the suburbs, and eight years after his death, the magistrates caused all the property he had left in the town of Stockholm to be sequestered for the payment of his debts.

again to instigate the common people to disorders. But the misfortunes experienced by the king in the war for the subjection of the Ditmarsers, undertaken in 1500, with such high-raised expectations of success, but in which the flower of the nobility of Denmark and Holstein fell in conflict with an army of peasants inconsiderable in numbers, awakened dangerous recollections in Sweden. When JOHN, in 1501, again set foot on its territory, attended but by a small retinue, as had been requested by reason of the prevailing distress, distrust had already taken such deep root in his mind, that upon his way he evaded Steno Sturé, who had come forth to meet him, and fled for refuge to the castle of Stockholm. Negotiations were indeed set on foot and conferences held with the former guardian, who with several of the councillors came to the capital, but no agreement with the king was effected. With the late alteration in his fortunes the Swedish magnates too had now abandoned John, and began again to rally around Sturé, whom they had so lately persecuted, complaining that the Recess of Calmar was not observed. Steno Christerson Oxenstierna, who had been deprived of the salmon fishery at Elfkärleby, took up arms, and put to death one of the royal governors. Suanto Sturé declared war against the king upon his own account, because he had received small recompence for having "assisted his grace to the crown, against the will of the commonalty," as the words of his declaration run.

Steno Sturé was again chosen administrator at Vadstena, July 29, 1501. The peasantry anew placed themselves in movement, and even the archbishop was forced by necessity to yield to the general voice. The rest of the prelates also made, as appears, common cause with the now united Sturés and Hemming Gadd, the bishop elect of Linköping, who had lately returned from Rome, took the command at the investment of Stockholm, where king John had left his consort Christina of Saxony with a promise of hastening to her relief. The town speedily opened its gates, but the castle stood a siege of eight months, and when the queen at length surrendered it, stipulating security of life and goods for herself and her defenders, among whom were several Swedish knights, but seventy men out of a garrison of one thousand were found alive, and among these hardly ten were unwounded. Three days after the capitulation, king John with his fleet appeared before Stockholm to succour the queen, but was obliged to retire without accomplishing his object. Of the three castles which had been occupied by royal garrisons, Stockholm, Örebro, and Calmar, the last alone remained to be won⁸. Norway too revolted; and Canute Alfson, lieutenant of Aggerhus, became the ally of Steno, but was treacherously murdered at a conference with the Danes, after which prince Christian quenched the rebellion in the blood of the Nor-

wegian nobles. A Swedish auxiliary force sent by the administrator to Norway was unsuccessful. The prince made an attack on West-Gothland, burned Lödöse, took Öresten and Elfsborg, putting the garrisons to the sword, although they had offered to capitulate. The peasantry attributed this disaster to Eric Eriesson (Gyllenstiern), who was entrusted with the defence of the castles, and cut him down, although Steno's general, Aké Johanson, sought to cover him by interposing his own body. Thus passed away the eighteen months following the surrender of the castle of Stockholm, after which period the Danish queen, who had meanwhile found a refuge in the convent of Vadstena, was released and escorted to the frontier by Steno Sturé. On his return he fell sick and died, in the neighbourhood of Jenköping, December 13, 1503, according to the Rhyme Chronicle, of poison⁹. During the remainder of the journey, Hemming Gadd caused one of the train to personate the administrator, and forbade his decease to be made known on pain of death, until in conjunction with SUANTO STURÉ he had secured the castle of Stockholm, where the latter was elected guardian, January 21, 1504. Steno Sturé was buried in the monastery of Gripsholm, which he had founded. His only son Maurice had died in 1493; one daughter Bridget, a nun in the convent of Vadstena, lived till 1536.

Suanto was son of Nicholas Sturé, the ancient comrade in arms of the deceased administrator, of the family of Natt och Dag. What is said of his election, that it was "not conformable to the old laws and customs of the land," may be set aside as indifferent, since his title merely imported that he was now the most powerful man in the kingdom. Even of Steno the elder, Olave Peterson relates that the peasants gave him their votes for a cargo of German beer, an assertion for which the chronicler incurred the severest displeasure of king Gustavus I. SUANTO STURÉ was a valiant warrior, of a lounteous and cheerful disposition. It was said of him proverbially, that no one was admitted into his service who was observed to wink before the blow of a battle-axe, and that he would rather strip himself of his clothes than suffer a fellow-soldier to go unrewarded. He is censured as having looked chiefly to the weal of the soldiery, but his government was one of almost incessant war. The people ascribed the public calamities to the circumstances of the time, and gratefully remembered on the other hand how the administrator, on entering the cot of a peasant, greeted the owner, his wife, and his children, with a grasp of the hand, sat with them at the same table, and inquired after their affairs with good-natured courtesy. His assistant in the government was Hemming Gadd²; a priest by vocation and learn-

¹ Joannes Magnus.

² He had been Steno Sturé's agent in Rome for nearly thirty years. Pope Alexander VI. styles him, in a letter of 1499, *Cubicularium nostrum et Vice-Regis et regni Sueciæ apud nos oratorem constitutum*. In 1501 he had been elected bishop of Linköping, not, as Botin says, against the will of the chapter, and at the command of Alexander VI., but by the chapter, and against the pope's order, who had allotted the revenues of the bishopric to a Spanish cardinal; hence in 1506, not only Hemming Gadd himself, but the two Sturs, although Steno was now dead, were placed under the ban of the church; the first because he had allowed himself to be

⁸ The council had in 1499 consented that the places named should be entrusted to Danish commanders, yet in the sequel this was one of the complaints urged against the king. Among the Danish governors Jens Falster, Captain of Örebro, made himself remarkable by the outrages committed under his sanction, and was slain by the peasants.

⁹ The Rhyme Chronicle imputes this to Dr. Carl, Physician of the Danish queen. Other accounts accuse Martha Iwarsdotter, wife of the Norwegian knight Canute Alfson, a lady of no good reputation, the mistress of Suanto Sturé, and in 1501 his second wife.

ing, but not in his manner or character, designated to the crosier, but never its actual possessor, and oftener seen at the head of an army or a fleet than at the altar; for the rest, well experienced in state affairs, and ardent in hate towards the Danish name. Their government, for we may speak of it as conjoint, was an uninterrupted war with Denmark, carried on by yearly predatory expeditions, the intervals between them filled up with negotiations and congresses, which, if little else is to be learned from them, at least, through the names of the managers, make us acquainted with the persons who stood at the head of the peace party in Sweden.

Among these we observe the lord Eric Trollé, with a great proportion of the council and all the bishops excepting Hemming Gadd, who did not scruple publicly to reproach the others with carrying Danish hearts under the mantle of Swedish bishops. Proposals were continually made for a new recognition of king John, who appealed to the emperor, and obtained a declaration of outlawry against his Swedish foes, in which we find even the deceased Steno Sturé included. In 1509, the plenipotentiaries of the Swedish council in Copenhagen, agreed that Sweden should pay yearly 13,000 Stockholm marks, of which twelve and a half were reckoned equal to one mark of silver, until the king or his son were again admitted into the kingdom. But SUANTO STURÉ and Hemming Gadd, with their adherents, protested against this compact, "because the commonalty," as the words run, "by voice and hands uplifted, had renounced king Hans and all his descendants, and were not inclined to send any sum of money out of the kingdom as acknowledgment." They also took notice that nothing was determined respecting the restitution of Gottland, and reproached the king that he continued with his sworn brothers the Russians to plot mischief against Sweden. In the following year, ambassadors from Russia came to Stockholm, and concluded a peace to last for sixty years. An event of more importance was the intervention of the Hanse towns in the struggle. These, after their alliance with Steno Sturé, had for a time composed their differences with the king, but as he continued obstinately to shut them out from all commercial intercourse with Sweden, and to fill the Baltic with privateers, they renewed their alliance with Snuato Sturé, and in 1510, declared war against Denmark. Hemming Gadd received the envoys of Lubeck in the Swedish council with a long oration, in which he gave vent to all his hate against the Danes, describing them as a nation of robbers, who, with continual blasphemies on their tongue, lurked among the sand-banks of Jutland for the spoils of shipwreck, plundered trading vessels sailing through the Sound, and gathered upon their islands a scum of all nations, subsisting on the trade of piracy³. With the support of Lubeck he was now able to blockade by sea, and eventually to capture, the castle of Calmar, called by the Danes the key of Sweden, which had been

chosen, the latter, because they had promoted the choice. Hemming Gadd, to whom, in consequence of this, the council had denied investiture in the bishopric, at length gave up all claim to it in 1512. Next year Bishop John Brask was chosen, who was confirmed by the pope, on condition of paying a yearly income to the above-mentioned cardinal.

³ Joannes Magnus.

already besieged for six years. Oeland and Borkholm were also recovered by him, nor was he deterred by an age of seventy years from taking part in the cruise of the Hanseatic squadron against the Danish islands, or by his ecclesiastical office from plundering and threatening with conflagration the monasteries of Laland, in revenge for the desolation of Finland and the burning of Abo by the Danes.

In an incursion into Halland and Scania, fell the valiant Acho Johanson, whose slayer was rewarded by king John with letters of nobility. West Gothland was devastated by prince Christian, from Norway; the administrator, who marched against him, not risking a battle, but endeavouring to entice the prince into the forest of Tived, Christian however turned aside to East Gothland, and was driven back by the peasantry. During this warlike turmoil Suanto Sturé expired on the 2nd January, 1512; his death occurring suddenly at Westeras, while a consultation was proceeding relative to a silver mine newly discovered. The assembled miners immediately made themselves masters of the castle of Westeras, and having, before the news of the death of their beloved chief had spread abroad, secured by his partisans that of Stockholm likewise, they immediately despatched a letter in the name of the deceased to all the inhabitants of the realm, calling upon them to acknowledge his son, the young Steno Sturé, as his successor.

STENO, surnamed the younger, son of Suanto, by his first marriage⁴, and his only surviving child, the noblest and most chivalrous of his family, although flatterers sometimes abused his youthful inexperience, was regarded with great love by the people, for the alleviation of whose burdens he often employed his influence with his father. The younger barons appear also to have been favourable to him, while their elder competers and the council were zealous for Eric Trollé, a learned nobleman, of whom Gustavus I. remarks, "that he showed himself more fit for the priesthood than for the functions of secular government⁵." The principal lords who attended entered into a covenant, which they confirmed by oath, to resist with all their strength those who designed to strip the council of state of that privilege, power, and authority, belonging to it from of old according to the laws of Sweden, namely, of regulating the government when the country was without a king; binding themselves therewithal to restore harmony with Denmark, which had already concluded a peace with the Hanse towns⁶. Both parties remained in arms against each other, and when at length the council was obliged to yield, the exasperation of men's minds was so great, that the feast with which the election of Steno Sturé was celebrated in the castle of Stockholm, did not pass over without the spilling of blood⁷.

King John died on the 21st of February, 1513; even by the testimony of Swedish writers, a pious

⁴ With Ilana Gädde.

⁵ See the letter of Gustavus to his sons Eric and John, concerning the chronicle of Olave Peterson. Script. Rer. Suec. ii. sectio posterior, p. 153.

⁶ In Malmö, April 23, 1512.

⁷ Eric Abrahamson (Lejonhufvud), who belonged to the Danish faction, transfixed with his sword another noble who was present.

and honest man⁸, though occasionally violent and cruel, as the murder of his secretary and chancellor proves⁹. He was subject to attacks of moody and savage caprice, which sometimes irritated him to frenzy, and was in herited in too great measure by his son.

CHRISTIAN II., called in Sweden the ungentle, and also the tyrant, whose administration in Norway had already been stained with blood, and who now succeeded his father in that country as in Denmark, laid claim also to the Swedish throne, to which he was once elected, and commenced negotiations, whereby the truce concluded with Denmark was several times renewed. In 1516, the war broke out anew, produced by the intestine commotions which the new archbishop GUSTAVUS TROLLÉ excited. This prelate sprung from a family linked with the Union interest by its large possessions in Denmark, and which for two generations back had been inimical to the Sturés. An attempt had already been made by one faction to set up his grandfather, Arvid Trollé, against Steno the elder, while his father Eric Trollé had lost the government by the election of the younger Sturé. This Gustavus Trollé was of a temper that never forgave a past wrong, real or fancied, although the administrator himself, to bring about a reconciliation, had promoted his election to the archbishopric. Their animosities now led to open war, in consequence whereof Gustavus Trollé, after a Danish fleet had fruitlessly endeavoured to relieve him, was unanimously declared at the diet of Arboga to have forfeited his office, and his fortified castle of Stacket was demolished. Next year Christian himself accomplished a landing in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, but suffered a complete overthrow from Steno Sturé. In this battle, fought at the Brenn-kirk, July 22, 1518, and celebrated in a popular ballad, the Swedish banner was borne by the young GUSTAVUS ERICSON VASA. Being afterwards sent as a hostage to the Danish fleet on occasion of a personal interview which the king requested with the administrator, he was carried off prisoner to Denmark, contrary to the pledged faith of the former, along with Hemming Gadd and four other Swedish nobles. Thither Christian also returned, after he had so treacherously broken off the negotiations which he had himself commenced. By the papal command, an investigation was instituted into the charges which the deposed archbishop had brought against Steno, at the see of Rome. A spiritual court commenced its sittings in Denmark; the administrator with all his adherents was excommunicated, and the whole kingdom was placed under an interdict¹.

"The Swedes," says Olave Peterson, "did not in the least regard this ban and interdict." Christian however procured the execution of the sentence to be committed to himself, and the whole of the year 1519 was spent in making preparations. New taxes were imposed; levies were made in various countries; and in the beginning of 1520, the Danish army

broke into Sweden under their general Otho Krumpen, who caused the papal ban to be affixed to all the churches upon the march. STENO encountered the invaders on the ice of lake Asunden, by Bogesund, in West-Gothland; he was wounded in the opening of the battle, and obliged to be carried out of the conflict, the issue of which was decided by this disaster. Being conveyed to Strengness, he soon received intelligence that the Danes, to whom a Swedish nobleman² pointed out the way, had surrounded the entrenchment in the forest of Tived, cut to pieces the troops stationed there, and were already on their march to Upland. Collecting the remains of his strength, he hastened to Stockholm, but died in his sledge upon the ice of Lake Mälär, February 3, 1520. By his death, all government in Sweden was dissolved; the magnates indeed held consultations, but no one had courage to command, or will to obey. The country-people gathered in the view of attempting a stand against the enemy, but from want of a leader were soon dispersed by the foreign soldiery, whose track was marked by homicide and conflagration, and who insolently boasted, that they would not care although in Sweden it should rain peasants from heaven. The heroic Christina Gyllenstierna alone, widow of Steno, and the mother of four children still of tender age, did not lose heart; she continued to defend Stockholm, and refused to accede to the convention ratified with the Danish generals at a baronial diet convoked in Upsala, by which CHRISTIAN was acknowledged king, on condition that he should govern conformably to the laws of Sweden and the treaty of Calmar, and not exact vengeance for what had passed. These engagements were personally confirmed by the king upon arriving with his fleet before Stockholm, with the express addition, that the measures adopted against Gustavus Trollé, who was now restored to his office, should be forgotten and forgiven. The same promises were repeated in the king's letter to all the provinces, and being seconded by the efforts of the prelates and nobility, completely disarmed the resistance still kept up by the people. These assurances were again renewed, when Hemming Gadd, after a life spent in struggling against Danish domination, now appeared in his old age as its advocate, and by the weight of his influence at length induced Christina Gyllenstierna to surrender Stockholm, although against the wish of the burghers. When the king in the autumn returned to Sweden, and was crowned in Stockholm, he once more confirmed by oath and reception of the sacrament the securities he had given. But at this very moment Christian had resolved that the blood of the chief men of Sweden should be shed, although he himself "appeared friendly to all, and was very merry and pleasant in his demeanour, caressing some with hypocritical kisses, and others with embraces, clapping his hands, smiling, and displaying on all hands tokens of affection³." The instigator of this resolution was Theodorice Slaghoek, formerly a barber, and a rela-

⁸ Olave Peterson.

⁹ See the Relations of Andrew the secretary, and Paul Laxman, in Hvítfeld.

¹ Proclaimed by Birger, Archbishop of Lund, in the spring of 1517. T.

² The above named Eric Abrahamson.

³ See Proclamation of the Council of State (Ricksens Rads Utskrifvelse, &c.), respecting the tyrannical government of

king Christian in Sweden, Strengness, June 6, 1523; in Stiernman, Acts of Diets and Conventions (Riksdags och Möten Beslut), vol. i. It was Christian's manner thus to conceal his designs. Tyrannus est statura justa, corpore amplo, truci vultu; sed quem in congressibus præcipua comitate contegat, are the words of Jacob Ziegler, who describes the massacre of Stockholm after contemporary accounts, in an appendix to his Scandia.

tive of Sigbrit, a Dutch huckster, who by the beauty of her daughter had gained an ascendant over the king's mind, which she had tact enough to preserve during his whole reign⁴.

On the third day of the solemnities which followed the coronation, the gates of the castle of Stockholm were unexpectedly barred, and the archbishop Gustavus Trollé came into the king's presence, to complain of the violence and injuries suffered by himself and the archiepiscopal see of Upsala, at the hands of the deceased administrator, for which he now demanded satisfaction. He was probably himself ignorant of the atrocities, for the perpetration of which he was to be used as an instrument. He is said, as we may conclude from a contemporary account, to have maintained that the question of punishment and compensation must be referred to Rome, but the king negatived his proposal, declaring that the matter should be adjudicated forthwith. As the prelate's charges were really directed against Steno Sturé, his widow CHRISTINA GYLLENSTIERNA stood up and appealed to the resolution of the estates, whereby Gustavus Trollé was unanimously declared to have forfeited his dignity, and which the principal spiritual and secular lords had subscribed under an express obligation to common responsibility. Such of these as were now present, and among them two bishops, were immediately seized and thrown into prison⁵; the remainder were confined over night in the castle, the clergy in a separate chamber. Next morning, the question was proposed to them, whether it were not heresy to confederate and conspire against the holy see of Rome, which they were constrained to answer in the affirmative. This was regarded as a delivery of sentence and condemnation. On the same morning public proclamation was made, that the inhabitants of Stockholm should not quit their houses before the signal was given. It was the eighth of November, 1520. Towards mid-day the burghers were summoned to the great market-place, upon which the captives were now led forth; Matthias, bishop of Strengness, who had laboured more to advance the Danish party than any other man in Sweden,—Vincent, bishop of Skara,—twelve temporal lords, most of them councillors of state, and lastly, the burgomasters and council of Stockholm, with many of the burghesses. Nicholas Lycké, a Danish knight, spoke to the people, and exhorted them not to be alarmed at what was about to happen, saying that the archbishop Gustavus Trollé had thrice adjured the king upon his knees to suffer that this punishment should overtake the

guilty. At this bishop Vincent raised his voice, exclaiming that nothing of it was true, and that the king was a traitor against the Swedes. Several of the captives began to call out to the same effect, but were silenced by the executioners. All were beheaded; the consolations of religion being denied them. Handicraftsmen were dragged from their work to the slaughter; and bystanders were also pulled into the circle by the headsmen, who did their bloody office upon them, because they had been seen to weep. The brothers Olave and Laurence Peterson escaped a like fate only from the circumstance that a German who had known them in Wittenberg protested that they were not Swedes. Olaus Magnus saw ninety-four persons beheaded⁶; others were hanged or butchered with the keenest torments. During the night, the houses of the killed were plundered, and the women outraged. The assassinations were continued for a second and third day, after public proclamation of peace and security had enticed new victims from their retreat. The corpses lay for three days on the market-place, before they were carried out of the town, and burned at Södermalm⁷. Steno Sturé's body, with that of one of his children, was torn from the grave and cast upon the funeral pile. Before the massacre had terminated, the king despatched letters to all the provinces⁸, purporting that he had caused Steno Sturé's chief abettors to be punished as notorious heretics, placed under the ban of the church, according to the sentence of the bishops, prelates, and wisest men of Sweden, and that he would hereafter govern the kingdom in peace after the laws of St. Eric. Meanwhile the massacre, in conformity with his command, was extended to Finland, where Hemming Gadd was not saved by his defection from laying his head, at the age of eighty, upon the block. The king's whole progress from Stockholm continued to be marked by the same cruelties, not even the innocence of childhood being spared. More than six hundred heads had fallen before he quitted the Swedish territory, at the beginning of 1521⁹.

While these horrors were being acted, a noble youth, wandering in the forests of Dalecarlia, fleeing before the emissaries of the tyrant, and hidden from his pursuers, sometimes in a rick of straw, sometimes under fallen trees, or in cellars and mines, was preserved by Providence, whose great soul was already meditating the salvation of his country, and eventually achieved it by the aid of "GOD, AND SWEDEN'S COMMONALTY¹."

heard to say, that the Swedish peasants might thenceforth follow the plough with one hand and a wooden leg. In all the towns through which the king's route lay, gibbets were erected before his arrival in the market-place; so in Linköping, where he kept his Christmas. In the monastery of Nydala, the king caused the abbot and five monks to be bound and thrown into the water, because they had concealed a portion of their stores in the woods; the abbot, a young active man, scrambled out, but was unmercifully thrust back again. Dahlmann's History of Denmark, lii. 348—9. T.)

¹ Device of Gustavus I.

⁴ Memoirs for the History of Scandinavia, Stockholm, 1817, iii. 6.

⁵ B'shop Hans Brask of Linköping, who had secretly placed a protest under the seal with which he had ratified the above named act, was left free, as was Otho, Bishop of Westeras, who had supported the archbishop in his accusation.

⁶ *Me vident e ac trepidante*, he says himself.

⁷ The south suburb, where St. Catherine's church now stands.

⁸ November 9, 1520.

⁹ Olave Peterson. (Some of Christian's retinue were

CHAPTER VII.

LAND AND PEOPLE DURING THE CATHOLIC PERIOD.

THE SWEDISH FEDERATIVE SYSTEM. THE YEOMAN AND HIS RIGHTS. LAW AND JUDICATURE. POWER OF THE CROWN. THE CHURCH. THE NOBILITY. THE BURGESSES. TAXES. BOUNDARIES OF THE KINGDOM. CULTIVATION. MINES. TRADE. COINAGE. MANNERS.

SWEDEN's middle age is full of confusion, and destitute of that splendour which fascinates the eye. Whatever of pomp and grandeur the hierarchy, feudalism, powerful and flourishing cities, exhibited in the rest of Europe during those times, extended but in a small degree to this region; and if we put faith in common assertions, many admirable qualities, which distinguished our Pagan ancestors, must have perished with heathenism, and have been replaced in great part by new vices and errors of belief. To us, neither the old excellence nor the new corruptions are fairly apparent. In the gloom of Paganism there is ample scope for the play of imagination, if we refuse to hear, in the complaints of a desolated world, the witness of the reality. From the so-called energy of the Northmen, Europe suffered severely; and of the calamities which its own excesses brought upon themselves, after they were reduced to seek their fields of battle in civil wars at home, the annals of the northern middle age furnish abundant proof. But no one can deny that the people of Sweden best withstood that trial in which Norway lost its political independence, and Denmark the freedom of its people. In Sweden both were securely established, and this issue is sufficient to awaken interest for an age which had not laboured in vain, when such was to be its result. This struggle of our middle age we will here attempt to comprehend and to appreciate.

Repartition according to ties of kindred and companionship in war, appears to have formed the groundwork of the social structure among our ancestors, of which the simplest elements were the family on the one side, and the Hundred on the other. From the arrangement of battle by centuries² (whence the name *hundari* or *herad*³), sprang a confederacy for mutual protection during peace, a social union founded upon compact, as the family was one primary and formed after nature. New relations of this compact were continually un-

folded, and at the end of the heathen period, the whole polity wears the appearance of a confederation; every Hundred a league between the free householders, every Land, or every province within boundaries pointed out by nature, an association of certain Hundreds united under a common law; and the realm itself, an association of the various provinces or nations (as they were still called in the fifteenth century) under the Upsala king, the manager of the common sacrifices, as lord paramount. He was called Folk-king⁴, by way of distinction from many others who at first shared his power. For the name of king, properly denoting high birth in general, was long borne in common by the shepherds of the people, the smaller as well as the greater, the chief of the Hundred as well as the sovereign; until at length the sub-kings disappeared from the country (though recurring at sea and in warfare), and in their place appear the Justiciaries or Lagmen, the elected judges and speakers of the various provinces, themselves yeomen without titles⁵, and protectors of the people against such as bore titles.

The judicatory power is as old as the social union. Among the ancient Germans, a jurisdiction exercised by elected judges in conjunction with the Hundred appears to have subsisted⁶. But the employment of the judicial office in the Lagmen as a sort of tribunate, counterbalancing the nobility, was an arrangement peculiar to the north, and probably a defensive expedient on the popular side against the rising pretensions of the court-men, or warriors bound by personal service to the kings, and sharing with them the dangers of the field and importance at home. To be in this fashion the king's man became, from being a condition of dependence, an honour, and imparted, after brilliant achievements, even during peace, an authority which might easily become dangerous to the rights of the commons. Thus was created from the court,

næmnde-man (or assessor in the court) had the supervision, is called *skire*, the English shire. The division into hundreds is still used throughout all that part of the country extending to the Dal-elf. Beyond that stream and in Norrland, both repartition and cultivation are more recent. The hundreds on the coast were formerly and are still partially called *skepps-lag*, a name recalling the original military import of the whole arrangement.

⁴ *Thiod-konungr*. We may not call them Folk-kings who are tributary, the Edda says.

⁵ The tignar-name. *Tign* means honour, dignity; properly a regal, princely, or what was at first the same, noble dignity; until the tignar-name was also applied to the principal officers of the court.

⁶ Tacitus says of the judges among the Germans, *Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt*. Germ. 12. According to northern ideas, we should refer this to a hundred-court.

² Or more accurately, by companies of one hundred and twenty; for our forefathers reckoned ten dozen to the hundred, which in some provinces is still called *storkhundrade*, or long hundred. The division by hundreds is found, both as regards the name and the fact, in Tacitus (*centeni ex singulis pagis, idque ipsum inter suos vocantur*), who besides remarks that the army was arranged *clan-wisse*. See *fortuita conglotatio turmam aut cuneum facit sed familie et propinquitates*.

³ *Hær*, army, means in a more narrow sense a number of one hundred, according to the Edda. *Hærad* was the term usual in Gothland; *hundari* in Swedeland; as may be seen from the old laws. The *hærad*s were again divided into *fierdingar*, fourths, whence the *fierdings-ting*, or quarter-court spoken of in the laws, but this arrangement is now obsolete, though the name and office of *fierdings-man*, or quarter-man, among the peasants, may be thence derived. In the Westgothic law, that part of a hundred over which a

by companionship in arms with the king⁷, the first nobility of service, as nobility of birth had arisen out of kindred with the king (for all nobility springs out of the royal house); and among the Germanic peoples domiciled by conquest, this warlike household of the kings became afterwards the root whence by the hereditary descent of the fiefs, that feudal monarchy grew up which once governed Europe. To SCANDINAVIA this system, in its full development, ever remained unknown; for in Denmark alone, of the northern countries in this age, were fiefs hereditarily descendible, or such as approximated to that condition, with the consequences thence flowing both for king and people, introduced through foreign influence⁸. Within the limits of the peninsula itself, the old state of things continued, but with Christianity as a new subject of dissension. Among the powerful families, who neither constituted a feudal nobility, nor wished to be transformed into a mere nobility of vassalage, the recollection so much the longer survived, that the ancient royalty had been a many-headed polyeracy. We see in effect the old and untameable race of independent chiefs, driven from the sea, wasting their own forces and those of the country in intestine strife, especially in Norway, a land disjointed by nature, and violently united by Harald the Fair-haired, whose older history is entirely made up of such struggles, and tynes away at their close; as stillness reigns upon a field of battle, when the leaders lie slain.

The contests of the Swedish middle age are characterized, both at its commencement and its end, by enhanced activity of popular influence, although in dissimilar shapes. Reposing on the religion established by Odin, the sovereignty of the Upsala kings formed the key-stone of the old Swedish federative system, and supplied the germ of a political unity, which never afterwards wholly perished. This unity was betimes so conspicuous, that the government struck the first distant observers as a monarchy, although, even according to the earliest account (that of Tacitus), embracing several commonwealths. It was discovered on closer examination that here popular power bore as great a part in public affairs as kingly domination; and hence the same constitution which to the teachers of Christianity had appeared monarchical at a distance, assumed to them, when residing in the country, the aspect of democracy. With the fall of the old religion, the bond which had linked together the separate provincial confederations was dissolved. After the extinction of the dynasty of Upsala, conflict arose between the rival races, each claiming to nominate the sovereign of the whole realm, first the West-Goths, the earliest to embrace Christianity, after them the East-Goths; on the other side the Upper Swedes. This antagonism lasted long, with frequent changes of dynasty, until the Swedes, at length becoming Christians, were placed in a condition again to vindicate the prerogatives which they had possessed under the old form of society. In the letter

of the law, the ancient confederation was again renewed, but stripped of its former vitality, under the influence of the church and the nobility, and a regal authority which rested upon their support, and was eventually overthrown by their joint encroachments. The aristocracy then sought a bulwark for their power in the Union, until the danger of foreign oppression appeased the rivalries of provinces and races, and called forth the Swedish people united by adversity, under ENGELBERT and the STURÉS, to conflict under GUSTAVUS VASA to victory.

The transition from one state to the other is formed by the royalty of the Folkungers, which we have already described as leagued with the church and the nobility. This is pre-eminently the monarchy of the Swedish middle age; many of its features were borrowed from the feudal monarchy; it is in fact characterized by the ascendancy of the aristocracy. And yet, how little is all this to be remarked in the legislation of that age!

According to the law, Sweden was an elective monarchy, although the kingship originally went by inheritance, and the elective and hereditary principles were afterwards intermingled. The eldest son commonly followed his father upon the throne, and even when it was contested by rival houses, as by those of Eric and Swerker, both sides appealed to their hereditary right. In older times it was not unusual for two brothers to reign conjointly, and the hereditary right appears generally to have been attached rather to the family than to the person. In proportion as the elective scheme obtained preponderance, the kings showed greater solicitude for the performance of homage to their sons during their own lifetime. The right of election belonged primarily to the Folklands, or the inhabitants of Upland, and was first extended in the age of the Folkungers to delegates of the other provinces in elective diets, which now became general. But let us hear the law itself speak!

In the law of Upland, amended by king Birger, and confirmed by him in 1296, the three first chapters of the section relating to the crown (Konungabalken), which we give, with slight modification, in their ancient form, run as follows: I. "Now when these lands behove to choose a king, then shall the three Folklands first take him; these are Tiundaland, Attundaland, and Fiadhundraland. To the Lawman of Upland it belongs, first to doom him at Upsala to be king; then all the Lawmen one after another, of the Suthermer, of the East-Goths, of the Ten Hundreds⁹, of the West-Goths, the Nerikers, and the Westmen¹. They shall ordain him to the crown and the kingship, that he may bear sway and govern the realm, strengthen the law and keep peace in the land. Then is the estate of Upsala to be awarded to him. II. Now hath he to ride his Ericsgait; they shall attend upon him, give hostages and swear oaths; let him give laws to them and swear peace. From Upsala they shall accompany him to Strengianess². There shall the

⁷ The well-known Comitatus of Tacitus.

⁸ "What has produced a greater change in the course of government among our ancestors than this, that the people gradually lost their freedom?" says Tyge Rothe of Denmark. *Polity of the North*, ii. 248. "The feudal system was imported earlier into Denmark than into the other countries of the north." *Ibid.* 269.

⁹ Tioherad was the south-eastern part of Smaland, which constituted a separate jurisdiction, while the north-eastern portion was subject to the judiciary of East-Gothland. Compare Collins and Schlyter on the law of East-Gothland, 399.

¹ The inhabitants of Nerike and Westmanland.

² An old place of sacrifice for the Suthermerlanders or Sudermanians (*locus idolorum* in the legend of St. Eskill), now the town of Strengnäs (or Strengness).

Suthermen take it up, and attend him with greetings³ and hostages to Swintuna⁴. There shall the East-Goths meet him with their hostages, and accompany him through their land, until the middle of the forest Holawidh⁵. There shall the Smalanders meet him, and follow him to the stream of Juna⁶. There shall the West-Goths meet him with greetings and hostages, and attend him to Ramundaboda⁷. Then shall the Nerikers meet him and accompany him through their land, and so to the bridge of Uphoga⁸. There shall the Westmen meet him with greetings and hostages, and attend him to Eastbridge⁹. Then shall the Uplanders meet him, and follow him to Upsala. Then hath the king come lawfully to his land and realm with Uplanders and Suthermen, Goths and Gottlanders¹, and all the Smalanders; then hath he duly ridden his Ericsgait. III. Now hath he to be consecrated to the crown in the church of Upsala by the archbishop and the under-bishops. Then hath he right to be king and to wear the crown. Now belong to him the estate of Upsala, the price of blood, and the heritage of the stranger². Then may he give fiefs to those who do him service. If he be a good king, God grant him long life."

The older law of West-Gothland speaks only of Swedes and Goths, but informs us more exactly of the manner in which the reception of the new king by the province was conducted. "The Swedes," it is said, "have the right to accept, and also to reject the king. He shall pass from the upper country with hostages into East-Gothland. Then shall he despatch messengers to the parliament of all the Goths³. Then shall the Lawman appoint hostages, two from the southern and two from the northern part of the land, and shall send with them four other men of the country. They shall meet him at the stream of Juna. The East-Gothland hostages shall attend him thither and bear witness that he has been received among them as their law prescribes. Now let the parliament of all the Goths be convened to meet him. When he arrives at the Ting, he shall swear truly to all the Goths that he will

not wrest the right law of our land. Then shall the Lawman first adjudge him to be king, and thereafter the others whom he shall command. Then shall the king give peace to three men, being such as have committed no shameful crime." Such was the strict order taken in old days, that the king upon these occasions should only enter the province "as the law enjoins," that the West-Goths, when king Ragwald Curthead came to their parliament, without having received the appointed hostages, slew him "by reason of the disparagement he had offered" to all the community. As this event belongs to a period earlier than that of St. Eric, the opinion of those who derive the Ericsgait from that prince appears to carry no weight, although it is expressly related of him, "that he fared all round his kingdom in right royal fashion⁴."

This royal progress, also remarkable as indicating the ancient extent of the kingdom, remained unchanged, although the number of provinces entitled to vote at the election of the king increased in process of time. The law of Upland still limits the strict right of election to the Folklands, whose decision in the matter was only communicated to the rest of the provinces during the Ericsgait, for their confirmation. It was this right of the Upper Swedes to dispose of the crown, inherited from the days of paganism, which, after the introduction of Christianity, was the subject of so many contests. It was confirmed in the law of Upland after it had lost from the power of the magnates almost all importance, but it was soon expressly extended to the other provinces. The law of the Suthermen, confirmed in 1327, says, that "all the council of Sweden" shall take part with the Folklands in the election; but when the law of Upland was revised, the justiciaries had been already received into the council, and the provision first enacted in king Magnus Ericson's Land's Law of 1347, for the conjoint participation of all the justiciaries and commissioners from the various provinces, was before observed at the election of this king in 1319⁵.

and in Germany. Compare Grimm, German Legal Antiquities, p. 237.

⁵ The enactment in Magnus Ericson's Land's Law, that all the Lawmen, with twelve "intelligent and skilled men," from every province, should take part in the election at the Mora Ting, is properly derived from 1319 (if not in point of fact still older), according to what is stated in a manuscript of the Sudermanian law, preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen. Here that regulation, in the form in which it is found in the general codes of Magnus Ericson and Christopher, is adopted in the second chapter of the section "on the crown," with the remark that king Magnus had been thus elected in 1319; although the form and oath of election were not made public in the law-book before his days, as he himself effected, for good example. In the same manuscript a more detailed description of the Erics-gait is given than in any other source. The oaths were to be taken in Strengness, Linköping, Jönköping, Skara, Örebro, and Westera. It is also mentioned that Magnus rode his Erics-gait in 1335, and probably the manuscript is not much more recent. Hence it is plain that although the old form of election is still adopted in the Sudermanian law of 1327, only with the addition of the council sharing therein, the new form, with the participation of the provincial deputies, had already been used in king Magnus Ericson's election, and been confirmed by him. The author is indebted for this observation, as well as generally for many important illustrations of the subject, to Dr. Schlyter. A safe basis for the history of the Swedish constitution in the older times was

³ Grud or grid, peace, security.

⁴ Now Krokek, in the midst of the forest Kolmord.

⁵ Holweden, the chain of wood-covered hills, which still forms the boundary between East-Gothland and Smaland.

⁶ A river running into lake Vetter at Jönköping.

⁷ In the forest of Tived. The place is now called Bodarne. Here in Catholic times was a monastery in the middle of the wood, as at Krokek in the Kolmord.

⁸ Over the Opboga or Arboga stream, at the east end of the forest of Kaglan.

⁹ Over the Sag at Nyquarn, the frontier between Upland and Westmanland.

¹ Gutar.

² Dulgadrapp and dana-arf. The former name was applied to a murder of which the perpetrator could not be discovered, and for which the hundred paid the fine. The latter means the property of foreigners who died in the kingdom without heirs.

³ Aldra Göta Ting. So the provincial diet of the West-Goths was called.

⁴ In the Legend of St. Eric. According to the Edda and Heimskringla, Rik was the first in northern lands who took the title of king. Domestic legends and popular songs in Sweden name the first king Eric. Hence perhaps Eriks-gata in the sense of king's way, unless with Ibre we explain the word as "a progress round all the kingdom," since *e* in composition means all. (*Rik*, in Swedish, is kingdom.) A similar royal progress is mentioned both among the Franks

Newly added justiciaries are, in the Sudermanian law, the Lawman of Vermeland, in the Land's Law those of Oeland, with North and South Finland⁶. Here also we find a more complete account of the mode of election. This was held on the meadow of Mora, one mile⁷ from Upsala, whence the assembly itself was called the Mora Ting. The justiciaries were to repair thither, everyone attended by twelve men "discreet and well skilled," chosen with the assent of all the resident inhabitants of the circuit (lagsaga). The voices of these deputies and the Lawman constituted the votes of the province. The justiciary of Upland voted first, then the rest in their order. Thereupon the king swore to the people, "on the book with holy relics in his hands⁸," the oath embodied in the law, and lifting up his hand, promised to keep to God and his people what he had sworn, and by no means to break it, but rather to augment it by every good work, and especially by his royal love. In like manner the justiciaries and the people took their oath to the king, and by this were bound both young and old, the living and the yet unborn, friend and unfriend, the absent as well as the present. This was called to swear by or at Mora Stone, and an old record states that the king immediately after his election was raised upon the stone⁹. It was now incumbent on the king to ride, in the manner before mentioned, his Erics-gait, or as it is called in the Land's Law, "to ride round his realm with the sun (rättsysles)." After the general code had replaced the provincial laws, the demand for the individual confirmation of these latter was no longer made, but the king on his journey through the shires, gave instead and received the same oath which had at first been reciprocally sworn at the Mora Stone. Although restricted in exercise, first by the power of the magnates, and then during the Union by the influence of foreigners, the old federative system legally subsisted in this form, so long as a Swedish elective diet was known, down to the days of Gustavus Vasa.

If the law thus sedulously guarded ancient liberty in matters of public right, we might conclude beforehand that private right, from which the former had emanated, was no less adequately secured; as the root of the tree is less exposed than its crown to the storm. And so accordingly we find the fact to be. The true prop and life-support of the Swedish constitution was the odalbond

first laid by the careful and excellent editions of the old laws by Collins and Schlyter.

⁶ For Norrland, it was long subject to the Lawman of Upland, while Dalecarlia and Westmanland had the same judge. The Land's Law of King Christopher adds, that in case the sovereign could not himself go to Finland, the steward or some other member of council, with the bishop of Abo, might take and receive the oath in his stead.

⁷ Six English miles and a half. Tr.

⁸ The relics of saints.

⁹ See Attestation of a Notary Public as to the writing which is found at the Mora Stone, touching the election of Eric of Pomerania to be king of Sweden, dated May 21, 1434, in Hadorph's Additions to the Rhyme Chronicle. From this document we learn that for every new king a new stone, with an inscription stating the time of the election, was laid at or near the old Mora Stone. This, according to the account of Olaus Magnus, was a large round stone, so supported as to be raised a little above the ground. Around were placed twelve smaller stones, whence it would seem that the whole resembled the old judicial rings

or yeoman, the "man for himself," freeholder of his ground, responsible in the eye of the law for his own, towards the authorities and his equals acknowledging only reciprocal obligations, which he had himself accepted, but otherwise naturally respecting every hereditary right¹, since upon that principle his whole substance depended. To his freedom he was born by his descent (ættborin), as to his odal-ground, which therefore was called the property he was born to as his old birth-right (byrd), and as a family possession could not be diminished or alienated without the consent of the kindred. This held good of the king as of every other person. "Now if the king will sell his own, he shall offer it to his kinsmen, as well he, as the peasant," says the Law of the East-Goths, which in disputes as to property between the sovereign and the peasant allows more weight to the word of the latter, in order that the influence of the powerful may not lessen the odal-ground. To this end precautions so jealous were generally taken, that even when landed property was taken in satisfaction of a fine, a right was reserved to the relatives of the father to redeem his heritage, to those of the mother hers; and the church, which introduced the notion of testamentary bequests, could never with all its influence procure that legacies for the soul's weal, when they affected the patrimonial ground, should be unconditionally acknowledged valid without the consent of the heirs. Only when the kindred did not redeem the birth-ground upon proffer made², was the purchase open to every man; or as the Dale Law says, "then is the purse Odalsman." That the daughter inherited, as was at first the case, only when there was no son, or (according to Earl Birger's new law of inheritance) received only half the brother's share, was no doubt likewise an expedient to prevent the subdivision of the family estate, and for the same end the eldest son had also the privilege of redeeming his brothers' portion of the heritage³. It is said indeed, "it is best for brethren to dwell together;" yet any one who wished to part might enforce his choice against the other; in which point the law of Upland so far favours the youngest, that he might take his allotment "next to the sun," that is, on the east and south, for every bye or hamlet was to be sun-split (solskiftad), or laid out exactly

(domare-ringar). Some of the smaller stones only, with the inscriptions for the most part obliterated by the weather, still remain on the spot. In the time of Gustavus I. the old Mora Stone had already been removed, as we find by the following note in the Palsmölle Collections: "Anders Nilson of Edby, parish of Denmark, related, August 6, 1623, that his father, who dwelt in the same grange, was one of the soldiers who in the time of old king Gustavus searched for the real Mora stone, but could not find it."

¹ Hence the Land's Law sanctions the old custom, that in the election to the crown preference should be given to the king's sons.

² Neither could the estate be mortgaged, which was formerly regarded as a kind of conditional sale, before it had been offered to the relatives. A man might alienate what he had himself acquired, yet, according to the additions to the law of the West-Goths (iii. 108), only a third even of purchased ground, a right, however, which was afterwards extended. One method of keeping property from the legal heirs otherwise than by a testament, consisted in the person giving himself to be the thrall of another, his property following therewith. This was forbidden by Earl Birger.

³ Law of the East-Goths, Eghva Sal. f. 11.

by the cardinal points⁴. So late as the thirteenth century, although piracy was no longer followed as a vocation, the peasant had not abandoned the old custom of sending off his sons to sea, that he might gain skill and substance upon the waters, or else in the households of the great⁵.

Life and honour as well as property were placed under the common protection of the kindred. Good name and repute were so narrowly looked to, that when, after a previous legal betrothment (which the families thereby connected treated as an affair of high importance), the bride took back her word, she was obliged to restore the spousal presents, to pay a fine of three marks, and to take an oath before twelve men, "that she now knew of no more defects or vices in her former wooer and his family, than when she was sought by him and betrothed." The same law ordained that "if the man's liking changed," the spousal presents could not be demanded back⁶. An insult must be wiped out by blood, and the law of Upland quotes as a provision "of the old law which was used in the heathen time," that whosoever upbraided another, as not being "a man's match, nor a man in his heart," should render himself to do battle with the man he had insulted, at a spot where three ways met. If the person against whom the words had been spoken came not to the meeting, it is said, then must he needs be such a one as he hath been called, and can never again bear valid testimony, nor take oath. If the person who spoke the words came not, he was to be publicly proclaimed infamous (niding), and a memorial of the fact must be erected at the spot⁷.

Revenge for blood was a sacred obligation, and a right acknowledged by law; it was at once the dearest heritage⁸, and the condition of every other, for in the olden time, if the father lay slain, the son could not inherit until he had avenged him. But in order that revenge might not continually generate new revenge, the law essayed its earliest exercise of authority in reconciliation. The homicide, if he was not taken in the fact, must himself give it publicity; for to kill secretly was murder and an infamous crime. He was bound to give himself up before eight-fall⁹, and afterwards to appear in the court under safeconduct, where he might offer a price in atonement of his offence. To the prosecutor was left open the alternative of avenging himself or of accepting the fine; the latter, however, was at first so rare, that the law of Gotthland declared him who accepted it at the first offer, even after the expiration of a year, to be a shameless person. Meanwhile, the perpetrator was an outlaw without peace and right, obliged to flee the neighbourhood of inhabited places and retire to forests and wildernesses. Hence it was said of the man who sought to atone for his crime by bote,

that he must "ransom himself from the wood." With the criminal himself, his father, son, brother, or nearest relatives were, in old times, obliged to flee¹; only certain times or places consecrated to peace gave them security. This outlawry was in fact intended less as a punishment than as a means of safety for the accused. Even the severe Magnus Ladulas says of the man who flees from revenge, that "he may hide himself from his enemies as well as he can²;" and after the ordinary wearing of arms was forbidden, one in such circumstances was still allowed "to carry full arms for his defence, if he will offer botes and amend his fault³." But on the other side it is said, "the homicide shall never regain his peace until the lawful heir of the slain man entreats for him, except when the king is newly-elected, rides his Ericsgait, and makes his entry into the province; then may he grant peace to three men⁴." Yet to this peace they were not admitted before the heirs were appeased by the payment of the mulet. For the murder of a man who was so old that he could not come to the court, nor walk without a crutch (kroklokari, crutch-man), and for the murder of a woman, a double mulet was paid. Whosoever broke the home-peace of any man, and was killed in his assault within the curtilage, lay unavenged, or was left "with his deeds."

The compensation was at first paid partly to the nearest heirs, on whom the exaction of revenge was incumbent, and partly to the kindred of the slain man by that of the slayer⁵. The offender was besides required to swear with twelve men of his family, that he would himself be content under like circumstances with an equal bote. This was called the oath of parity, corresponding to the oath of surety⁶, by which all further revenge was renounced. The slayer was, besides, for breaking the peace obliged to pay fines to the king and the hundred, which is thus shown to have formed a union for the maintenance of the public tranquillity. The share of the hundred in the fine represents that of the people; hence it is said to have been paid "to all men," and was probably of older standing than that of the king, which seems at first to have been paid only when he gave judgment in person. With the extension of the royal power the kin-bote gradually ceased⁷, and the fine went in three parts, to the king, the hundred, and the prosecutor, whose right to personal revenge was more and more limited, until at length homicide, unless excused by imminent danger to life, was capitally punished, when the offender was caught in the fact. In other cases, if the perpetrator came before the king, or whosoever speaks his doom in Sweden, and confessed his crime, he was still permitted by the Land's Law of 1442, to

⁸ It was called vig-arf, hereditary feud. Law of the Helsingers, Art. B. f. 15.

⁹ Dale Law, Manh. B. f. 22.

¹ Law of Gotthland, c. 13.

² Ordinance of Skenninge, 1285.

³ King Magnus Ericson's ordinance of 1335.

⁴ Law of the East-Goths, Drap B. f. 5.

⁵ *Ettar-bot*, kin-bote.

⁶ Jammader-ed. Tryghder-ed. Compare Law of Scania, v. 50.

⁷ In the laws of the Gothlands and Helsingland we find it retained, and it was first entirely abolished by king Magnus Ericson, in the ordinance of Skara, 1335.

⁴ In the division of landed property the laws required that the ground should be measured by the site of the curtilage, or as they express it, "the homestead is the mother of the croft" (tomt är tegs moder), no doubt in the view that each might have his lot near hand. In a legal division it was also a general maxim that all should share alike "in good and bad, in the best and in the worst," as well in respect to fields and meadows as forests.

⁵ Law of the East-Goths, Drap B. f. 5.

⁶ Law of Westmanland, Art B. f. 4.

⁷ Such a mark was called Nidstang. (Niding is our word, niding, niderling. T.)

ransom himself from banishment, and receive his peace, if the prosecutor were content, and interceded for him.

Thus slowly did the judicial authority assert its due sway over the litigants before the tribunals. In the beginning these had taken the law into their own hands, wherefore, in times foregone, their disputes could often be adjusted only by an appeal to what was called God's doom, of which the duel among nations of the same stock with ourselves furnishes one example⁸. That this was also practised in Sweden is clear from the papal prohibition issued against it, although no further mention of it is made in the Swedish laws. It is merely alluded to in that of Upland as a Pagan custom. Another class of these appeals was the ordeal by red-hot iron, first abolished by Earl Birger, but permitted nevertheless by the law of Helsingland down to 1320. But no method of proof was more extensively used than the oath; to submit to the oath, and to submit to the law, are phrases which in the books have the same meaning. Oath was confirmed again by oath, and the usage so long preserved in Swedish judicial procedure, of admitting compurgators (*edgårdsmen*, oath-guarders), who swore to an oath taken on one side as being true and lawful⁹, likewise shows how long the influence of family and friends was in a certain measure allowed by the law; for originally these compurgators no doubt consisted of persons who would else have been ready to grasp their arms in the cause of the accused, and now instead appeared as legitimate auxiliaries with their evidence. In general the legal forms were these; either the prosecutor might prove by witnesses (*vittna*), and the accused deny (*dylia*) by his own oath and those of his compurgators, or a jury (*næmd*) usually of twelve men, in whom both parties placed confidence, might investigate the circumstances and deliver their opinion¹.

In earlier times the judge was elected by the people². According to the Land's Law, the king nominated to the judicial office one of three men whom the hundred or the province thereto proposed. A judge was considered necessary for every sentence, but not a *næmd* for every proof; hence at first it was only chosen for the occasion, in causes where its assistance was deemed needful. That this body should make its authority more and more felt, was a result entirely conformable to its character. Its composition ensured impartiality, and made it a check on the compurgators when brought in support of a party. Gradually the *næmd* became permanent³; the bounds separating its functions from those of the judge were obliterated, and it has finally remained a constituent

portion of the tribunal. And still the twelve peasants, who sit in the Swedish courts throughout the country with the justice of a province (*Lagman*) or a hundred, though their opinion only holds good against the judge's when all the assessors are unanimous, are the representatives of natural equity in the tribunal. "Because," it is said in the charge addressed by an ancient judge to a *næmd*, after the institution had assumed permanency, "all cases which may arise cannot be set down in a law-book, but where no written law is to be found, men must borrow their decisions from that natural law which God hath implanted in our hearts and brains, therefore the law-book saith in many places touching doubtful questions, let the jury of the hundred examine this. Wherefore take heed for the weal of your souls, and so do that ye may be held for honourable counsellors, and not for trifling jesters⁴."

We remark, in reference to the execution of judicial sentences, the same slowly augmenting influence of public authority, as in the declaration of the law itself. That the fines fixed by law might be realized, the prosecutor was originally empowered himself to take⁵ the required amount from the moveable goods of the culprit; provided it were not done "within homestead and doorposts;" for every man, except the outlaw, had peace in his own house. In the time of king Canute Ericson personal restraint was forbidden, but if any one was mulcted and refused to pay, the matter was to be referred to the king's judgment, and the court publicly appointed persons for the purpose of appraising the fines,—according to later determinations, either the same jury approved by the disputants themselves, which had sentenced the offender, or twelve other impartial men whom the judge or the king's prefect (*Länsman*) selected thereto. From the law of East-Gothland⁶, which informs us of the alteration we have just mentioned, it seems that so late as the time of Canute Ericson, towards the close of the twelfth century, the king had no share in any fines, other than those in levying which he had himself assisted, after complaint made to him of the denial of right. "Afterwards," it is said, "it so came to pass that the king takes whether he is by or not." Complaints of the denial of right gave occasion for removing contested matters from a lower court to a higher, and the appeal from the judge of the hundred to the lawman is expressly particularized under Magnus Ladulas⁷. It was afterwards ordained that the king's inquest (*Ræfst*) should be held at least once a year in every province by the sovereign himself, or the person into whose hands

were two judges (*domare*) in each hundred; but those of Gothland, only one, namely the hundred-courtman, as the Land's Law also directs. Yet in some places the oldest of the *næmdemen* is still called *hæradssdomare* (demster of the hundred).

³ Its progress to this result may be remarked in the directions of the Land's Law touching the *næmd*, when the king sits in person. Konunga B. f. 35.

⁴ This exhortation may be found in the Celsian manuscript collections, Miscellanea in 4to. No. 46, Library of Upsala.

⁵ This was called *Nam* (*näm*).

⁶ *Ræfst* B. f. 3.

⁷ *Diplomatar. Suec. i.* 591. Compare Law of Upland, *Tingmål* B. f. 10.

⁸ *Deum adesde bellantibus credunt*, says Tacitus of the Germans.

⁹ "That those who beforehand swore had sworn both truly and legally." Law of the East-Goths, *Dráp. B. f.* 13.

¹ Judicial causes in which the first method of proof was followed, were called *witnismal* (witness causes); those of the second kind, *dulsmal* (denial causes); the third, *næmdamal* (jury causes). Compare Schlyter, *Observations on the controversy regarding the former relation between the Judge and the Næmd. Svea 2.* 255.

² "The *lagman* all the yeomen shall choose, with God's help," says the Law of West-Gothland. The *hæraðs-höfðing* as judge of the hundred, and the *lagman* as judge of the province. By the provincial laws of Sweden Proper there

he had deputed his judgment⁸. But generally it was by no means considered necessary that a cause should first have been before an inferior tribunal in order to come before a higher. Nothing hindered the plaintiff from both instituting and terminating his suit before the superior judge, if he were present in his court; and although Steno Sture the elder, in 1491, issued an edict enjoining that no one should bring his plea before the king or the administrator, unless he had previously sued before the court of the hundred, or the lawman, or the burgomasters,—this regulation was for a long time afterwards not observed.

The law was made for freemen, and to be in the “yeoman-law” (*bondelag*) implied a participation in the rights and privileges of the people. Only “yeomen and indwellers,” not “vagabonds, or hired servants,” without any property of their own to risk⁹, might speak in the court. For every hundred there was a fixed court-stand, anciently under the open sky, a custom not yet wholly disused in the beginning of the sixteenth century¹. All the members of the hundred were bound interchangeably to offices of succour. A fire-rate is ordered to be levied within the hundred by the law of East-Gothland, and the inhabitants were conjointly obliged to keep a “road for carl and king,” or a public way and bridge.

When outrage or robbery was committed, leading to hue and cry, a staff of summons (*budkaffe*) was cut, and sent round in haste. This was a short bat or stick, with certain marks, by which all the surrounding inhabitants were called upon to render assistance, and by this expedient Magnus Ladulas enjoined those from whom entertainment was extorted by the armed hand to procure themselves help². On the invasion of the country by an enemy, fire was kindled on heights appointed for the purpose, and the staff of summons was despatched, buried at one end, and with a loop fastened at the other, for a sign, it is said, that whoever neglected to forward it without delay, should be hanged or have his house burned³.

The punishment of a freeman by death was unknown to the old laws, except for such offences as involved dishonour. The disgraced man was branded with the epithet of infamous (*niding*), and *nidingswork* was the name applied by the laws to the gravest offences against the safety of the person, when committed under circumstances of treachery, as slaying in places of sanctuary, in a church, or in a house, killing a sleeper or one unable to defend himself, or the master of the house, or him

with whom one shared food and drink, or a woman (for “she hath peace at fair and market, let feud between men be ever so great,” says the law of the West-Goths), killing with cruelties or torments, bearing arms against one’s country, going in a warship to rob on the seas, which last prohibition shows that Christian morals were by this time in course of dissemination. All these could not be atoned for by a pecuniary mulct. In general such offences were deemed to deserve the severest penalties as were committed in a cowardly and malicious mode; hence also the thief was doomed to death or slavery. Corporal punishment was confined to those in thralldom, who were beyond the pale of law. “To beat one like a slave⁴,” “to have as little right as the scourged house-girl,” or the female slave, are expressions found in the laws.

For the development of notions of legality and the amelioration of manners the church exerted a powerful influence. Personal revenge was discountenanced; all holidays, and periods of some length at the great festivals, were consecrated to peace. This was called God’s halidom (*helgd*) or peace, phrases still used among the common people on entering a house. Other seasons were also sacred to peace, as those of sowing and harvest. To steal from a field is called in the laws to break God’s lock. Through the influence of the church the condition of women was improved; the wife received her legal share of the chattels, and the sister was permitted to inherit with the brothers. With extended rights, women were also subjected to legal responsibility, so that king Magnus Ericson in his Eric’s-gait of 1335 made a general ordinance, that “the woman should make compensation for offences like the man, especially those touching life.” On the same occasion thralldom was abolished, which in Sweden seems to have existed anciently in a mild form⁵, hence its eradication was effected here much earlier than in other countries. The sale of a Christian had been already forbidden by the law of Upland, and manumissions, which through the exhortations of the clergy were viewed as works of Christian piety, were made “for the soul’s sake.” As a multitude of causes were brought before the episcopal courts, which, in so far as they were not of purely spiritual concernment, must be adjudicated with relation to prevailing forms of law, occasion thus arose for the development of its rules.

It was chiefly by the efforts of the church that the so-called “judgments of God” were abolished, the abuse of compurgators restricted⁶, and public

⁸ The *ræfst* was the ordinary, the *rættare-ting* (or court of error) the extraordinary tribunal, in which the king’s judgment was delivered. They were of different natures: the former was the royal court of the province, under the presidency of the king, and not as usual of the lawman, for which assessors or *næmdemen* were chosen out of the *lagsaga* or shire; the latter, on the other hand, was a court appointed for a specific case, the *næmd* of which was taken from the same hand wherein the court was held, and was therefore, so to say, a royal hundred-court.

⁹ Law of East-Gothland, *Drap. B. f. 3*.

¹ Olaus Magnus, de *Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, xiv. 17.

² See before, p. 51.

³ Olaus Magnus, vii. 4.

⁴ This was called *thrålbårja*, and was an infamous crime if committed upon a freeman and causing his death.

⁵ We may conclude from the governing maxim of all our old provincial laws, that if either of the parents was free, the

child also was (“*ganging barn a bættæ halv*,” let the bairn go to the better half); while in Germany and France, children so born were thralls (“*das kind folgt der ärgern hand*,” the child follows the worse hand; in *formariage le pire emporte le bon*). In Denmark the offspring of a female slave were thralls.

⁶ *Ferventis aquæ vel candentis ferri judicium, sive duelum, quod monomachia dicitur, Catholica Ecclesia, contra quemlibet etiam, nedum contra episcopum, non admittit*, says Pope Alexander II. in a letter to the Swedish bishops. Honorius VII. in a letter of 1218, denounces the malpractices to which compurgation gave rise even among the clergy: “*Unde contigit, quod quandoque ad purgationem suam sui similes criminosos adducunt, ut eis debeat in similibus opportuno tempore respondere*,” which, “*pestis contraria omni juri*,” it behoved the priesthood to abolish, and to adduce in proof the evidence of irreproachable witnesses.

prosecutors appointed⁷; whence the ecclesiastical sections of the provincial laws throw much light on the subject of legal procedure. Probably also those portions of the laws which affect the privileges of the church were first recorded in writing by the care of the clergy. But a long time elapsed before this method was generally considered necessary for the knowledge and preservation of legal customs. The ancient usage, that the judiciary should every year make known to the people the consuetudinal law (*legem consuetudinis*)⁸, is by the testimony of the church itself of older standing than any attempt made by the clergy to register the laws⁹. Instead of the written word, men had the living record of memory, and symbolical acts for tokens. For this reason, bargains were to be struck, and debts paid, "with friend and witnesses," that is, in presence of a good man, whom both parties had called in, with two witnesses. Handtaking in their presence formed a legal sign of the conclusion of a purchase¹. The transfer of ground sold, granted, or pledged, was made by circuit, buyers and sellers with one surety, and all the landowners of the hamlet walking round the fields and meadows, and so back to the homestead; a custom analogous to the Eric's-gait by which the king took the realm into possession. Thus too property in land might also be transferred by the grantor casting a turf into the lap of the grantee. In those days the ability of the clergy as penmen, furnished them with a new means of making their services indispensable. The royal chancellors were regularly selected from their order²; and the influence of the clergy, as well as, through them, of the civil and canon jurisprudence on Swedish laws, is in several respects considerable. Yet so deeply rooted were these latter in the memory and manners of the people, that both in their form and contents what was national was studiously preserved; wherefore the Land's Law specially requires the king to see, "that no outlandish law shall be brought into the realm to the detriment of the people."

By extending ideas of law and legal authority, the church laboured in the cause of temporal authority, which here as everywhere else was the disciple of the former. To restrain the enforcement of personal revenge, the observance of the king's peace, as well as that of the church, was speedily enjoined³. Royal procurators⁴, similar to those of the bishops in spiritual causes, were soon appointed, to discharge the functions of public prosecutors in crimes against personal safety; and by the introduction of the Edsøre, or oath of assurance, all such misdeeds were declared offences

against the peace which the king had sworn to his subjects. To the section of the law which treated of the church and its rights, was added in course of time one relating to the sovereign and his rights, which is common to all the later provincial codes. The amended law of Upland was the first statute-book publicly confirmed, and although binding only on the foremost province of the kingdom, became a model for all the rest. Fifty years afterwards the first general Land's Law was drawn up, and its authority was gradually admitted⁵; although another century passed away before the royal confirmation was imparted.

As the "king's oath, called Edsøre," was also taken by "all the chief men of the realm," it seems to follow that the Folkungers, who introduced this oath, in fact reigned conjointly with the magnates. Nevertheless, the nobles did not obtain, like the clergy, the right of private jurisdiction; though the king's court-law (*gardsrätt*) was also commonly enforced in the households of the great. Of these the oldest was embodied in a written record in 1319, though its substance existed in a period much more remote. But every great household bore in old days a military character, whence in Swedish documents of the middle age, a court-man means a soldier by profession, and after the introduction of the equestrian tenure, more particularly a horseman. These court laws, obeyed by the warlike retainers of the great, corresponded to the Articles of War of later times, and are distinguished from the common law of the land by rigorous punishments, as those touching life and limbs, imprisonment with bread and water, and flogging. In the latter, "all men's law," as it was formerly called, no exceptions are made with respect to the nobility; unless we consider it as such, that for the homicide of a household-man, besides the ordinary botes, a separate compensation was likewise to be paid to the person in whose service the slain man had been⁶. Otherwise, the laws discover their jealousy of those living in such a state of personal dependence; whence we find it ordered that no servitor shall be a jurymen unless by assent of the peasants and the judge of the hundred⁷, which however was so far altered, that according to the Land's Law, the nœmd in the king's court of inquisition might consist half of peasants, and half of retainers, yet good and sufficient men, of whom the people and the parties before the court approved. Changes of greater importance are discerned in particular ordinances, not embodied in the law. Thus the Calmar Recess

1417, as chancellor to Eric of Pomerania. Uggla, Catalogue of the councillors of Sweden.

³ So the general peace proclaimed on the king's visit to a province was termed.

⁴ Konungs-soknare, or lœnsmen.

⁵ Namely, Magnus Ericson's Land's Law of 1347, from which that confirmed by king Christopher in 1442 differs little. Notwithstanding the protest of the clergy in the old dispute respecting the liberty of bequests to the church, the former came gradually into use, and is undoubtedly that "law of Sweden, which they had in the upper country." The West-Goths state that they adopted it at the accession of queen Margaret. Hadorph, Ancient Ordinances (Gamla Stadgar, &c.), 42. See Note G.

⁶ For the homicide of a "king's man," Earl Birger raised the latter fine to the same amount with that payable for an ordinary homicide; so as to make the man bote double.

⁷ Law of the West-Goths, iii. 77.

⁷ This officer was called in matters of episcopal jurisdiction *biskops-socknare* (bishop's proctor) or *biskops-lœnsman*, (bishop's delegate). According to Christian I.'s charter of clerical privileges, October 28, 1457, he was to be elected by the commonalty.

⁸ We have already mentioned that it was the duty of the judiciary "to make and promulgate the law." (See Law of West-Gothland, iv. 14.) Hence in the provincial laws the *lagman* is sometimes introduced as speaking in his own person, as in the Law of East-Gothland, E. S. viii. where it is said, "now bear in mind, yeomen, that this is so ordained."

⁹ Compare the letter of Innocent III. to the archbishop of Upsala, March 10, 1206. Diplomat. Suec.

¹ Land's Law, Titul. B. c. 15.

² The only exception is that of the councillor of state, Gustavus Magnusson, of Revelstad, who is mentioned in

of 1483 says, "that every good man, clerical or laic, shall be king over his own dependents, except in matters which by the law are committed to the sovereign." By this, however, neither arbitrary power nor private jurisdiction was meant, but only the concession of right to levy the king's share of legal fines, a right also granted to the church, in the widest sense, over its estates and tenants. As in general the fiefs (*lenen*) consisted simply in grants of certain crown revenues to the royal governors in the various districts, manifold abuses were thereby created. For although the letter of the law did not recognize the power of the magnates, yet history shows all the more plainly that they felt themselves to be raised above its behests; since the justices had been seated in the king's council, and the affairs of the realm began to be managed at baronial diets; since the old odal-class had lost, from the extension of the privileges of nobility through the equestrian tenure, its most substantial members, and the burden of the taxes weighed more oppressively on the rest; since armed bands of their own retainers plundered throughout the country with impunity. To these signs of their potency it may be added, that the fraternal wars of Earl Birger's family had long converted the kingdom into a field of battle, so that we may view it as a kind of return to legal order when the councillors of state, in the covenant made by them at Skara⁸, in 1332, engaged to submit their individual disputes to the decision of their colleagues. By similar confederacies was Sweden governed for a hundred years afterwards; until Engelbert and the Stures revived against these baronial leagues the old associations of yeomanry, and thereby restored the people to political influence.

For the towns, which in other countries of Europe supplied a counterpoise to the power of the nobility, were of small importance. In the interior of the country, where they sprang up on the sites of ancient fairs⁹, or at episcopal seats, many of the conditions required for their prosperity were wanting. Wisby, in Gottland, was for a long time rich and powerful, but might rather have been called a German than a Swedish town, and in all German burghers were so numerous, that down to 1470 one half of the town magistrates were taken from among them. The borough law, formed on foreign models, of which the oldest example in Sweden is the so-called *Biörkvarätt*, followed in the time of Magnus Ericson by one of greater detail, had little influence

beyond its own limits. Yet Eric Olaverson mentions, that so early as 1319, when Magnus Ericson was raised to the throne, burghers were summoned to the elective diet; and in the writs issued during the Union are mentioned "bishops, clerks, nobles, and franklins (*frälsamen*), burghers, and the common yeomanry¹," the elements whence, instead of the old representation of the people by provinces, the later plan of representation by estates, with various changes of order and composition, was to be developed.

The first Swedish taxes, originally voluntary donations², arose from the custom of yearly following the king on his warlike expeditions (*leding*), and of entertaining him with his train when he made progress through the country to hold courts, or to take his pleasure³. By degrees it became usual to pay the yearly contributions required for these purposes when the king remained at home, and in this way the payments became permanent. Hence the names *ledingsslama* (laming of the war) and *tingslama* (laming of the court) for those taxes, when any obstacle⁴ prevented the warlike or peaceful assemblage from being held, but they appear also under others. Contributions for the maintenance of the king and his court, or the principal spiritual and secular officers on their journeys, were called *gengärd* (sustentation tax⁵). Tribute was levied from all resident inhabitants, so that he whose seed-corn and cattle reached a certain amount paid the full tax, others with less land and cattle only the half⁶. He who did not possess a dwelling paid for his person; at the age of twenty a man became liable to all assessments⁷. Certain imposts were from the first of a personal kind; one "for every nose," in support of the sacrifices, is mentioned under the heathendom; and a so-called nose-tax (*Næfsgjöld*) is mentioned in the testament of Magnus Ladulas, perhaps the same with that called in the Law of West-Gothland "all men's pence" and in the towns "all men's tax⁸." Payments from certain forests⁹ are also mentioned among the royal revenues from the middle of the thirteenth century, and as it is demonstrable that the kings formerly possessed private woodlands, and as the Land's Law speaks of the "king's parks" (*parker*), the tax must have been paid for the use of these by persons cutting timber or making settlements. In like manner the community of every hundred received from those who established themselves on their commons, certain revenues, of

⁸ Pactum confederationis et concordie. Hadorph, in the Rhyme Chronicle.

⁹ Hence the termination keeping, fair or market, lit. selling, in the names of many Swedish towns. T.

¹ Especially under the Stures. Steno the elder is said to have also given in 1470, the first example of including the inferior clergy in the writ of convocation, which otherwise during the Catholic period was confined to prelates.

² *Skattgjafir*, tribute-gifts, they are called in the *Ynglinga-saga*, c. 12.

³ Both objects were combined. *Saga of St. Olave*, c. 36.

⁴ *Lana* appears to mean hindrance, properly laming. *Tingslama*, which in the Law of Westmanland, *Tingm. B. f. 6*, denotes a hindrance or interruption of the court, appears in the Law of Upland, *K. B. f. 11*, with the meaning of tax. That the *ledingsslama* was paid when no expedition took place, is manifest from the Law of Westmanland, *K. B. f. 12*, and from King Waldemar's Account Book, where it is rendered, *redemptio expeditionis*. An aid for provisioning

ships was called *skeppsvist*. According to the Law of Upland a part was paid in money.

⁵ On the king's first entry into a province during his Eric's-gait, this tax was called *inlandning*. East-Gothic Law, *D. B. f. 5*. In the Law of Helsingland it is called *veðsla* (*veitzla*), which properly means a feast. In the demand by the nobles of such entertainment for themselves and their train during their journeys, chiefly consisted the offence of sorning by violence, forbidden by Magnus Ladulas, but complained of long after his time.

⁶ See the king's "receipts from the noble and good land of the West-Goths," *W. L. v.*

⁷ Uplands *L. K. B. f. 10*.

⁸ *Allmænnings ere, allmænningsgjæld*. *Diplomat. Suec. i. 507*. (*Næfsgjöld* comes from *næf*, also *næbb*, neb or nose, and *gjöld*, debt; the modern term used by Professor Geijer is *næskatt*, nose-scot. T.)

⁹ *Skogaskyld*, opposed to *land skyld*. Compare *Diplom. Suec. i. 453*.

which the Land's Law ordained that a third should be allotted to the crown. There was then no regular rate of assessment on landed property, although its division into Markland, Öresland, and the like, might lead us so to conjecture. Definitions casually occurring in the laws vindicate who were to be regarded as full-stead yeomen (*fullsuten bonde*). All these were taxed in like proportion, in such wise that their payments should not be raised by reason of any excess above the standard, but lessened in the measure of their short coming; and especial care seems to have been taken to preserve the old number of substantial yeomen undiminished. On this account Christian I. complains in an ordinance of 1459, that by yeomen purchasing two or more granges, "the taxes and revenues of the crown are much diminished and wasted;" wherefore he enjoins, by the advice of his well-beloved councillors, that "no yeoman shall thenceforward take into his hands more assessable estate than in the judgment of twelve unbiassed men is sufficient for his establishment;" in case of disobedience he should pay agreeably to the Calmar Recess of 1474, forty marks, and be called "the king's full thief." To the same penalty a nobelman became liable by the Land's Law, who acquired ground assessed to the crown-taxes. On the other side, excessive parceling out of such land was forbidden.

Various provisions are to be found in the law, regulating the obligations reciprocally affecting the labourer who tilled another's fields and the landowner. Nor did they leave indigence unrelieved to its fate. The Law of Upland enacts that poor and infirm men shall be carried from hamlet to hamlet, every peasant being bound to keep him for one night. On the other hand the yeomen had at first the right to withhold that proportion of the tithe which went to the poor; for after the priest had received his third, the residue was divided into three equal parts, between the parish church, the bishop, and the support of hospitals and poor; although this last share was gradually diverted to other purposes, as to the uses of the chapter and the maintenance of students. With the thirteenth century tithes were introduced—and what other impost so burdensome?—in the face of strong opposition. The church, though not contributing to the public necessities, in fact possessed from tithes, donations, and bequests, as well as the grant of temporal fiefs to the prelates, greater revenues than the crown itself, without including what the papal agents drew from the kingdom, sometimes for the reconquest of the Holy Land from the infidels, sometimes for indulgences, or on other occasions.

But the king, says the Land's Law, "it befits to live from the estate of Upsala, from the crown-lands, and the yearly legal taxes of his realm, and in nothing to lessen these for any other king, nor lay any new burdens on his land." Only in the four following cases might an extraordinary aid be demanded; on the breaking out of war, for then the men of the realm were bound to follow the king in his expedi-

tions, yet not beyond the frontiers without their own consent; on the marriage of one of his children; on his coronation, or when he rode his Eric's-gait, or finally when he required an aid for his buildings, for the repair of his houses, or the improvement of the estate of Upsala. Then the bishop and judge of each province, with six household-men, and six yeomen, were to deliberate among themselves "what supportable aid the commonalty might and should pay to their sovereign."

The ancient compass of the kingdom is shown by the Eric's-gait, embracing Swedeland and Gothland, with Smaland. The remainder in part belonged to Denmark, as the southern coasts, in part was subject alternately to Sweden and Norway, as Vermland, in part was not settled until a later day, as Dalecarlia and Norrland. We may besides observe regarding its boundaries under the Catholic period, that Jemteland and Herjedale, in the time of Ingé the younger, submitted to Norway, though they continued dependent on the see of Upsala; that Finland was annexed to the dominions of the crown by three eminent chiefs, St. Eric, earl Birger, and Thorkel Canuteson; that the isle of Gottland was lost to Sweden under Albert, and remained disunited for two hundred and fifty years; and that under Magnus Ericson, the provinces of Scania, Halland, and Bleking, were both won and lost.

Not the least important conquests were those made by cultivation; and in the time of the last-named sovereign began the settlement of Upper Norrland above Umeå. Those portions of the middle territory in which mining districts were afterwards formed, remained longest in their original wildness. Thus the law of West-Gothland, which enumerates the churches subject to the bishopric of Skara, does not mention one in all East Vermland, which therefore in that day was thinly inhabited, while the account in the *Heimskringla*, on the other hand, of the inroad by the Norwegian king Haco Hacoson into its early settled western portion, mentions every where granges and hamlets which subsist at the present day. Thus too the name of the mining district Skinskatteberg shows that here the taxes were paid in the skins of animals, as the Law of the Helsingers orders for Upper Norrland².

The oldest mining charters in Sweden which have been preserved are those of Magnus Ericson. Iron furnaces existed in Gothland in the thirteenth century³; the charters for the mining districts of Norberg and Nerike, in 1340 and 1350, mention them in middle Sweden. Those of the copper mines at Falun are of 1347, but refer to others which had preceded; and the antiquity of mining is attested by the circumstance, that in 1268 an estate was sold at that place for eleven *skeppunds* of copper². That the Lubeckers had betimes acquired a share in the mine is shown by the letter of Magnus Ericson in 1344, confirming to them all the property and revenues which they possessed there "by ancient right"³. In 1367, king Albert pledged to the counts of Holstein, from the crown's proportion of

² South Helsingland, Angermanland, and Medelpad paid their taxes partly in linen; thus long have the inhabitants of these provinces practised weaving, which still constitutes one of their chief sources of support.

³ The Law of West-Gothland forbids the iron-blasters to sell iron of bad quality.

² *Diplomat. Suec.* i. 268. (Eleven *skeppunds* are nearly 30 cwt., 160 about 13 tons.)

³ See the Latin deed in Sartorius, *Documentary History of the rise of the German Hanse*, edited by J. M. Lappenberg, ii. 378.

the copper mines, one hundred skeppunds of copper yearly, which they long continued to collect by their own commissioners on the spot. At this time the bailiffs of the mines and the masters of the works were Germans⁴. That the copper mines of Gärpenberg also were worked by them appears from the fact, that Garp was a name formerly given in Sweden to a German, although the word properly signifies an arrogant bragging fellow. King Eric of Pomerania, in 1413, granted to all those who would settle as miners at Atvidaberg in East-Gothland the same privileges granted to those of the Kopparberg in Dalecarlia; in the same year also he took the iron mines of Vermeland under his protection, and confirmed the charters granted by queen Margaret. Under Steno Sturé the elder the iron mines of Danemora were discovered; the silver mine of Sala apparently not before the time of Suanto Sturé, about 1510⁵, to which Christian the Second sent a hundred Finlanders. Yet mention is made of older silver mines, as at Tuna, Wika, and Lofasen in Dalecarlia. The bishop's mines, as they are called, in various districts show that the clergy also engaged in mining. The principal places of the mining tracts were asylums for offenders, excluding however traitors, assassins, and thieves, and this privilege was called the mine-peace.

The different species of grain cultivated are mentioned in the laws. That of West-Gothland ordains tithe to be taken of wheat, rye, barley, and oats. Corn, though a term common to all, was applied more particularly to barley, which seems to mark this grain, ripening within six weeks⁶, as the first introduced. Wheat and rye are mentioned in a papal letter of 1466, to the bishop of Strengness, as "new and unheard-of above the forest of Kolmord," and to be made titheable without delay⁷. Yet the bishop of Strengness was unquestionably better informed, for the Sudermanian law of 1327 allows the bishop at the consecration of a church a train of twelve men and fourteen horses, and orders a tun of wheat and rye-bread, among other articles, to be prepared for his use⁸. In 1295 the Law of Upland orders tithe to be taken from wheat and rye, "as the manner anciently had been." In the time of Olaus Magnus, the rye of Swedeland was held the best; it was raised on land cleared by fire, both in spring and winter. The husbandmen sowed in the beginning of May, or even later, and reaped in the middle of August⁹, generally assisting each other in the labours of the field, and at the reapers' feast the marriages of the year were arranged. When much snow fell, the peasants promised themselves a plentiful crop. The winter seems to have been longer and more rigorous, the summer hotter than in later times, and generally the differences of the seasons more strongly marked.

Fruit trees were first introduced into southern Sweden by the clergy, although the laws of Upland and Sudermauia mention them, with some kinds of

vegetables, in the middle portion of the kingdom. Flax, hemp, peas, turnips, beans, and hops were cultivated; in brewing not only hops but the wild myrtle were used¹. Bee-hives supplied important articles of produce, encouraged by the demand for wax tapers by the church, and not less by the use of mead. Speaking of the entertainment of a bishop on his progress, the Law of West-Gothland says, "let him drink mead with all his clergy." With other classes candles of wax or tallow were rare luxuries; the houses were lighted by wood fires and pine torches, with one of which in his hand, the thresher, in past times as now, betook himself to the barn in the early harvest morn. Handmills were used for grinding grain; to ply the mill was the work of the female slave in the house; in the Law of Upland, windmills and watermills are also mentioned. Hard and thiu bread was used then as now, which might be kept for several years; the Yule bread was soft and made very large. Salt, a condiment indispensable to man, was procured from abroad; by the distribution of a supply we find Christian II. trying to gain the attachment of the Swedish peasants.

In these days, Sweden could not be said to possess any commerce, although GOTTLAND was long the seat of a very extensive trade. This fertile island had received its inhabitants from Sweden in a remote age, who soon increasing in numbers were obliged to seek for new dwelling-places. Some, we are told in the supplement to the Law of Gottland, occupied the island of Dago, on the coast of Esthonia; others advanced along the course of the Duna into Russia, and are said to have received land from the Greek emperor. The Gottlanders, who acknowledged the superiority of the Upsala king, and became Christians upon the visit of St. Eric, submitted themselves in spiritual matters to the bishop of Linköping, and engaged to accompany the king of Sweden in his expeditions with seven ships, or to pay a yearly tribute instead. While yet heathens, they possessed, according to the same account, a considerable trade, and it may be conjectured, that after the Varangians had become the rulers of Muscovy, the Gottlanders profited by the connections which those adventurers long maintained with the country of their descent, to carry on a traffic with the Russians. Of this however the Swedish archives afford no more ancient evidence than the injunction of Pope Gregory IX. in 1229, to the bishop of Linköping and the Cistercian abbot of Gottland, that the insular traders should be restrained by the authority of the church, from holding intercourse with the Muscovites, the foes of Christianity. Other testimonies, however, speak both of the antiquity of this intercourse, and of the early settlement of German traders on Gottland, whose inhabitants undoubtedly

two cheeses, four stockfish, five pounds of wax, and three casks of beer, with hay and oats for the horses.

⁹ Olaus Magnus xiii. 8. In chapter iii. it is said that winter-rye was sown at the end of the dog-days, therefore shortly before the middle of August, old style. Spring rye, with wheat, barley, and oats, was sown in fine Tauri (about the 11th May, O. S.), and reaped in corde Leonis (about the 6th August). Seed-time was thus in middle Sweden three centuries ago later than at present.

¹ Fors, Swed. The myrica gale, or heath myrtle, not the ledum palustre (wildpors), or wild rosemary, which is noxious. March beer was held the best.

⁴ Langebek, on the Norwegian mines, 90. 96.

⁵ Ibid. 140, 143.

⁶ According to Olaus Magnus; it still does so in Norrland.

⁷ Celse Bullarium, 201. Ex segetibus tritico et siligine supra Kolmordiam novis et insolitis. That *siligo* here means rye is proved by the old Latin notes to the Law of West-Gothland. Compare the Glossary of Collins and Schlyter.

⁸ Besides this, a tun of barley bread, two flitches of bacon, four sheep, eight hens, three lispunds (about 51lbs.) of butter,

threw open to the former, avenues of commerce with Russia. Early in the thirteenth century was founded from Gottland the great commercial settlement of Novgorod, the most ancient guild-statute of which, in the many Swedish terms it contains, shows traces of Swedish influence². In the year 1229, the same in which the Pope forbade through the bishop of Linköping the Russian trade, a convention was formed in Gottland between the traders of Wisby and Riga, and the Grand Duke of Smolensko, regarding the trade on the Duna, from which the wares were conveyed overland to the Dnieper. From this treaty we learn that the Russians also traded from Gottland to Lubeck. The German commercial association on the island was so powerful, that even the league of the Hanse towns appears (from recent investigations) to have sprung mainly out of the connexions formed in Gottland between the traders of the different cities. There was a time when Wisby itself excited the jealousy of Lubeck, but its power was broken by the invasion and sack of the Danish king Waldemar, in 1361. The island was soon entirely severed from Swedish dominion, and Gottland, whose maritime law had furnished a model to Northern Europe, continued for a long time to be a haunt for pirates.

In Sweden all trade, both internal and foreign, was confined to the Germans. The first commercial privileges of Lubeck were granted by Earl Birger about 1250, and the charter refers to others which the town had enjoyed since the end of the preceding century, and the time of king Canute. These privileges were afterwards extended to Hamburg, Riga, Rostock, Wismar, Stralsund, and generally to all the Hanse towns. Their clerks and agents³ obtained the right of settling in Sweden and living under the Swedish laws, of importing their wares toll-free, and of transporting them from the Baltic, if they thought fit, by the land road across Sweden to the North Sea, of selling salt and travelling with their wares through the interior. One consequence of the commercial power of the Germans was shown in the authority they exercised in the Swedish towns, and in their tyranny in Stockholm, in the time of king Albert. Even under the reign of Christian I. complaints were made that all the municipal offices of the capital were so crowded with Germans, that hardly one was left for a Swede, unless he chose to be a beadle or a gravedigger⁴. On the other hand, the corresponding rights which were stipulated for Swedish traders in the treaties with the Hanse towns, were it is plain never available for them. Some attempts were made to abridge the commercial immunities of the Germans, but these had no other effect than that of temporarily interrupting the traffic. Charles Canuteson indeed, when application was made to him for their renewal, is said to have replied, that if the Hanse association would not come to Sweden, they might stay at

home; but that the restrictions imposed did not answer their purpose is manifest from the ordinance of the council at Telge in 1491, in which they declare, that upon perusing the "register of the kingdom," they had observed what advantage and profit the realm obtained at the time when the Germans had licence to trade in the country, themselves buying up in the places of staple the wares, which then there was no need to carry abroad, a course that had led only to confusion and the gain of the Danish towns. For this reason free markets were now appointed to be held every year for six weeks, at Calmar, Söderköping, and New Lödöse, (which with Stockholm and Abo, were the chief trading towns,) where both natives and foreigners might freely traffic with each other. This was regarded of the more importance, as the toll formed one of the principal means of rectifying the coinage.

Sweden did not possess a coinage until a late period. If the goods of the buyer and seller were not of equal value, the difference was made up by pieces of gold or silver of the size required on the occasion, usually shaped into larger or smaller circles, such as are often found in the soil with marks of abrasion. Trade and piracy brought the precious metals and foreign coins into the kingdom. The little silver coins which our elder antiquaries ascribed to heathen kings are all more recent⁵. Among a multitude of foreign coins found in the earth, a few only have here and there been met with, which are referred by modern inquirers, although not unanimously, to the first Christian sovereigns of Sweden, Olave the lap-kiug, and Anund Jacob, although even these appear to have been struck by English mint-masters. Coins of the Folkunger kings are found, which may safely be pronounced of domestic mintage⁶. The coinage was divided into marks, *eres*, of which eight went to a mark; *cørtugs*, whereof three to an *ere*; and pence, of which in Gothland sixteen, in Swedeland eight, went to an *cørtug*⁷. Originally a mark of money corresponded to a mark of silver, but they soon became so widely distinct in value, that about the middle of the fifteenth century, a mark of silver was equal to eight and a half marks currency. For the restoration of the standard, we find Magnus Ericson ordering that all traders bringing specie into the country should carry to the mint, for every forty marks value of goods, one mark of silver, and receive in return five of coined money, deducting half a mark. From the minute-book of the town of Calmar for 1384, we learn that this toll was paid on all goods imported, amounting to more than ten marks in value, with the exception of provisions⁸. In 1476, was abolished an abuse prevailing in several of the staples among those charged with the collection of the tolls, of receiving beer instead of silver⁹.

complaints against Christian I. in Memoirs for the History of Scandinavia, vol. v.

⁵ Compare Observations on the oldest Swedish Coins, by J. H. Schröder, in Transactions of the Academy of Science, History, and Antiquities, vol. xiii.

⁶ The Law of Upland speaks of stamped *cørtugs*.

⁷ Towards the end of the Catholic period, whole and half *cørtugs*, with smaller change, were the only pieces struck in Sweden.

⁸ MS. in the Library of Upsala.

⁹ Hadorph, Appendix to the Rhyme Chronicle, ii. 299.

² See the document itself in Sartorius, ii. 16.

³ Termed *Sveni* in the original charter granted by Earl Birger, preserved in the archives of Lubeck (Sartorius ii. 52), not *Sueci*, as we read in several copies, even that printed in Swedish Diplomatarium. *Sveni* means servants (*svenar*), or apprentices, answering to the *knapar*, as they were called, who in the guild of Novgorod were subordinate to the masters.

⁴ See the letter of the Dalecarlians, enumerating their

The country people bartered their wares. The Norrlanders and Eastlanders, or Finns, were accustomed from the earliest times to bring the produce of their herds, the chase, and fisheries to Stockholm and the lower country, with which they procured themselves other necessary articles, as the miners exchanged their iron and copper for grain. The Helsingers had an old privilege of travelling with their wares between the different places of trade, and more particularly frequented, as is still the case, the fair of Disting in Upsala¹. Olaus Magnus states, that in his days Swedish horses were yearly exported to Germany; they were hardy, though of small size, and roamed the heath unconfined, even in the winter season, until their third year. He speaks also of a nobler stock, in West-Gothland, highly prized in war, whose exportation was forbidden; Oeland was remarkable for its singularly small race of ponies; Gotland was famous for its breed of sheep. Oxen were used in some places for tillage and winter-carriage, yet not generally, for Gustavus I. afterwards encouraged their employment in this way. In several provinces, Smaland, a part of East-Gothland, Dalsland, Vermeland, and the whole of Norrland, the people derived their chief support from their flocks and herds. The chase yielded a rich return of furs and skins, large quantities of which were sold for export. Elk-hides were shipped by the thousand, with miniver, ermine, and marten skins.

In the gulf of Bothnia the fisheries, especially of salmon and herring, were largely productive. Fishermen and buyers from different quarters collected in spring at the mouths of the great streams of Norrland. Persons from Stockholm and other towns of Sweden and Finland, regularly every year visited these fishing stations², from which towns afterwards arose. In Tornea, most of all, at Midsummer the concourse was large, with many Russians and Norwegians. The herring fishery on the coast of Scania was pursued chiefly on account of the Hanse Towns. Of that in the islets of Bohusland we hear less, until in the latter half of the sixteenth century it became uncommonly abundant, after that of Scania had declined.

Among the civic customs of the middle age was the institution of guilds, of which, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, more than one hundred are said to have existed not only in the towns, but throughout the country. These were societies founded in honour of some saint or relic, admitting persons of both sexes under certain obligations and rules, and blending, at determinate times, religious exercises and works of charity with the entertainments of the table³. The principal guilds had halls

of their own, and often held large revenues, arising from donations and bequests, of which the motive is to be sought in the devotional services and masses celebrated by these societies for the souls of their deceased brethren. Hence there were few of which the clergy were not members. Even the guild feasts were opened with divine worship, which was followed by the drinking of toasts, with hymns of praise to the saint, in memory of whom the cup was drained. The guests ate what each had prepared for himself, bringing to the board not more than two or three dishes; beer, which must be tasted beforehand, since there was a fine for blaming it during the computation⁴, was procured by the joint contributions of both brethren and sisters. The guildhall was decked with fresh boughs and fragrant flowers, the floor strewn with pine sprigs and grass, and on the outside of the doors large leafy branches were placed. While the refection was in progress the musicians of the guild played, among whom the most important was the organist; fifers, trumpeters, tymballers, drummers, and lutanists are also mentioned as serving in the Guild of the Body of Christ in Stockholm. The society was governed by an alderman and stool-brothers; and although princes and nobles joined these fraternities, the incorporations of craftsmen have yet the same origin. Among their objects mutual protection was one of the most important; during the earlier period of their existence they avenged conjointly homicide or outrage done upon any of the brethren of the lodge, and assumed a jurisdiction over their own members, which the most powerful guilds, as that of St. Canute in Denmark and Scania, exercised with the consent of the crown even in capital causes.

Times of violence and fierce tempers generated heinous crimes and licentious manners, especially among the possessors of power. Of the lengths to which the vengeance of the great occasionally proceeded, sufficient examples have been already adduced. Nor were the clergy exempt from the general corruption. Bishop Olave Gunnarson was poisoned at the synod of Westeras in 1461, because he had zealously denounced the immoralities of the priesthood⁵. The monasteries, of which the number ultimately rose to about sixty, did not universally set an edifying example of continence; hence St. Bridget, rebuking the clergy for laxity, compares such eloisters, in her zeal, to houses of ill fame. Pity that those founded upon her own rule soon exposed themselves to a like reproach. The disorders arising from the consociation of monks and nuns in the Bridgetine convents, occasioned citations to Rome and before the council of Basle, without however being effectually

¹ Scandinavian Memoirs, iv. 96. From Olaus Magnus (xiii. 38) we learn that the country people of the hundreds of Mark and Kind in West-Gothland were already during the middle ages noted as turners and hawkers of platters, bowls, boxes, and other articles of the kind. The peasants sometimes abused the opportunities of this inland trade, to carry "merchants' wares" as well as "peasants' wares," which was forbidden by the Calmar Recess of 1474.

² For these fisheries were framed the Harbour Rules (Hanne-skra) of King Charles Cauteson, "for those who use to fish in the king's common fishing-ground." This mode of expression refers to the powers of regulation and taxation; various suits respecting the Norrland fisheries show that they were considered in the middle ages as private property.

³ Compare Muhrberg, on the Guild of our Lord's Body at Stockholm, Acad. Transac. vol. ii.; and Fant, *Dissertatio de Conviviis sacris* in Succia.

⁴ "Nullus cerevisiam culpet—bñant honeste sine contencione et blasphemia." From the Rules of the Guild of our Lord's Body. (Convivium corporis Christi.) For a hanquet given to this guild by its aldermen in 1513, at which only fourteen of the brethren were present, there were purchased the half of an ox, two sheep, forty pounds of smoked beef, two hams, three neats' tongues, eighteen pounds of butter, and two casks of beer with spices. The statutes were called skra, a word also signifying the guild itself.

⁵ Diary of Vadstena, S. R. s. i 178.

corrected thereby, as is proved by scandalous narratives still preserved ⁶. Referring to the Carthusian order, which had been newly introduced, the councillors of state declared in 1491, their hope "that by the example of this order, and the grace of the blessed virgin, the brethren and sisters of other religious houses would amend their life, and observe their rules with better faith and constancy than they had hitherto used."

Of science and art scarcely aught is to be said; but of yore there were found minds in the North, attracted, more than other men, from the night and fogs of earth into "that other light," as even heathenism beforetime called the supernal world. St. Bridget is the seer of catholicism, as we may call Swedenborg, in modern days, of Protestantism. Both distinguished by virtuous lives, and intellect higher than the ordinary standard, they appeal to revelations and visions, remarkable in the annals of the human soul. Of these we will content ourselves with observing, that contrastedly they show how the unsubstantial may take the image, garb, and colour of different ages, and speak to extraordinary men in the echo of their own breasts, cramped though they be by the bonds of prejudice. The revelations of St. Bridget, albeit afterwards brought into question at the council of Basle, are yet not rejected by the catholic church, which canonized her in 1391 ⁷.

Whatever learning was to be found in those days was almost entirely confined to the clergy; if laymen are sometimes extolled on this ground, as Baron Charles Ulsson Sparre, whom the Rhyme Chronicle declares to have been skilled "in the seven bookish arts and in all the laws," or Baron Eric Trollé, such cases are but rare exceptions. Archbishop Gustavus, son of the latter, was one of the few who are said to have known the Greek. The new University of Upsala has no name of mark to show save Eric Olavson, professor of theology, who composed the first detailed history of his native country from the earliest times to the year 1464. In the monastic and cathedral schools, a scanty instruction was doled out to such youths as devoted themselves to the ministry, as also to the children of persons of rank, until their military education commenced in a royal or baronial household. Typography reached Sweden early; the first book having been printed in 1483 ⁸. Ingeborg, consort of the administrator Steno the elder, encouraged the new art, causing books to be printed at her own expense, and collecting a library in the

Carthusian monastery founded by her husband at Mariefred ⁹. A printing-house at Vadstena was destroyed by fire in 1495 ¹. From scarcity of paper, splints or rind of the birch tree were sometimes used for writing, and judicial sentences thus recorded are still spoken of by the common people.

The two principles, which lie at the foundation of national morality, reverence for age, and the sanctity of wedlock, our ancestors cannot be accused of setting at naught. According to the temper of their time, they were often turbulent, especially in the border provinces; hardnured, and strongly attached to their old customs. In the country nuptial usages are still nearly the same with those described by Olaus Magnus three hundred years ago; only the bride-torches are disused. The wreath beforetime, as now, was the ornament of the stainless bride at the altar; otherwise it was, with the ample veil, and the rich girdle, an ordinary dress with damself of condition. In noble families a spear formed part of the morning-gift ² to the bride, which on the day of marriage was thrown out of the window, whether to denote the obligation of the mistress of the house to take part in its defence, we do not pretend to determine. It is certain that in the middle age a Swedish wife was sometimes called upon to partake this duty; and the women of the hundred of Verend in Smaland, who in the absence of their husbands once repulsed a hostile attack, still enjoy for that reason the privilege of inheriting equal portions with their brothers, and have long preserved at their marriages various military fashions and distinctions ³.

As old observances still subsisting may be mentioned, the race from the church on the day after Christmas; for he that first reached home, it was thought, would first reap the harvest of the year ⁴; the fires kindled in some provinces on May Day Even, and the May-poles at Midsummer, both circled by the dance; as well as the wrestling games of the youth on the tops of the barrows, a custom still not uncommon fifty years ago in certain districts. The feasts of the chief men were distinguished by pomp of costume and abundance of meats, while a multitude of the present conveniences of life were unknown. Even in houses of the better class the window was sometimes in the roof ⁵, and filled with tarred linen or parchment instead of glass. So highly valued was the latter material,

in Stockholm, *inceptus et munere Dei finitus est anno Domini mccccclxxxiiii. mensis Decembris in vigilia Thomæ.*

⁹ Some of the books, inscribed "Frowe Ingeborg quondam uxor Sten Sturé," are in the Library of Upsala.

¹ *Conflagraverunt ibidem diversa instrumenta pro impressura librorum, realiter aptata et jam per medium annum in usum habita, videlicet torcular cum literis stanneis, &c. Diar. Vad.*

² Morgongafva, Ger. morgengabe, present made to the bride on the morning after the marriage day. The term in the text is still used in some parts of Scotland. T.

³ Tradition places this occurrence in the heathen period, though it is probably less ancient.

⁴ Under Catholicism prayers were offered up at this festival for a good harvest; doubtless a memorial of the Pagan midwinter sacrifice for a plentiful year, which was held in February at Candlemas tide. (See note p. 43.)

⁵ In 1493 Baron Hans Akeson was shot with an arrow through the window in the roof of his own house, the murderer having first made an opening. Diar. Vadsten.

⁶ Compare Appendix v. to the Diary quoted, on the morals of the Bridgetine convent at Dantzig, in 1506, S. R. S. i.

⁷ Bridget was the daughter of the Lawman of Upland, Birger Person of Finsta, of the same family which afterwards assumed the name of Brahe; she was married to the Lawman of Nerike, Ulf Gudmarson, by whom she had eight children, among them one daughter, Catharine, afterwards canonized. Bridget died at Rome in 1373, aged seventy. There was a proposal to elect her son Israel Birgerston to the throne after the deposition of Magnus Ericson. Her conventual rules were sanctioned by the pope in 1370, and the parent cloister was founded at Vadstena. Her revelations were recorded by her confessor; she herself wrote down her Prayers, perhaps the only Swedish book which has been translated into Arabic. The Orazioni di S. Brigida, in Arabic and Italian, appeared at Rome in 1677.

⁸ *Dialogus Creaturarum optime moralizatus. At the end, Impressum per Johannem Snell, artis impressoriæ magistrum*

that the windows of the castle of Stockholm are said to have been carried off by the Danes under Christian I.

Youth was trained to hardy and martial habits; the boy, we are told, must earn his morning's meal by hitting the mark with the arrow⁶. When he had reached an age which admitted of his defending himself against violence, he received a blow on the back, with an exhortation never again to submit to one without resenting it⁷. The Gothlanders and Finlanders were regarded as the most expert bowmen; the battle-axe and spear were regarded as the chief weapons of the inhabitants of Sweden Proper. Despite the prohibition of the general use of arms, the peasant seldom quitted his house, even for the church, unarmed, if only on account of the wild beasts, of which the wolves were the most formidable. Sometimes the length of the distance and the difficulties of the country prevented him from repairing thither more than once or twice in the year⁸. On such occasions the weapons were deposited in the porch, which still bears from this circumstance the name of the weapon-house. Relics of the catholic period are still found here and there among the country people in isolated superstitious usages and broken Latin prayers. A belief in various elemental spirits, on the other hand, was descended from the days of heathenism, unless we suppose that the manifold legends of such beings are ever generated anew by com-

munings with nature, in her vast and savage solitudes, among the forests and mountains of the North.

To value life not too highly, and freedom above all price, may be noted in conclusion as the leading feature of old northern religion. This consciousness of their rights no dominant power had been able to extinguish, and still amidst the perils of foreign oppression, the men of Sweden cherished the hope of a coming deliverance. Therefore did bishop Thomas of Strengness, in his elegy on the death of Engelbert⁹, thus sing :

Thou noble Swede, now hold thee fast,
Mend what was faulty in the past,
'Gainst wile and fetch defend thee ;
Gage thou thy neck, ply well thy brand,
To rescue thine own father land,
And God may comfort send thee.

The bird his brood-nest tends with care,
So does the wild beast guard his lair,
Then mark what is be seeming ;
Thee sense of truth and right God gave,
Be rather free than other's slave,
The while life's gifts are teeming.

verses quoted, slightly modernized in the spelling by Professor Geijer, are as follows :

O edla Svensk, tu statt nu fast,
Och bättra thet, som förra brast,
Tu lat tik ej omvända ;
Tu vaga tin hals oc swa tina hand,
At frälsa tit egit fädernesland,
Gud ma tik tröst väl sända.

En fögil han wär sin egin bur,
Swa göra oc all willena djur
Nu märk hwat tik bör göra ;
Gud hawer tik giwit sinn oc skäl,
Var heller frij än annars träl
A medan tu kant tik röra).

⁶ Ut non panis pueris exhibetur, nisi sagitta prius tetigerint metam. Olaus Magnus, xv. 1.

⁷ Stiernhöök (de jure Sueonum vetusto), says that this was only in the case of sons of nobles.

⁸ So it was in certain districts of Vermeland at the end of the fifteenth century, according to the statement of Olaus Magnus.

⁹ See the poem in S. R. S. v. ii. sub fin. Bishop Thomas died in 1443, as stated on his grave-stone at Strengness. (The

CATALOGUE OF KINGS.

I. THE GODS.

ODIN.
NIORD.
FREY.
FREYA.

THE YNGLINGS.

FIOLNER, son of YNGWE FREY.
SWEGGER.
VANLAND.
VISBUR.
DOMALD.
DOMAR.
DYGGVE.
DAG.
AGNE.
ALREK and ERIC.
YNGWE and ALF.
HUGLEIK.
JORUND and ERIC.
ANE, the old.
EGIL.
OTTAR.
ADILS.
GESTEN.
YNGWAR.
BRAUT ANUND.
INGIALD ILLRADA¹.

II.

LINE OF IVAR AND SIGURD.

IVAR WIDFAMNE.

AUDA the rich, married,

1. to ROREK : 2. to RADBERT.

HARALD HILDETAND. RANDWER.

SIGURD RING.

SIGURD RING.

RAGNAR LODBROK.

BIÖRN IRONSIDE.

ERIC BIÖRNSON and REFIL.

ERIC REFILSON².

EDMUND and BIÖRN of the Hill³ . . . in 829

ERIC EDMUNDSON⁴ . . . + 865

BIÖRN ERICSON . . . + 935

ERIC the VICTORIOUS⁵ . . . + 993

OLAVE the Lap-king⁶ . . . + 1024

ANUND JACOB . . . + 1052

EDMUND the old⁷.

III.

LINE OF STENKIL.

STENKIL⁸ . . . + 1066

HACO the Red⁹.

INGE the elder and HALSTAN¹.

PHILIP (+ 1118) and INGE the younger².

IV.

LINE OF SWERKER AND ST. ERIC.

SWERKER³ . . . + 1155.

ST. ERIC⁴ . . . + 1160.

CHARLES SWERKERSON⁵ . . . + 1168.

CANUTE ERICSON⁶ . . . + 1195.

SWERKER CARLSON . . . + 1210.

ERIC CANUTESON . . . + 1216.

JOHN SWERKERSON . . . + 1222.

ERIC ERICSON⁷ . . . + 1250.

pellation of Upsala king, and assumed that of Swede king (Sveakonung).

⁷ Reigned but a short time. The year of his death is unknown.

⁹ Son of the West-Gothic Earl Ragwald Ulfson. After Stenkil's death intestine war. Two kings Eric. Thereafter both the sons of Stenkil, who afterwards reigned, were chosen and driven out. Olave Näskonung is mentioned in several old catalogues at the same time.

⁹ By some placed before Stenkil.

¹ Sons of Stenkil. The death-year of neither is known. Heathen counter-king, Blot Swen; then his son Eric, who in his old age became a Christian.

² Sons of Halstan. After the death of Inge the younger, Ragwald, son of Olave Näskonung, appears as king. He was slain by the West-Goths, who chose the Danish prince Magnus Nilson, son to a daughter of Inge the elder, and after his death in 1134, were for some time without a king.

³ First elected by the East-Goths.

⁴ Called also Eric the Lawgiver. King of Swedeland in 1150.

⁵ The first who is named king of the Swedes and Goths. He overcame the murderer of St. Eric, the Danish prince Magnus Henrickson, whom likewise the catalogue of kings appended to the law of West-Gothland, as well as some others, reckon as king.

⁶ Son of St. Eric; slew Charles Swerker, with two other counter-kings, Kol and Burislef.

⁷ Counter-king, the Folkunger Canute Johanson, 1229—1234.

¹ "The Upsala kings were the highest kings in Suithiod, at the time when there were many kings of hundreds." Ynglingasaga, c. 40. "It is a saying of men, that Ingiald put to death twelve kings, and all by fraud; therefore was he called Ilfrada (the bad ruler); he was king over the greatest part of Suithiod." Ib. c. 43. "After Ingiald the Upsala power was taken from the Ynglings," c. 45.

² Lists of kings which do not agree, refer to a continued partition of the kingdom under several contemporary princes. Many sea-kings, who ruled over a great war-force, but had no lands. Ynglingasaga, c. 34.

³ Anskar, the first teacher of Christianity.

⁴ When Anskar, in 853, visited Sweden for the second time, a king Olave was ruler in Birca.

⁵ (Segersäll.) Reigned conjointly with his brother Olave, till the death of the latter. One Ring and his son Eric are spoken of as kings at the same period by Adam of Bremen.

⁶ The first Christian king. He styles himself in the Chronicles of the kings, the tenth over-king of his family in Upsala (Saga of St. Olave, e. 71); but he renounced the ap-

V.

THE FOLKUNGERS.

	A. D.
WALDEMAR ⁸ (dethroned)	+ 1302.
MAGNUS LADULAS ⁹	+ 1290.
BIRGER MAGNUSSON ¹ (dethroned)	+ 1321.
MAGNUS ERICSON ² (dethroned)	+ 1374.

VI.

FOREIGN AND UNION-KINGS.

ALBERT of Mecklenburg ³ (dethroned) .	+ 1412.
MARGARET ⁴ , founds the Union in 1397 .	+ 1412.
ERIC of Pomerania ⁵ (dethroned) . . .	+ 1459.
CHRISTOPHER of Bavaria ⁶	+ 1448.
CHRISTIAN I. of Oldenburg ⁷ (dethroned in Sweden)	+ 1481.
JOHN ⁸ (dethroned in Sweden)	+ 1512.
CHRISTIAN II. the Tyrant ⁹ (dethroned)	+ 1559.

⁸ His father, Earl Birger, regent till his death in 1266; bestows dukedoms on his other sons.

⁹ Revolted against his brother Waldemar in 1275. King of Swedeland 1276, of the whole realm 1279.

¹ The High Marshal Thorkel Canuteson, guardian till 1303. King Birger imprisoned in 1306, by his brothers the dukes Eric and Waldemar, is compelled to share his kingdom with them in 1310; imprisoned them and cut them off by hunger in 1318; is expelled.

² Son of Duke Eric, chosen king in his third year, 1319; in the same year king of Norway. Matts Ketilmundson, administrator in Sweden during the vacancy of the throne, and the most influential man during the minority till 1333. Counter-kings; Eric, eldest son of Magnus, 1350—1359, Haco, the younger son, King of Norway, chosen in Sweden, 1362; dethroned along with his father in 1363.

³ Sister's son to King Magnus Ericson. King 1363. Captive 1389. Liberated 1395.

⁴ Chosen in Sweden 1388.

⁵ Chosen in Sweden 1396. Co-regent with Margaret; dethroned by Engelbert in 1434. Again acknowledged; dethroned in all the three kingdoms in 1439.

VII.

SWEDISH REGENTS UNDER THE UNION.

	A. D.	A. D.
ENGELBERT ENGELBERTSON ¹	1434	+ 1436.
CHARLES CANUTESON (BONDÉ) Administrator,	1436	— 1441.
BENNET and NICHOLAS JONSON (OXENSTIERNA), Administrators, . . .		1448.
CHARLES CANUTESON ² King		+ 1470.
Archbishop JENS BENNETSON (OXEN- STIERNA) ³ , Prince and Governor of Sweden,	1457, 65, 66.	
Bishop KETIL CARLSON (WASE), Administrator,		1464.
ERIC AXELSON (TOTT), Administra- tor,		1466, 67.
STENO STURÉ the elder, Adminis- trator, 1471—97, 1501		+ 1503.
SUANTO NILSON STURÉ, Adminis- trator, 1504		+ 1512.
STENO SUANTESON STURÉ, Adminis- trator, 1512		+ 1520.

⁶ Chosen King of Sweden 1440.

⁷ King of Sweden 1457; dethroned 1464.

⁸ Chosen in Sweden 1483. Became possessed of the throne first in 1497; deposed in 1501.

⁹ Acknowledged as heir of his father on the Swedish throne in 1499. King of Sweden 1520; dethroned 1521; flees from his dominions 1523.

¹ Rusticorum, qui vocantur Dalakarlar, Dux et Princeps—qui tribus annis regnavit et postea interfectus est. *Diarium Vadstenense*, S. R. S. 1. 151.

² Chosen King in Sweden 1448; in Norway, 1449; renounced the Norwegian crown in 1450; flees to Dantzic in 1457, recalled 1464; dethroned anew 1465; again king 1467.

³ "The worthy Lord and Father in God, Jens Archbishop of Upsala, has embraced the care and burden of setting us free, by God's help and St. Eric's, from the slavery and ruin into which King Charles had brought us all." Assurance of the Council of State. Stockholm, July 11, 1457. Hadorph, on the Rhyme Chronicle.

CHAPTER VIII.

GUSTAVUS VASA. THE LIBERATION.

YOUTH OF GUSTAVUS. HIS CAPTIVITY IN DENMARK AND ESCAPE. STATE OF SWEDEN UNDER THE DANISH GOVERNORS. DISTURBANCES. CONDUCT OF THE BISHOPS AND CLERGY. ADVENTURES OF GUSTAVUS IN DALECARLIA. CHOSEN CAPTAIN OF THE DALES. REVOLT OF THE DALESMEN. ROUT OF BRUNNEBURN. GENERAL INSURRECTION. GUSTAVUS ADMINISTRATOR. SIEGE OF STOCKHOLM. FLIGHT OF CHRISTIAN II. FROM DENMARK. GUSTAVUS CHOSEN KING. END OF THE UNION.

A. D. 1520—1523.

GUSTAVUS ERICSON, as he was called and wrote himself before he became king, was descended from an old Swedish family, which had already given members to the council of state for two centuries¹. The name of Wasa, which some derive from the estate of Wasa in Upland, and others, with more probability, from the family arms², was borne neither by himself nor his forefathers, surnames not being yet in use among the Swedish nobility. This family was raised to high consideration by the Steward Christer Nilson, who aimed at the acquisition of supreme power for himself, and had a son-in-law and three grandsons, who actually possessed it, or approached its attainment³. John, the son of this powerful noble, allied himself with the family of the administrator, Steno Sturé the Elder, by a marriage with his sister Brita, which reconciled the patriotic party to a family that had hitherto zealously embraced the interest of the Union. The old hostility of the Vasas, but for some time also both their influence and their activity, seemed slumbering. Neither the grandfather of Gustavus, John Christerson, nor his father, Eric Johanson, councillor and knight, possessed much weight in public affairs. The latter was married to lady Cecilia of Eka, who was likewise of a family which had shed its blood for the Danish domination in Sweden⁴.

Eric Johanson is styled "a merry and facetious lord;" but in his younger days his temper was uncontrollably violent. In 1490, at an agreement with the tow of Stockholm in the council-chamber, he was obliged to sue forgiveness for different acts of outrage he had committed, and to engage that in case of wood being cut in his forests, or fish taken in his waters by any poor peasants, he would not on

the instant "place them in irons, or treat them like senseless beasts, but allow them their rights in law⁵."

Gustavus, the eldest son of his parents⁶, was born on the manor of Lindholm in Roslagen, then belonging to his grandmother Sigrid Baner, in the year 1490, if we may trust the unanimous assurances of the more recent historians, who claim to know more than their predecessors; for these, even such as were nearest to Gustavus himself, are uncertain as to the year of his birth. King Charles IX., who himself revised the history of Eric Johanson Tegel⁷, where that date is found, assigns to his father, in the Rhyme Chronicle composed by himself, an age greater by two years. Peter Brahe⁸, nephew of Gustavus, supposes that he was born in 1495. Other old manuscript chronicles of the reign of king Gustavus, which differ little from each other, (they were followed by Tegel, and we have ourselves compared several of them,) give either the last-named year, or those of 1497 and 1496, of which the latter appears to be the correct one. The day of his birth, however, is better known than the year; it was the twelfth of May, "which then was our Lord's Ascension Day⁹." Of all the years stated, the only one in which this feast falls upon that day is 1496, and the explanation to which this point is borne out by several other circumstances.

Gustavus was only a few years old when king John, during one of his latest visits to Sweden¹, saw him at play with others of his age; it is said that, like Cyrus of old, he played the king. John, as the story goes, patted him on the head, saying, that "he would yet be a man remarkable in his days, if he lived," and, it is asserted, kept the boy

¹ His oldest seal bears the arms, with the inscription, Gostaf Ericson. The first of this family who is known with certainty is the knight Ketil Carlson, member of the council from 1322 to 1330. Compare Peringsköld, Monumenta Uplandica, 70, and Genealogy (Ettartal).

² A *wase*, meaning bundle, and here properly a fagot, such as is used for filling up ditches, whence the family is also called *Stornwase*. Therefore the wase in the arms was originally black, but Gustavus having given it the yellow colour, it has since been taken for a wheatsheaf. (Wase, in the sense of wisp, occurs in Chaucer. The Swedish orthography of the name is Wasa, the *w* being pronounced as *v*, and now generally retained only in proper names. TRANS.)

³ The husband of his daughter, Bengt Jenson (Oxenstierna), was administrator in 1448; her son was the archbishop Jens Bengtson, administrator in 1457 and 1465. His grandsons on the male side were Ketil Carlson, bishop of Linköping, administrator in 1464; his brother Eric, in a letter to his wife, promises that he will in a short time set the crown on her head.

⁴ She was daughter of Magnus Carlson of Eka, brother of

Trotté Carlson, a brave warrior, who fell fighting for Christian I. in the battle of Brunkeberg.

⁵ Extract from the Minute-book of the town of Stockholm, in the Nordin Collections, in the Library of Upsala.

⁶ Magnus, a younger brother, took his designation from Rydboholm, died unmarried in 1529, and is otherwise unknown.

⁷ "So that it may with justice be called his majesty's own work," Tegel says in the dedication of his History of Gustavus I. to Gustavus Adolphus.

⁸ In his manuscript Chronicle of King Gustavus, properly a copy, with additions and emendations, of Rasmus Ludvicsen's Chronicle.

⁹ So Tegel, after the chronicles, although he himself gives 1490 as the year. This date, however, is not more trustworthy than the account of those same chronicles, that Christina Gyllenstierna, as consort of Steno Sturé the younger, was present among the elderly dames at the birth. She was yet a child in the house of her mother, Sigrid Baner, and was married November 11, 1511.

¹ In 1499 or 1501.

in his train, and wished to carry him to Denmark. But Steno the Elder, apprehending the king to be more bent on procuring a hostage than a foster-son, averted from the child the danger which afterwards overtook the youth. Gustavus was sent to his father, who was then lord feudatory of Åland. At this time, say the chronicles, the children of Sweden's nobles were termed wolf-cubs by the Danes.

All accounts agree that the young Gustavus was placed in the seminary of Upsala in 1509; a fact which confirms the view we have taken as to the year usually given for his birth being erroneous, from the improbability that this step should not have occurred until his nineteenth year. For it is known that he was in fact placed in the grammar-school, and was subjected to personal chastisement while there by the Danish schoolmaster². The latter was informed that his young pupil had on some occasion said, "See what I will do; I will go to Dalecarlia, get out the Dalesmen, and knock the Danes on the head." Gustavus suffered his school-flogging; then drawing out his little sword, he thrust it through his Curtius, and quitted the school with a malison never to return. A hundred years afterwards, the country people could point out the places in the neighbourhood of Upsala he frequented with his playmates, and tell how he had been at a wolf-chase hunting merrily.

Old narrators are also unanimous that in 1514 (his eighteenth year, most of them say) he was received into the household of Steno Sturé the younger; with which corresponds the remark often made by the chroniclers, that he was early taken from his studies to military service and court life; "a noble youth, comely, ready-witted, and prompt in action," say they, "whom God had stirred up for the salvation of his native country." He first bore arms in the feud of Steno Sturé the younger against the archbishop Gustavus Trollé, and is spoken of at that time as distinguished among his comrades for valour, persuasive eloquence, and a joyous temperment. At Dufveness, in the summer of 1517, he defeated the Danish force sent to the prelate's assistance; and in the following year, when Christian himself arrived with his fleet before Stockholm, he carried the Swedish banner in the combat at Brennkirk, which forced the Danes to retreat. Famine had already wasted their camp, and became yet more fatal in the fleet, which was detained by contrary winds. A portion of the troops voluntarily gave themselves up to the generosity of the enemy, and were permitted to return home without hindrance. The king, to gain time, opened negotiations for peace. Steno Sturé himself supplied his fleet with provisions; he was even with difficulty dissuaded from going on board, and made no scruple in sending six of his followers as hostages, when Christian pretended a desire to pay him a visit. Gustavus was among the number; and with him doctor Henning Gadd, to whose lessons he had

listened in his youth, and Lawrence Siggeson, in aftertime one of the props of his throne. When the boat which carried them had reached the open sea, its return was cut off by a Danish ship of war; they were seized, taken on board, and the sails having been meanwhile swelled by a favourable wind, treacherously carried off to Denmark.

Gustavus was committed to the custody of Baron Eric Baner, his kinsman, governor of the castle of Kallo, in North Jutland, where he spent upwards of a year in a captivity that would have been tolerable in other respects, if the fate which threatened his native land had allowed him quiet by day or sleep by night. For through all the country men now spoke only of the great military preparations against Sweden, for which new taxes were imposed, and sums of money besides collected by loans or plunder. Even a papal legate was robbed of the amount he had amassed by the sale of indulgences in Sweden³. Copenhagen was crowded with French, Scottish, English, and German soldiers. With the winter of 1520 the campaign was to begin; for the paths across the Holwed and the Tiwed, by which alone an army could advance to the interior of the country, were still at that time more dangerous to traverse in summer than in winter; hence the Danes considered that a war against Sweden was best carried on in winter⁴. These preparations formed the common subjects of discourse among those by whom Gustavus was surrounded. At the table of his host he heard the young warriors vaunt that they would play St. Peter's game with the Swedes, alluding to the papal interdiction, which served as the pretext of the war; he heard them, while jesting among themselves, cast lots for Swedish lands and Swedish damsels. "By such untimelies," it is said, "was lord Gustavus Ericson seized with anguish beyond measure, so that neither meat nor drink might savour pleasantly to him, even if he had been better furnished than he was⁵. His sleep was neither quiet nor delectable, for he could think of nothing else than how he might find opportunity to extricate himself from the unjust captivity in which he was held!"

At length, in the early morning, he effected his escape, disguising himself, some say as an ox-herd, others as a pilgrim, and passed on his way with such speed that on the first day he is said to have travelled twelve miles⁶, and reached Lubeck in safety on the last day of September, 1519. Here he stayed eight months, long enough to hear that Steno Sturé had fallen, and that Sweden was subdued. The consequences which were to follow to all the Swedish leaders were already predicted in Lubeck, whence Gustavus is said to have sent warning to his father and others of the Swedish nobles. His former host and keeper soon repaired thither and demanded his captive from the council of Lubeck, being held responsible in a heavy sum by the king for his safe custody. To the charge of having broken his oath Gustavus made this answer:

that lakes, streams, and marshes were covered with strong ice.

⁵ His fare, it is said, was in truth not very palatable, consisting of salt meat, sour beer, black bread, and rancid herring.

⁶ The chronicles probably reckon by the old Swedish Forest-miles, two of which go to one of the modern scale. Six Swedish miles on foot in one day (which may here mean a day and a night) is in any case considerable.

² Master Ivar. "He was harsh to all, and gave Gustavus a thrashing." After the elevation of his former scholar he fled from the country, which displeased Gustavus, who said that he had nothing to fear. Nicolaus Bothniensis, Notes.

³ This was not all in money, but consisted partly of iron, butter, and other wares, exported on the legate's account. Christian confiscated the cargo in Elsiuore, and caused the agents of the legate who conveyed it to be drowned.

⁴ Hvítfeld. The winter of this year too was severe, so

"This shall no honourable man establish on any good grounds,—that I am a captive and not a hostage, who with other good lords, my companions, came to the king of Denmark according to his own wish, upon his oath and promise, letter and seal, that we should again return back to our chief, lord Steno, without danger or hindrance. Let one appear who may prove fairly and in truth, in what skirmish and fight we were made prisoners, and who those were that took us. Hence it befits not we should be called prisoners, but men surprised, overreached, and deceived. For with what justice can he be called a captive that never merited captivity, and whom neither obligation, nor law, nor justice, has brought into bondage?" "Yet would this have little helped," continues the Chronicle, "had not Master Nicholas Broms, burgomaster of Lubeck, and the principal men of the council remembered, how it had been the purpose of king Christian to oppress the Vendish towns, the rather that he was now also lord of Sweden. For that reason they deemed it was better to dismiss this Gustavus Ericson to his own country; for who knew what he might effect?"

Stockholm and Calmar were the only strong places in Sweden which the enemy had not yet won, and, singularly enough, they were both defended by women. Gustavus had wished to offer his services to Christina Gyllenstierna, and the merchant-ship from Warnemunde which took him on board was bound to Stockholm. But Christian had already blockaded the capital by sea and land, while before Calmar lay a detachment of the Danish fleet, under Severin Norby. Gustavus landed secretly at Stensöe, a promontory in the vicinity of Calmar, and proceeded to the town. John Magnusson, who had hitherto held the command, was the son of the assassin of Engelbert, whom he resembled both in his untameable passions, for he was an accomplice in the homicide, and in his hatred of the Danes. His father, we are told, sacrificed to his remorseful vengeance several Danes who had instigated him to the commission of the deed, and was at last incited by anguish of conscience to an attempt on his own life⁷. Magnusson had lately refused admittance with contumely to Christian himself⁸; but he was now dead, and the castle was held by Anne Bielke, his widow. To her Gustavus repaired and found but a comfortless welcome; for the courage of the burghers had sunk, and the German garrison in the castle was so ill-disposed, that they threatened him with death when he exhorted them to a valiant defence. Being with difficulty protected by the burghers, he quitted the town on the same day on which it was summoned by Severin Norby, and retired to the hilly district of Smaland, among some peasants who held land of his father. He

found the whole country filled with discords and mutual treachery; for the Swedes, it is said, "were so dull and blinded, that they became in many ways the helpers of their oppressors and enemies, who gladly saw them slandering, calumniating, deceiving, and ruining one another." The Smalanders showed anxiety for their own safety in the first place, and had concluded a league with their neighbours of the then Danish province of Bleking, for peaceful intercourse and mutual defence against all acts of violence which might be attempted by either of the two kingdoms. They took also the oath of fidelity to the envoy of Christian, who traversed the country and distributed letters of protection from the king. Many such were at this time issued for the chief men, whether barons or yeomen, of the different provinces, "so that the letter was of more power than the sword¹." Gustavus sometimes appeared in assemblages of the peasants, and "warned them against the banquet which was now prepared for the Swedes." Their usual answer was, that king Christian would take order that there should be no scarcity either of herrings or salt in the country; and some shot bolts and arrows at him. A revolt of the East-Goths was already quelled; the West-Goths and the Vemelanders, as also the Smalanders, had submitted to the king². Upper Sweden alone was disturbed, and Gustavus from the first determined to repair to Dalecarlia, as we learn from his proposal to a nobleman of Smaland to accompany him thither³. Pursued, disguised, and wandering mostly in lonely tracks, a price having been already set upon his head⁴, where he concealed himself during a great portion of this summer is unknown; but in the month of September he arrived without money or clothes at the manor of Tarna, in Sudermania, where he found his brother-in-law, Joachim Brahe, already summoned to the coronation⁵, and in vain entreated him not to obey the call.

The son of Joachim Brahe, in his Chronicle, has acquainted us with his father's answer. "I am specially cited to the coronation," he said; "if I should remain absent, what would then become of my wife and children? Perhaps ill might even come of it for her and your parents, as well as for others of our friends. With you the matter stands quite otherwise, for not many know where you are. It can go no worse with me than with all the Swedish lords who are already gathered about the king." In this prudent mood the baron departed, to meet in their company an unexpected death.

After visiting his brother-in-law and his sister Margaret, Gustavus repaired to his father's estate of Råfness, and there lived for some time under hiding. He made himself known to the old arch-

which he had been repelled at Calmar. Hadorph on the Rhyme Chronicle.

¹ Olave Peterson.

² Messenius, *Scandia*, iv. 85.

³ Bengt Ericson of Scälness, in the parish of Hult, hundred of South Wedbo. He had already received the king's protection, repaired to Stockholm, and perished in the massacre.

⁴ Narrative of Clement Rensel, *Scandinavian Memoirs*, ii.

⁵ This summons could not have been issued before the surrender of Stockholm on the 7th September, after which the king, returning for a short time to Denmark, convoked the coronation diet for the 1st November.

⁷ Even after his elevation to the throne, Gustavus defended himself against the charge of having broken his word to Eric Baner, and drawn upon him by flight the appointed penalty, which Christian in fact demanded. "We lay not there," he says, "as a captive, and had given him no pledge to remain there, although we hear that he so allegeth without any proof." Letter to Magnus Göye, to bid Eric Ericson desist from such words as stain the king's honour and good repute. Register in the State Archives for 1529.

⁸ Joannes Magnus, who had been tutor in the son's family.

⁹ He complains in a letter to the West-Goths, dated Calmar Sound, May 3, 1520, of the refractoriness and insolence with

bishop, Jacob Ulfson, who had sought refuge in the neighbouring cloister of Mariæfred, and received from him a detail of the state of things in this part of the country, where the enemy, on first penetrating, had been met by a stout resistance, though from a peasantry left without leaders. In the conflict of Balundsas⁶, and the still bloodier action fought shortly after at Upsala, which might have been changed into a victory, had not the peasants dispersed to plunder⁷, the royal forces had suffered great loss. The Dalesmen had taken part in this rising; whence their first answer to Gustavus when he attempted to rouse them was, that they well remembered Good-Friday at Upsala⁸. Exasperation against the prelates, all of whom, excepting bishop Arvid of Abo, were of the Danish faction, and the barons, who had allowed themselves to be employed by the king as intriguers, had occasioned tumults and violence in some places. Jacob Ulfson had been himself surprised in his manor of Arnö; bishop Otho of Westeras was seized in his own cathedral; bishop Brask of Linköping was besieged by the East-Gothlanders; Eric Abrahamson, who had pointed out to the enemy the road across the Tiwed, was made prisoner by the peasants of Nerike; and Hemming Gadd was well-nigh slain when he ventured to speak of the capitulation of Stockholm.

Since the resolution taken by Steno Sturê the younger, with the estates at the diet of Arboga in 1517, "rather to die sword in hand than to submit to king Christian," rapid progress had been made with the fortifications of Stockholm. The old defensive works had been improved or reconstructed. The town was well supplied with military stores, and the king, who had besieged it throughout the summer, gave it up for lost if it were not reduced before the winter. This the Swedish barons in his camp procured, and Stockholm was given up by the nobles in the town, "against the will of the commonalty⁹."

The clergy at this juncture saw more distinctly than any other class, that the fate of the union must now be decided once for all, and wished to soften the impending eruption by dexterous management. "If we inquire," said bishop Matthias of Strengness to the peasants of Nerike, "the real cause of those pernicious troubles which have so long raged in this realm, the truth plainly is, that their source and commencement were the dissensions prevailing among the barons; of whom

there were some that raised themselves to the power of kings and chiefs, stripping the council of its legitimate authority, and by lying discourses and rumours crept into favour with the commons of Sweden, whose simplicity and good-will they used for their own purposes in the name of the country¹?" These expressions of the bishop found many who assented to them, and a similar judgment was often passed upon the Sturês. The king rewarded all submission with the most gracious promises, while the infliction of the cruellest penalties on those who had ventured to stir up the peasants discovered the lengths to which his vengeance might extend. Most of those who possessed any rank or consequence in the country at this time, desired that the state of insecurity and confusion which had so long subsisted should be terminated; and the father of Gustavus himself, in conjunction with the remaining barons of the kingdom, set his seal to the act by which Christian, on the 30th October preceding his coronation, was declared hereditary king of Sweden².

The old archbishop advised Gustavus likewise to submit to the present order of things, informing him that he was already included in the amnesty which had been stipulated at the surrender of Stockholm³, and offered his mediation with the king. Once after such a conversation, when Jacob Ulfson had employed his eloquence in vain, it happened that an old servant of Joachim Brahe presented himself at the castle of Gripsholm⁴, and rather by sighs and tears than words, imparted the first tidings of the massacre of Stockholm. The terrible news was soon confirmed. The archbishop was dumb from horror, and Gustavus prepared for flight.

It was on the 25th November that he rode away secretly from the house at Refsness, accompanied by a single servant, who robbed and deserted him at crossing Kolsund's Ferry. Gustavus took his way to Dalecarlia, and arrived at the Kopparberg at the end of the month. He was now clad in a peasant's dress, and worked for daily hire in this quarter, where the common people still remember with pride, that Gustavus plied axe and flail among their forefathers, and have stored up in their memories his adventures and perils. The barn in which Gustavus threshed at Rankhytta, is preserved as "a state monument⁵;" as are also the barn in the hamlet of Isala⁶, where he likewise

II., transmitted to his majesty (Charles John) from Munich, and now in Christiania.

¹ Assurance of the burgesses of Örebro, and yeomanry of Nerike, September 29, 1520. Hadorph on the Rhyne Chronicle.

² In support of this nomination were alleged the pretended descent of Christian from St. Eric, as well as that enactment of the Land's Law, that the king's sons should have preference in the election; wherefore, as Christian was the sole surviving son of his father, the principle of hereditary right, and not that of election, should be applied. So had the imperial legate, Dr. Suckot, and the Danish bishop, Jens Beldenacke, explained the law of Sweden to the estates. See the document in Hvítfeld.

³ His name is found in the letter of protection to Christina Gyllenstierna. Hadorph, *ibid*.

⁴ He is called the Goodman (gulbbe) of Trannevvick; Joachim Brahe's farmer or renter; though Celsius has made of the latter term a rentmaster, or intendant.

⁵ Royal letter of April 26, 1668.

⁶ King Charles XI. visited it in 1684. It is now marked by a monument of porphyry, with this inscription, "Hære

⁶ Half a mile east of Westeras. The place is still called Jute-bog.

⁷ "Because they had no such leaders as they greatly needed." Olave Peterson. He reckons the peasants slain on this occasion at some hundreds, while Hvítfeld, who generally follows his authority in Swedish affairs with literal closeness, makes them ten thousand, and others double the number. So discrepant are the historical accounts of this war, composed after popular legends.

⁸ The battle took place on Good-Friday, April 5, 1520. See the old Dale song in the Svenska Folkvisor (Swedish Popular Songs), v. ii.

⁹ Olave Peterson. The capitulation of Stockholm is subscribed by the archbishop Gustavus Trolle, the bishops Matthias of Strengness and Otho of Westeras, as also by twelve of the councillors present, and among them Gustavus's father. In this they engage to hold the castle for king Christian, and after his death for his queen and son; on the side of the burghers a similar guarantee was given; both are dated Sept. 8, 1520. The originals are in the archives of Christian

laboured, and the house at Orness, where his life (as was more than once the case) was saved by the sympathy and decision of a woman. The place in the forest at Marness⁷, where he lay three days concealed under a fallen fir-tree, and the peasants brought him food; the hillock surrounded by marshes, on Asby moor⁸, which also served him for some time as a place of refuge; that cellar in the hamlet of Utmedland⁹, where he hid from his pursuers; the spot where he haraunged the peasants of the Dales, by the church of Mora; all these are still shown by the descendants of those who formerly shared his dangers, which are as little likely to be forgotten, as the treachery of Arendt Person, or the good faith of SWENO ELFSON.

The former was a nobleman, owner of the estate of Orness, whither GUSTAVUS proceeded from Rankhytta. A gold-embroidered shirt-collar, under the woollen jerkin, had discovered the distinguished thrasher to a maid-servant at the latter place, on which the master of the house, the rich miner Anders Person, refused to harbour him any longer. Arendt Person, as well as the latter-named individual, had been the school companion of Gustavus at Upsala, and received him now with friendly words and assurances of welcome; but went on the very same day to Bennet Brunson, the king's bailiff in the district, with whom next morning he returned, attended by twenty men, to seize his guest. The object of their search had however disappeared; its failure was owing to Barbara Stigsdotter, the wife of Arendt, who thus incurred the irreconcilable enmity of her husband. Suspecting treachery in him, she had warned Gustavus in the night, and furnished him with a horse, sledge, and guide, by which he escaped to Master Jon, the priest of Swærdsjö. In this neighbourhood dwelt the king's ranger Sven Elfson, who, with his wife, now granted shelter to the persecuted fugitive, and afterwards accompanied him to his friends, Peter and Matthew Olson of Marness, who kept him concealed in the forest. It was on this journey that Gustavus was wounded, being concealed in a load of straw, which the emissaries of the bailiff were searching with their spears; and he would have been betrayed by the blood dropping on the snow, had not the faithful ranger taken the precaution, when unobserved, of cutting his horse in the foot, so that it bled. Nor must we decline to state, as an example both of the dangers and manners of that time, that Gustavus in his fugitive condition was obliged for his own safety even to shed blood. His arrival in Dalecarlia had now become notorious. Among those whom Henry of Mellen, the king's lieutenant in the castle of Westeras, had despatched to this province "to seize or kill him, or at least do him prejudice with the Dalesmen," was Nicholas the West-Goth, under-bailiff in Dalecarlia. Meantime, it is said, Rasmus the Jute, a Dane, formerly a soldier with Steno Sturé, but now a resident in Dalecarlia, had joined Gustavus. They surprised the bailiff at his official abode in Mora, and slew him¹.

worked as a thrasher Gustavus Ericson, pursued by the foes of the realm, but selected by Providence to be the saviour of the country. His descendant in the sixth generation, Gustavus III., raised this memorial." The barn still belongs to the family of Sweno Elfson, and his eighth successor received a medal from Gustavus III. in 1787.

⁷ In the parish of Swærdsjöe.

⁸ In the parish of Leksand; it is still called King's Hill.

Gustavus first spoke to the people at the church of Rettwick, and afterwards at Mora in Christmas-tide. He bade the old to consider well, and the young to inform themselves, what manner of tyranny foreigners had set up in Sweden, and how much they themselves had suffered and ventured for the freedom of the realm; the remembrance neither of Jösse Ericson's oppressions, nor of Engelbert's heroism, had yet died away in the Dales; Sweden was now trampled underfoot by the Danes, and its noblest blood had been shed; his own father had chosen "rather with his associates, the honour-loving nobles, in God's name to die²," than to be spared and survive them; might they now show themselves men who wished to guard their native land from slavery, then would he become, by God's help, their chief, and risk life and welfare for their freedom and the deliverance of the realm. So, it is said, ran his discourse; but the matter was yet too new for the peasants of the Dales. The rumour of Christian's cruelties had yet hardly penetrated to these distant quarters, nor did they know this stranger who spoke to them, and who, deserted by all others, sought there a refuge. The peasants of Rettwick declared their sympathy, but would undertake nothing unless after deliberation with the other parishes. From the men of Mora he received at this time an answer no wise favourable; they said that they were resolved to remain true to the homage they had sworn to king Christian, and bade him "take himself off whither he could." In the last days of 1520, Gustavus continued his flight over the wilderness which separates East from West Dalecarlia.

Meanwhile the Dalesmen came to a better disposition. Shortly after Gustavus quitted Rettwick, several of the Swedish nobles of the Danish faction arrived there with the view of securing his person. Some peasants who saw them coming in with about a hundred horse on the ice of lake Silian, hastened to the church and rang the bells. The wind blew towards the upper country; a great concourse of people assembled as was their wont on occasions of common peril, and the strangers, who had sought refuge, partly in the priest's house, and partly in the tower, which long afterwards shewed marks of the Dalesmen's arrows, could only ransom their lives by the assurance that they would do no harm to Gustavus.

About the new year there arrived at Mora Lawrence Olavson, a captain of great experience in the service of Steno Sturé the younger, and shortly after a nobleman of Upland named John Michelson. They drew so lively a picture of the massacre in Stockholm, that the bystanders were affected to tears. The Eric's-gait of the king, they said, was at hand; his way would be marked by gallows and wheel; all the arms of the Swedish peasants would be wrested from them and consumed³, and if their limbs were left mutilated, a stick in the hand would be the only weapon allowed them for the future; the imposition of a new tax

⁹ In the parish of Mora.

¹ So the Manuscript Chronicles, which Tegel has not here followed exactly.

² Such is said to have been the answer of lord Eric Johanson, when Christian offered him his life.

³ This was actually done upon the king's journey from Stockholm, whence the peasants, as the Rhyme Chronicle says, called him king Peasack.

for the maintenance of the foreign troops was daily expected⁴. The people murmured, and complained that they had allowed Gustavus Ericson to depart. In this, their new guests told them they had done wrong; such a noble leader they stood much in need of; many a worthy Swedish warrior was now wandering like themselves, a fugitive in the forests, who would never submit to the domination of the Danes, but lead a free life so long as he might, until Sweden should receive from God a captain and chief, for whom he would willingly put to hazard his life and welfare. The Dalecarlians now sent off runners on snow-skates to seek out Gustavus day and night, and bring him back. They found him in the hamlet of Selu, in the upper part of the parish of Lima, whence he intended to seek a path across the mountains to Norway.

He returned in their company to MORA, where the principal and most influential yeomen of all the parishes in the eastern and western Dales elected him to be "lord and chieftain over them and the commons of the realm of Sweden⁵." Some scholars who had arrived from Westeras, brought with them new accounts of the tyranny of Christian. Gustavus placed them amidst a ring of peasants to tell their story, and answer the questions of the crowd. Old men represented it as a comfortable sign for the people, that as often as Gustavus discoursed to them the north wind always blew, "which was an old token to them, that God would grant them good success." Sixteen active peasants were appointed to be his body-guard; and two hundred more youths who joined him were called his foot-goers. The chronicles reckon his reign from this small beginning; while the Danes and their abettors in Stockholm long continued to speak of him and his party as a band of robbers in the woods.

Thus the DALESMEN swore fidelity to GUSTAVUS, the inhabitants, namely, of the upper parishes on both arms of the Dal-elf, where a numerous people, living amidst wild yet grand natural scenery, and hardened by privations, is still known by that name. Gustavus came to the Kopparberg with several hundred men in the early part of February 1521, there took prisoner his enemy Christopher Olson⁶, the powerful warden of the mines, made himself master of the money collected for the crown dues, and of the wares of the Danish traders on the spot, distributed both the money and goods among his men, (who made their first standard from the silk stuffs there taken,) and then returned to the Dales. Not long afterwards, on a Sunday, when the people of the Kopparberg were at church, Gustavus again appeared at the head of fifteen hundred Dalesmen. He spoke to the people after divine service, and now the miners likewise swore fidelity to his cause. Thereupon the commonalty of

the mining districts and the Dalesmen wrote to the commons of Helsingland, requesting that the Helsingers might bear themselves like true Swedish men against the overbearing violence and tyranny of the Danes. Those cruelties which king Christian had already exercised on the best in the land, they said, would soon reach every man's door, and fill all the houses of Sweden with the tears and shrieks of widows and orphans; if they would take up arms and show themselves to be stout-hearted men, there was now good hope of victory and triumph under a praiseworthy captain, the lord Gustavus Ericson, whom God had preserved "as a drop of the knightly blood of Sweden;" wherefore they begged them to give their help for the sake of the brotherly league by which, since early times, the commonalty of both countries had been united. Ten years afterwards, the Dalecarlians recall the fact⁷, that they had received a friendly answer to the request which their accredited messengers had preferred on that occasion, and that their neighbours the Helsingers had promised to stand by them as one man, "whatever evils might befall them from the oppression of foreign or native masters." When Gustavus had begun the siege of Stockholm, every third man of the Helsingers in fact marched thither to strengthen his army. Yet at first they hesitated to embrace the cause, although Gustavus himself went among them, and spoke to the assembled people from the barrow on the royal domain of Norrala. Thence he proceeded to Gestricland, where fugitives from Stockholm had already prepared men's minds. The burghers of Gefle, and commissioners from several parishes, swore fidelity to him in the name of the whole province. Here the rumour reached him, that the Dalecarlians had already suffered a defeat; he hastened back, and soon received an account of the first victory of his followers.

Theodorice Slagheck⁸, the principal instigator of the Stockholm massacre, had been appointed the king's lieutenant in Sweden. He was also inducted into the see of Skara, vacant by the murder of its bishop, as was Jens Beldenacke⁹ into that of Streugness; "strange men for such an office," says Olave Peterson, "as they well proved by their actions." They administered public affairs from their station in the capital, in conjunction with those of the Swedish councillors whom the axe of the executioner had spared, or who did not blush with such names to associate their own. The magistrates of Stockholm, under the influence of the Danish garrison and the Germans of the town, whose hatred is said to have cost many of the Swedish burgesses their lives¹, showed at this time great zeal for the cause of king Christian. Gorius Holst and Claus Boye, the former an accomplice, the latter well-nigh a victim in the massacre, now

⁷ In another letter to the Helsingers. Tröll, *ibid*.

⁸ Or as he was called in Sweden, Slagheck. He was by birth a Hollander, formerly a barber, and a kinsman of the huckster Sigbrit, who, even after the death of her daughter Divika, preserved all her influence over Christian.

⁹ Jens Anderson, so called from his baldness. He had been bishop of Odense.

¹ "The Tyske redde fast thertill,
Som ene ville regera köpmannsspill."
(Thereto the Germans fast plans lay,
Alone in chapmanhede to sway.)

says the Rhyme Chronicle of the massacre of Stockholm.

⁴ This year the great silver-tax, for the payment of the troops, was levied in Sweden. Ilvifeld. The Rhyme Chronicle complains that it was rigorously exacted.

⁵ So the Dalecarlians express themselves in a subsequent letter regarding this election. (Tröll, *Memoirs for the History of the Swedish Reformation*, iv. 356.) It was therefore the election of an administrator undertaken on their own authority. It is also clear that Gustavus bore that title previously to the election in Vadstena.

⁶ Swinhufvud (Swinhead), brother of Otho, bishop of Westeras.

vied in ardour for him, as burgomasters of the town, and maintained an active correspondence with the king². So early as the tenth of February, 1521, they wrote to him "that some disturbance had been excited by Gustavus Ericson, which it might be feared would extend to several provinces." Letters of the magistracy of Stockholm, which were sent over the whole kingdom, warned the people to avoid all participation in the revolt. Relief was supplicated from the king; additions were made to the fortifications of the capital, sloops and barks were equipped, in order, as it was said, to deprive "Gustavus Ericson and his company of malefactors of all opportunity of quitting the country," but really to keep the approaches on the side of the sea open, which were obstructed by the fishers and peasants of the islets, who had begun to take arms for Gustavus. Special admonitory letters were despatched to Helsingland and Dalecarlia, signed by Gustavus Trollé, his father Eric Trollé, and Canute Bennetson (Sparre) of Engsoe, styling themselves the council of the realm of Sweden, by which, however, say the chronicles, the royal cause was rather damaged than strengthened. "For when the Dalesmen and miners heard the letter, they said it was manifest to them that the council at this time was but small and thin, since it consisted of only three men, and these of little weight."

Gustavus Trollé, the Danish bishops, Canute Bennetson above-named, and Henry of Mellen, the king's lieutenant at Westeras, (where they had recently been assembled with commissioners from the magistracy of Stockholm, by bishop Otho,) now marched with six thousand men of horse and foot towards the Dal river, and encamped at the ferry of Brunbäck. On the other side the Dalecarlians guarded this frontier of their country, under the command of Peter Swenson of Viderboda, a powerful miner, whom Gustavus had appointed their captain in his absence. When those in the Danish camp observed how the Dalesmen shot their arrows across the stream, bishop Beldenacke is said to have inquired of the Swedish lords present, (to use the words of the chronicles,) "how great a force the tract above the Long Wood (the forest on the boundary between Westmanland and Dalecarlia) could furnish at the utmost?" Answer was made to him, full twenty thousand men. Yet further he asked, where so many mouths might obtain sustenance? To this it was replied, that the people were not used to dainty meats. They drunk for the most part nothing but water, and, if need were,

² Gorius Holst, while the town was yet reeking with the blood of the leading inhabitants, gave the king a great banquet, with dancing and other revelry. See his own note thereupon in the minute-book of the town of Stockholm, quoted by Muhrberg, *Memoirs of the Academy*, iv. 86. Claus Boye escaped the massacre from the circumstance of his corpulence hindering the soldiers in their hurry from pulling him through the prison-doors.

³ Squirrels.

⁴ Beer supposed to be flavoured with wild rosemary. See p. 90, n. 1. T.

⁵ Snökskräforna och Furufnatten i träd
Väl Dalpilen rakar uppa,
Christiern den blodracken ock med
Skull ingalunda bättre ga.

Sa körde de Jutar i Brunnebäck's elf,
Sa vattnet dem porlade om,
De sörjde deröfwer att Christiern sjelf
Han ej der tillika omkom.

could be satisfied with bark-bread. Then Beldenacke declared, "men who eat wood and drink water the devil himself could not overcome, much less any one else: brethren, let us leave this place!" The story makes the Danes hereupon prepare for breaking up their encampment. However this may be, it is certain that Peter Swenson, with the Dalesmen, crossed the Dal secretly, by a circuit, at Uttsund's Ferry, surprised the camp, and put the foe to the rout. An old lay of the Dales still sings:—

Fir-hoppers³ and ptarmigans in the tree,
The Dale-arrow hits right well;
With bloodhound Christian, the foe of the free,
'Twill hardly better mell.

Headlong the Jutes tumbled in Brunnebäck's elf,
While the waters purred merrily round;
And sad they grieved that Christian's self
Had not like fortune found.

So now the Jutes ran all with might and main,
Loud raising this pitiful dirge;
The fiend or he the porse-beer⁴ might drain,
That was brewed in the Dale-carl's forge⁵.

Gustavus had himself dealt with the inhabitants of Helsingland and Gestricland, in order to insure himself against leaving foes in his rear; and, after his return to the Dales, he prepared for an expedition into the lower country. He assembled his troops at Hedemora, and sought to inure them to habits of order and obedience by military exercises. The Dale peasant had no fire-arms, and knew little of discipline; his weapons were the axe, the bow, the pike, and the sling; the latter sometimes throwing pieces of red-hot iron⁶. Gustavus instructed his men to fashion their arrows in a more effective shape, and increased the length of the spear by four or five feet, with a view to repel the attacks of cavalry⁷. He caused monetary tokens to be struck; an expedient which seems to have been not uncommon in Sweden, since, from a remote period, even leather money is mentioned⁸. The coins now struck at Hedemora were of copper, with a small admixture of silver, similar to those introduced by the king, and called Christian's *klippings*; on one side was the impress of an armed man, on the other, arrows laid cross-wise, with three crowns.

Gustavus broke up from his quarters, and marched across the Long Wood into Westmanland. His course lay through districts which bore traces yet fresh of the enemy's passage. The peasantry rose

Sa togo de Jutar nu alle till flykt
Och leto slikt ömkeligt quäd;
Hin ma mer dricka det Porsöl de bryggt,
I smedjan vid Dalkarlens städ.

In another old ballad on the same affair it is said—

Brunnebäck's elf is deep and broad,
With drowning Jutes its waves we load;
So from Sweden the Danes were chased out.
Brunbäck's elf är väl djup, också bred,
Falvilom,
Der sänkte vi sa mange Jutar ned,
Falvilivilivilom,
Sa körde de Dansken ur Sverige,
Falvilom.

(The termination *bäck*, brook, answers to burn in English, as Brunneburn. TRANS.)

⁶ Olaus Magnus, vii. 16.

⁷ Ibid. c. 5.

⁸ *Coriaria pecunia certis argenteis punctis, quibus valor in poudere et numero pensaretur, variata.* Ibid. c. 12.

as he advanced. On St. George's Day, the 23d of April, he mustered his army at the church of Romferta. The number is stated by the chronicles at from fifteen to twenty thousand men⁹, yet on the correctness of this little reliance can be placed, even if we do not absolutely class this account with those which compare the multitude of Dalesmen in the fight of Brunneläck to the sands on the sea-shore and the leaves of the forest, and their arrows to the hail of the storm-cloud. The liberation of Sweden by Gustavus Vasa is a history written by the people, and they counted neither themselves nor their foes. The army was now divided under the two generals, Lawrence Olavson and Lawrence Ericson, both practised warriors. Gustavus next issued his declaration of war against Christian, and marched to Westeras. He expected here to be met by the peasants of the western mining district from Linderberg and Nora, who had already taken the oath of fidelity to him through his deputies; but instead of this he was informed that Peter Ugly, one of those entrusted with the performance of this duty, had allowed himself to be surprised at Köping, and cut to pieces with his whole force¹. On the other hand, tidings arrived that the peasants on Wermd Isle had revolted, slain a band of Christian's men in the church itself, and made themselves masters of two of his ships. The letters conveying the news, and magnifying the advantages gained, Gustavus caused to be read aloud to his followers².

Theodoric Slagheck, exercising power with barbarous cruelty and outrage, had himself taken the command of the castle of Westeras. He caused all the feuces of the neighbourhood to be broken down, in order to be able to use his cavalry without impediment against the insurgent peasants, who, on the 29th April, approached the town. Both horsemen and foot, with field-pieces, marched against them; and Gustavus, who had interdicted his men from engaging in a contest with the enemy, intending to defer the attack till the following day, was still at Balundsas, half a mile from the town, when news reached him that his young soldiers were already at blows with their adversaries, and he hastened to their assistance. The Dalecarlians opposed their long pikes to the onset of the cavalry with such effect, that more than four hundred horses having perished in the assault, they were driven back on the infantry, who were posted in their rear, and compelled to flee along with them, while Lawrence Ericson pushed into the town by a circuitous road, and possessed himself of the enemy's artillery in the market-place. When the garrison of the castle observed this, they set fire to the houses by shooting their combustibles, and burned the greatest part of the town. The miners and peasants dispersed to extinguish the flames or to plunder, bartered with one another the goods of the traders in the booths, possessed themselves of the stock of wine in the cathedral and the council-house, seated themselves round the vats, drank and sang. The Danes, reinforced from the

castle, rallied anew, and the victory would undoubtedly have been changed into an overthrow, had not Gustavus sent Lawrence Olavson, with the followers he had kept about him, again into the town, where, after a renewal of the conflict, the foe was put to an utter rout. Many cast away their arms, and threw themselves, between fire and sword, into the waters. Gustavus caused all the stores of spirituous liquors to be destroyed, and beat in the wine-casks with his own hand.

The fight of Westeras, from its influence on public opinion, acquired greater importance than of itself it would have possessed. Little was gained by the conquest of the town, so long as the castle held out; and how unserviceable a force of peasants was for a siege, Gustavus was often subsequently to experience. Wherever the tidings of his victory came, the people revolted, and he was already enabled to divide his power, and to invest the castles of several provinces. Siege was accordingly laid to Stegeborg, Nyköping, and Örebro. A division of the Vermelanders, with the peasants of Rekarne, in Sudermania, was employed in beleaguering the castle of Westeras; of whose exploits, however, nothing else is told than that they shot the councillor Canute Bennetson (Sparre), to whom Slagheck transferred the command, so that he tumbled in his wolf-skin coat from the wall into the stream. Howbeit, another detachment reduced Horningholm in Sudermania; Christian's governors in Vermeland and Dalsland were slain; the people of the former province, under the command of their judiciary, prepared for an attack upon the councillor Thure Jonson, the king's lieutenant in West-Gothland, and, crossing Lake Veuer, entered that district. In Dalsland, 1500 men took up arms; several thousand peasants from Nerike marched across the Tiwed with the same object³. Gustavus had been obliged to grant a furlough to his Dalesmen about seed-time; and to supply their place, he caused the people of several districts of Upland to be summoned to assemble in the forest of Rymningen, at Eresundsbro; from which point his two captains essayed an attack upon the archbishop of Upsala. It was St. Eric's day (May 18th), and a great confluence of people was present at the fair. An assault was expected; for a deputation of four priests and two burgesses, sent from Upsala to the forest, had received from the leaders the answer, that it must be Swedes, not outlandish men, who should bear the shrine of holy Eric, and that they would come to take their part in the festival. Bennet Bjügg (Barley), the archbishop's bailiff, to show his contempt of such foes, caused a banquet to be set out in the open space, between the larger and smaller episcopal manor-houses of that day⁴, where, before the eyes of the people, he made himself and his fellows merry till late in the night with drinking, dancing, and singing. Roused from a late sleep by an assault on the gates of the fortified house, and finding it beset by the enemy, they attempted to escape by a concealed passage, which then connected the bishop's

⁹ Some thousands, the council of Sweden say in their Rescript on the tyrannical government of king Christian in Sweden, June 6, 1523. The Danish account says 5000. Hvifeld.

¹ By the Danish lieutenant Anders Person, who afterwards gave up the castle of Örebro, and received a letter of peace from Gustavus. He was however killed by the relatives of the slain men six years afterwards.

² Narrative of Clement Rensel, l. c. He drew up the letter, which alleged that he had brought 4000 spearmen from Germany for the service of Gustavus.

³ See the annotations of Lawrence Siggeson Sparre; Manuscript in the Upsala Library.

⁴ The former where the Exercise House, the latter where the Academy of Gustavus now stands.

house with the cathedral. But the peasants set fire to this passage, which was of wood, and shot fire-arrows at the roof of the episcopal residence, in which the flames soon burst forth. The building was laid in ashes, and next day the females of the household, with some burghers of Upsala, crept out of its cellars, in which they had taken refuge. Great part of the garrison perished. The bailiff escaped with a wound from an arrow, of which he died after rejoining his master in Stockholm.

This prelate, archbishop Gustavus Trolle, had lately returned from a journey to Helsingland, undertaken in order to retain this part of his diocese in its allegiance to the king. Shortly afterwards, he received by a messenger from Gustavus, who had himself come to Upsala at Whitsuntide, a letter exhorting him to embrace the cause of his country, to which his chapter had been persuaded to annex a memorial to the same effect. The archbishop detained the messenger, saying that he would carry the answer himself. He broke up immediately with 500 German horse and 3000 foot of the garrison of Stockholm, and had come within half a mile of Upsala, before Gustavus received intelligence of his approach. This the latter did not at first credit, but remained expecting an answer to his overture of negotiation; until, about six in the morning, being on horseback upon the sand-hill near Upsala, the spot where he afterwards built a royal castle, he saw the archbishop marching across the King's Mead (Kungsäng) towards the town. Gustavus had but two hundred of his so-called foot-goers, and a small number of horse with him, for the peasants had returned to their homes. He made a hasty retreat, but was overtaken by Trolle's horsemen at the ford of Laby. Here a young Finnish noble who was next to him, in the confusion rode down his horse in the midst of the stream; and he would have been lost, had not the rest of his followers turned upon the enemy with such effect, as to make them desist from the pursuit.

Gustavus now betook himself to the forest of Rymningen, raised the peasantry of the adjoining districts, and sent out the young men under his best captains to surprise the archbishop on his return. The remains of cattle slaughtered on the road betrayed the ambush to the prelate, who drew off in another direction. He was nevertheless overtaken and attacked, escaping the spear of Lawrence Olavesson, only by bending downwards on his horse, so that the weapon pierced his neighbour, and brought back to Stockholm hardly a sixth part of his army. Gustavus followed close after with his collected force, and encamped under the Brunkeberg. Four gibbets on this eminence, stocked with the corpses of Swedish inhabitants, attested the character of the government in the capital.

Thus began, at Midsummer of 1521, the siege of Stockholm, which was to last full two years, amidst difficulties little thought of now-a-days, after the lapse of ages, and the admiration which men so willingly render to exertions in the cause of freedom, have deprived events of their original colours. The path of Gustavus was not in general one of glittering feats, although his life is in itself one grand achievement. What he accomplished was the effect of strong endurance, and great sagacity; and though he wanted not for intrepidity,

it was of a kind before which the mere warrior must veil his crest. All the remaining movements of the war of liberation consisted in sieges of the various castles and fortresses of the country, undertaken as opportunity offered, with levies of the peasantry, whose detachments relieved each other, though sometimes neglecting this duty when pressed by the cares or necessities of their own families. Hence the object of these investments, which was to deprive the besieged of provisions, could only be imperfectly attained, and there were many fortified mansions, of which the proprietors adhered to the Danish party, as that of Wik in Uppland, which remained blockaded throughout a whole year. These difficulties were the most formidable where, as at Stockholm, access was open by the sea, of which Severin Norby, with the Danish squadron, was master. The scantiness of the means of attack may be discovered from the circumstance, that sixty German spearmen, whom Clement Rensel, a burgher of Stockholm, himself a narrator of these events, brought from Dantzic in July, for the service of Gustavus, were regarded as a reinforcement of the highest importance. "At this time," say the Chronicles, "Lord Gustave enjoyed not much repose or many pleasant days, when he kept his people in so many campings and investments; since he bore for them all great anxiety, fear, and peril, how he might lend them help in their need, so that they might not be surprised through heedlessness and laches. So likewise his pain was not small when he had but little in his money-chest, and it was grievous to give this answer, when the folk cried for stipend. Therefore he stayed not many days in the same place, but travelled day and night between the camps."

In the month of August, he arrived at Stegeborg, which was now besieged by his general, Arwid the West-Goth, who had recently repulsed with great bravery Severin Norby's attempt to relieve the castle, and had even begun to take homage for Gustavus from the people of his province, although in this he experienced difficulties. The East-Goths declared that they had been so chastised for their attack on the bishop's castle at Linköping, the preceding year, that they no longer dared to provoke either king Christian or bishop Hans Brask. The personal presence of Gustavus decided the waverers, and even the bishop received him as a friend, because he would otherwise have stood in danger of a hostile visitation. Gustavus now convoked a diet of barons at VADSTENA, which was attended by seventy Swedish gentlemen of noble family, and by many other persons of all classes in Gothland. These made him a tender of the crown, which he refused to accept. On the 24th of August, therefore, they swore fealty and obedience to him as Administrator of the kingdom: "in like manner," add the Chronicles, "as had formerly been done in Uppland;" whence they seem to have assumed that he had already been acknowledged as such in Upper Sweden, here called Uppland, as we often find it in the Chronicles of the middle age. This was the first public declaration of the nobility in favour of Gustavus and his cause; although the greatest barons in this division of the kingdom, such as Nils Boson (Grip), Holger Carlson (Gere), and Thure Jeuson (Roos) in West-Gothland, all three councillors of state, were still in arms for Christian. That the first-named noble-

man joined the party of Gustavus before the end of the year, we know from his letter of thanks, for a fief of which he received the investiture⁵. Both the latter were proclaimed in 1523, to be enemies of the realm⁶, as was also the archbishop Gustavus Trollé. He had repaired to Denmark two years before, in order to obtain, by his personal instances with the king, the often promised relief for the besieged garrison of Stockholm, but was received with coldness and reproaches.

After the baronial diet of Vadstena, the Gothlanders acknowledged the authority of the administrator, and the Danes having been driven out of West-Gothland and Småland, the seat of the war was removed to Finland. By the commencement of next year, the principal castles of the interior had fallen into the hands of Gustavus, and some, as those of Westeras and Örebro, were razed to the ground by the exasperated peasantry. Stockholm and Calmar, as well as Abo in Finland, yet stood out, and by help of the reinforcement which they received at the beginning of 1522, through the Danish admiral, Severin Norby, the enemy were again able to resume the offensive. By sallies from the beleaguered capital on the seventh, eighth, and thirtieth of April, the camp of Gustavus was set on fire and destroyed, and for a whole month afterwards no Swedish force was seen before the walls of Stockholm. The besiegers of Abo were likewise driven off, and the chief adherents of Gustavus being obliged to flee from Finland, Arvid, bishop of Abo, with many noble persons of both sexes, perished at sea.

Christian himself added to the detestation with which he was regarded in Sweden by new cruelties. The wives and children of the most distinguished among the barons beheaded in Stockholm had been conveyed to Denmark, and among them the mother and two sisters of Gustavus, whom the king, in spite of the entreaties of his consort, threw into a dungeon. Here they died, either by violence, as Gustavus himself complains in his letter of 1522, concerning the cruel oppression of king Christian, directed to the Pope, the emperor, and all Christian princes⁷, or as others assert of the plague. An order had also been recently issued by the king to his commanders in Sweden, to put to death all the Swedes of distinction who had fallen into their hands. The Chronicles say that Severin Norby had received this order so early as the summer of 1521, but instead of complying with it, permitted the escape of many noblemen, who afterwards did homage to Gustavus at Vadstena, in order, as he expressed it, that they might rather guard their necks like warriors, than be slaughtered like chickens. But in Abo a new massacre was perpetrated at the beginning of next year by lord Thomas, the royalist commander there, who afterwards, in an attempt to relieve Stockholm, fell with all his ships into the hands of Gustavus, and was hanged upon an oak in Tynnels island⁸.

After Severin Norby had relieved the capital, the secretary, master Gotschalk Ericson, wrote thence to Christian⁹, "that there were but eighty of the burghers, for the most part Germans, who could be counted on for the king's service, but of footmen and gunners in the castle there were now 850 men, well furnished with all; the peasants were indeed weary of the war, but were still more fearful of the king's vengeance, and put faith in no assurances, whence the country could only be reduced to obedience by violent methods; if a sufficient force were sent, East-Gothland, Södermanland, and Upland would submit to the king, and his grace could then punish the Dalecarlians and Helsingers, who first stirred up these troubles." The governor of the castle of Stockholm informs the king in a report on the military occurrences of the winter, "that his men had compelled him to consent to an increase of pay on account of the successes they had gained; that he had expelled from the town, or imprisoned, the suspected Swedish burghers; that the peasants would rather be hanged on their own hearths than longer endure the burdens of the war; that Gustavus, who had in vain tempted his fidelity, had already sent his plate, and the chief part of his own moveable property, to a priest in Helsingland; he (the governor) also transmitted an inventory of the goods of the decapitated nobles¹⁰."

But by the end of one month Gustavus, who in this letter is styled "a forest thief and robber," had again filled three camps around Stockholm with Dalesmen and Norrlanders; and when, pursuant to a convention with Lubeck, he received thence, in the month of June, an auxiliary force of ten ships, a number that was afterwards augmented, he was enabled to dispense with the greatest portion of his peasants, and retained about him only those who were young and unmarried. The assistance of the Lubeckers it was true was given only by halves, and from selfish motives; they did not forget their profit on the arms, purchased Swedish iron and copper for klippings, with which worthless coins they came well provided, and exacted a dear price for their men, ships, and military stores, refusing even, it is said, to supply Gustavus with two pieces of cannon at a decisive moment, although upon the proffered security of two of the royal castles. This occurred on occasion of a second, and this time unsuccessful, attempt made by Norby to relieve Stockholm; in which he was only saved from ruin by the refusal of the admiral of Lubeck to attack. Meanwhile Gustavus, despite the losses which he sustained by sallies, pushed his three camps by degrees close to the town, then covering little more than the island which still contains the town properly so called. At length, after Kingsholm², Laugholm, Södermalm, Waldemar's island, now the Zoological Gardens, had been connected by float-bridges, and the port closed with block-houses and chains, the place was invested on all sides. Yet it held out through the winter, until the news of Christian's fate, joined

Thomas. Junker was a title given to the sons of noblemen, equivalent to our lord or squire. T.)

⁹ See the letter in Hvitfeld, dated February 22, 1522.

¹ Paper in the Archives of king Christian II. entitled, "Schedule of Articles to the King's Majesty of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, my most gracious Lord," together with a subsequent letter of April 29, from Henrik Slagheck, perhaps a brother of Theodoric.

² Then called Munklider (monk's shed or barn).

⁵ Published by Fant; de Historicis Gustavi I.

⁶ Holger Carlson reconciled himself in 1524 with Gustavus. Nils Bosen was slain in 1525 by the peasants of Wingaker.

⁷ See Hadorph on the Rhyme Chronicle, where the letter, in which Gustavus styles himself governor (gubernator) of Sweden, is dated the 29th December, 1523, but incorrectly.

⁸ With a bast rope. He expressed great disgust at the method of his execution, as being an indignity. (Junker

to the pangs of hunger, deprived the garrison of all spirit for further resistance.

That monarch, after having caused so much bloodshed in Sweden, had made a splendid visit to his brother-in-law, the emperor Charles V., in the Netherlands, to solicit the arrears of his queen's dowry, and obtain assistance from the emperor in his quarrel with duke Frederic of Holstein, his uncle by the father's side, and the Hanse Towns. Such was the number and variety of the designs with which he was generally occupied, and the impetuosity with which he commenced, abandoned, then resumed them, that he soon evoked from these schemes so many weapons which might be turned against himself. It was to the celebrated Erasmus that he declared, in the course of this journey, "men accomplish nothing by gentle means; the most powerful agents are always those which shake the whole body³." He wished to crush the power of the clergy and nobility, to elevate the burghers and peasants, break the commercial power of the Hanse Towns, annex Holstein, conquer Sweden, and, above all, to rule with absolute sway; he wished to effect all this by laws⁴, schools, executions, fraud and arms at once, and with a violence only exceeded, if possible, by the levity with which he passed from one extreme to another, and embraced all methods as legitimate. It was the same Christian who made a papal bull the pretext for his cruelty in Sweden, and wished to introduce the Reformation in Denmark; the same who maintained a correspondence with Luther, and called Carlstadt to Copenhagen, and who, when an investigation into the murders in Stockholm was threatened from Rome, made application to the pope for the canonization of two saints; the same who raised his favourite, the universally abhorred Didrik Slagheck, to be archbishop of Lund, and afterwards caused him to be put to death by the gallows and stake, in the presence of a papal legate, as the contriver of the massacre⁵. One year after this revolting attempt to rid himself of the imputation, Christian, just as he was on the point of imposing a fresh tax for the payment of his newly levied soldiery, received a letter of renunciation from the Danish council⁶, in which they informed him, that having taken into consideration the rigorous and dangerous government which had been used in his time, as also what had been done in Stockholm,

where so many bishops, knights, and good men had lost their lives without law or right, they dreaded lest the same fate should at length be brought home to their own doors "by the instigation of that bad woman Sigbrit⁷, who maligned the nobility of the realm as rogues and traitors, especially seeing that foreign mercenaries were again called into the kingdom; wherefore they disclaimed homage and fealty to him." The crown was offered to Frederic, duke of Holstein, who accepted it, and concluded a league with the Hanse Towns. It was in vain that the people of Zealand, where Christian had lightened the fetters of serfage⁸, and also the nobles of Scania, took an oath of fidelity to his cause. He did not dare to trust either his subjects or his soldiers, collected twenty ships, in which he embarked the public records, with the treasure and crown jewels, his consort and child, and his adviser Sigbrit, who was concealed in a chest. Deserting his kingdom, he sailed away in the face of the whole population of Copenhagen, April the 20th, 1523.

Thus ended the reign of Christian II., a king in whom one knows not which most rivets the attention, the multiplied undertakings he commenced and abandoned in a career so often stained with blood, his audacity, his feebleness, or that misery of many years by which he was to expiate a short and ill-used tenure of power. There are men who, like the storm-birds before the tempest, appear in history as foretokens of the approaching outbreak of great convulsions. Of such a nature was Christian, who, tossed hither and thither between all the various currents of his time without central consistence, awakened alternately the fear or pity of the beholders.

Frederic I., who was chosen to succeed him in Denmark, wrote to the estates of Sweden, demanding that in accordance with the stipulations of the Union of Calmar he might be acknowledged king in Sweden also. They replied, "that they had elected Gustavus Ericson to be Sweden's king." That event came to pass at the diet of Streugness, June the seventh, 1523⁹. Thus was the Union dissolved, after it had lasted one hundred and twenty-six years. Norway wavered at this critical moment. The inhabitants of the southern portion declared, when the Swedes under Thure Jenson Roos and Lawrence Siggeson Sparre had pene-

closed note he speaks of the universal dissatisfaction with mother Sigbrit, and requests the queen to receive her into her own abode at the castle, that she may keep her mouth closed. How great this woman's influence was may be seen from a public rescript dated Copenhagen, December 29, 1522, in which he declares that Sigbrit Willems had accounted completely for the customs and finances of the realm, and was completely free from all responsibility in this respect.

⁸ The third chapter of Christian's *Geistlige Lov*, forbids the wicked, unchristian custom which had hitherto prevailed in Zealand, Falster, Lolland, and Møen, of selling the peasants like creatures devoid of reason, and gives them the right of leaving their master's service if he dealt with them dishonestly, as the peasants in Scania, Jutland, and Funen. After the dethronement of Christian in Denmark, this law was publicly burned by the council at the provincial diet of Viborg, "as a pernicious and destructive law, against good policy and government." Hvittfeld.

⁹ *Dominica infra octavam corporis Christi*, which happened this year on the 7th June, as is correctly stated in bishop Brask's correspondence, *Scandinavian Memoirs* xvii. 141; not on the sixth, though this incorrect date appears in *Sternerman's Resolutions*, and is generally received.

³ *Erasmii Epistolæ*, Basle, 1533, p. 453.

⁴ See Christian II.'s so-called *Geistlige Lov* (Ecclesiastical Law), given provisionally, May 26, 1521 ("until our dear lieges the general council of the kingdom of Denmark shall come together," c. 141); and his ordinance or *Verdslige Lov* (Civic Law), given January 6, 1522 ("with consent of our dear lieges, the council of the realm"), both last published by Kolderup Rosenvinge, *Collection of old Danish Laws*, Copenhagen, 1824, 4 vols. "He had some intention also with respect to the law-book of Sweden if time had suffered." Olave Peterson. It is possible that Gustavus alludes to this in the Articles of Vadstena of 1524 (*Sternerman's Resolutions*, l. 34), where it is said that the law-book should be amended, as was before resolved upon; this however was not done.

⁵ He was led up some steps to the gallows, thereafter taken down, and thrown alive into the fire. This took place Jan. 24, 1522.

⁶ This first letter of renunciation is dated Viborg, Jan. 20, 1523.

⁷ In a letter of February 5, 1523, king Christian acquaints his queen with the renunciation of the council. In an in-

trated into their country as far as Opslo, that they would unite with Sweden if they might rely upon its support¹. Bohusland was subdued, Bleking likewise on another side, and Gustavus sought, both by negotiations and arms, to enforce the old claims of Sweden to Scania and Halland. The town of Calmar was taken on the 27th May, and the castle on the 7th July. Stockholm having surrendered on the 20th June, on condition of the free

departure of the garrison with their property and arms, and of every other person who adhered to the cause of Christian², Gustavus made his public entry on Midsummer's Eve; before the end of the year Finland also was reduced to obedience. The kingdom was freed from foreign enemies, but internal foes still remained; and Lubeck was an ally whose demands made it more troublesome than it would have been as an enemy.

CHAPTER IX.

GUSTAVUS VASA. THE REFORMATION.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY. TEMPER OF THE PEOPLE AND THE CLERGY. RELATIONS OF GUSTAVUS WITH LUBECK AND DENMARK. BEGINNINGS OF RELIGIOUS REFORMATION. INSURRECTIONS OF THE DALESMEN. DIET OF WESTERAS. DISTURBANCES IN WEST-GOTHLAND. THEIR SUPPRESSION. INVASION OF NORWAY BY CHRISTIAN. HIS DEFEAT; IMPRISONMENT; AND DEATH. WAR WITH LUBECK. PROGRESS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION. THE DACKÉ FEUD.

A. D. 1524—1543.

A TOWN wasted in the civil war had been the scene of the election of Gustavus Vasa to the throne. In the capital, when he made his public entry, one half of the houses were empty, and of the population scarcely a fourth part remained. To fill up the gap, he issued an invitation to the burghers in other towns to settle there, a summons which he was obliged twelve years afterwards to renew, "seeing that Stockholm had not yet revived from the days of king Christian³." The spectacle which here met his eyes was a type of the condition of the whole kingdom, and never was it said of any sovereign with more justice, that the throne to which he had been elevated was more difficult to preserve than to win.

The Union was now dissolved, and had left behind it ruins. It would be an error, however, to consider this period generally as one of great oppression. Such it was no doubt at intervals during its course, and it terminated in a tyranny; but it was still more a period of great license. This was shown on the one hand, by the independence of the magnates, or in the power reserved to the council according to the Union, of governing in the absence of the king, which they exercised in such a manner, as to be in fact sovereigns within the limits of their own feudatory prefectures (*län*), in which also they were generally by their own possessions the most important personages. Hence the distribution of those fiefs (so much the more that they were not hereditary) formed a perpetual subject of quarrel with the kings under the Union, and the contests arising therefrom drove Charles Canuteson twice from the throne. Hence, too, one of the first questions put by Gus-

tavus to the council was, "whether he might not freely propose and dispose of the crown fiefs, as the Law-book declared, without ill will⁴?" The possessors of these levied the revenues of the crown, and applied them to their own use⁵, for the kings, with few exceptions, at least during the latter days of the Union, received no part of the proceeds. Hence the scheme, which was sometimes openly urged, of parcelling the kingdom into several principalities under different rulers, was something more than a mere vague project of the grandees. The plan was even to no inconsiderable extent carried into effect. We find these provincial magnates still flourishing under Gustavus I., with pretensions more or less openly put forth; and that they still constituted what was called the Council of the Realm, or more particularly the council in Uppland, West or East-Gothland, Finland, and so forth, we learn from the letters of Gustavus himself, in which the council is thus designated according to the provinces.

On the other hand, during the Union, and in opposition to the aristocracy, the people had also become a power. At the call of Engelbert they had taken up arms, which for a century afterwards were not laid down, and thus wore an aspect menacing to all authority. The fortunes of Charles Canuteson had seemed almost to prove that there could henceforth be no king in Sweden, whether a native or a foreigner. The power of the Administrator, in which men sought a refuge against anarchy, was essentially too indefinite to afford any security. It was democratic in the hands of the Sturés, but likewise involved in perpetual war against foreign and domestic enemies, and of necessity lawless. The

¹ See the letter from Thuré Jenson to bishop Brask, of April 23, 1523, in Linköping's Biblioteks Handlingar, ii. 183. (Opslo is now Christiania.)

² By an undated instrument in the archives of Christian II. with the title " (Article oc bewillinge, &c.) Articles and Agreement which the King sends to Stockholm, conform to which they shall give up the Town and Castle," we see that the king had consented to its surrender, although all the conditions there demanded were not granted in the capitulation.

³ Letters to the trading towns, of July 14, 1523, and September 26, 1535, in the Registry of the Archives. The burghers, it is said in the latter, were considering how to

attract the trade of Lubeck to Stockholm; a town where one might reap a good harvest, especially if he were conversant with trade, and could look well to his affairs.

⁴ Articles of Vadstena, October, 1524. (Læm, Swed. Anglo-Sax. and Scot., fief, is the same word as loan. T.)

⁵ "Never have we heard that the good lords of the council of state were subject to any other burden than to attend for the service of the realm with their followers, every man according to his fief," says bishop Brask in a letter to Thuré Jenson, of October 22, 1524. But a summons of this kind for the service of the Union kings did not take place, or was not obeyed, during the latter period of the Union.

partition which threatened the kingdom from the domination of the nobles was also latent, although under a different shape, in the development of popular power. The political influence of the peasants gave new importance to the democratic forms of the ancient federative system, which put forth its last energies in revolt. How often in those times do we not see the commonalities of different provinces acting in the exercise of self-rule, taking up arms, forming alliances, and renewing with each other compacts of bygone days! It is Upper Sweden more particularly which presents this spectacle; whereas, in the South, the nobles possessed the ascendancy, excepting in Smaland; and hence this province during the reign of Gustavus was, next to Dalecarlia, the principal seat of disturbance among the peasantry. Accustomed to insecurity of life and property, the armed commons were yet in their poverty impatient of taxation; and this Gustavus himself was destined to experience.⁶

The church might be regarded as a foreign power established in the kingdom, which in the absence of any supreme civil authority, looked well to its own interest. Its dignitaries constituted the most powerful portion of the aristocracy, the more that the bishops were also the holders of temporal fiefs. They had ever signalized themselves by devotion to the Union, and had therefore soon drawn upon their heads the hostility of the patriotic party. Engelbert had already openly menaced the personal safety of the bishops, and throughout the reign of Charles Canuteson, as well as the administration of the Sturés, an incessant struggle against their power was maintained. A revengeful archbishop opened the way for Christian the Tyrant to the throne; hence no man was ever more detested in Sweden than Gustave Trollé.⁷ In the ensuing war the popular exasperation broke out with singular violence against the persons and property of the bishops; and we find frequent threats of vengeance addressed to the monks and priests, called forth by their licentious and disorderly manners.⁸ In general, the church suffered much during the war from the tyrannical proceedings of Christian, even towards his own friends.⁹ Yet it was beyond comparison the richest corporation in the country,

and exercised through the inferior clergy great influence.

It was under such circumstances that Gustavus had to re-establish in Sweden a regal power no longer existing, and to commence his reign with the requirement of the greatest sacrifices.

So early as the elective diet of Strengness, in 1523, two senators of Lubeck delivered in an account of expenses incurred for assistance rendered in the siege of Stockholm, which was not yet terminated, demanding immediate payment of the sum, or as the price of delay, an unconditional confirmation of the commercial privileges enjoyed by Lubeck within the kingdom, according to a statement drawn up by themselves. This powerful town, which boasted of raising up and dethroning the sovereigns of the north¹, had newly concluded an alliance with king Frederic of Denmark, and promised him conditionally its aid for the acquisition of the Swedish crown. The envoys dropped threats on this head², and the negotiation for the surrender of Stockholm being in their hands, it was found necessary to grant all their demands.³

Christian II. still continued to be formidable from his alliances, although by the commencement of the year 1524, only the isle of Gotland acknowledged his superiority⁴; "things have now gone so far, that nothing besides this poor land is left to your grace," writes to him Severin Norby, who governed the island in his name, and exercised piracy upon vessels of all nations. Both Gustavus and Frederic, the Swedish council as well as the Danish, had in vain assailed his fidelity by temptation. In his letters to his fugitive master, Norby complains of treachery. Calmar, which he had well furnished with stores for a whole year, had notwithstanding been surrendered, with a cowardice which deserved the gallows and wheel. In Finland, which was the more important, "as this was, for rent, the best part of Sweden," the king's troops, according to Norby, had not conducted themselves better, so that there was not time left him to reach the country when he wished to defend it, though he had resolved to do so in case of necessity with Russian assistance. Now, he

⁶ "Neither in this our realm are the common people of such a humour that they will bear to have great imposts and tallages laid upon them, as in other lands and realms, unless we should expect to have a rising among them therefrom." King Gustavus to Eric Fleming, December 5, 1535. Registry of the Archives.

⁷ On the mere report of a reconciliation with the archbishop, the Dalesmen wrote to Gustavus "that they could in that case by no means keep the engagement of fidelity they had made to him; he should not think it ill in the poor people of the valleys that they spoke this opinion so boldly." When the archbishop, nevertheless, afterwards attempted to excite disturbances among them by letters and messengers, they informed him that they would rise up against him and his faction, every man in the Dales who was fifteen years old, and as long as their arrows and bolts lasted. See the letters in Troil, *Memoirs*, iv. 352, 356.

⁸ One of the chaplains of Gustavus killed another with a battle-axe, January 28, 1523. Correspondence of bishop Brask. *Scandinavian Memoirs*, xvii. 83. For an example of the corrupt manners of the mendicant friars, see p. 193.

⁹ See the letters of Christian to Rome, complaining of the state of the bishoprics, March 5, 1523, and therefore before the elevation of Gustavus to the throne. "Ecclesia Arosiensis in maxima paupertate relicta, Strengnesensis

clerus ter uno anno spoliatus, Scarensis ecclesia per hostes incensa, Upsalensis tot afflictionibus preventa, Vexionensis in terminis hostium, Liukopensis communis praeda;" and the church, instead of comfort, received nothing but mockery, and "sarcastic consolations." This he ascribes to the Lutheran heretics, by which it was already attacked on all sides.

¹ "It is the Lubeckers and their adherents who have set up in Sweden a new king in our stead," says Christian II. in a letter to a canon of Cologne, dated Berlin, September 26, 1527. *Archives of Christian II.*

² *Coloratis verbis obductas minas.* Letter of the bishop of Skara to Brask, bishop of Linköping, the latter of whom shrunk from personal attendance on the diet.

³ Lubeck and Dantzic and the towns in alliance with them, to which Lubeck granted permission, obtained an exclusive right of trading with Sweden free of duties, conformably to a charter subscribed by the king and the council. A Finnish councillor, Canute Ericson (Kurk), refused his signature.

⁴ Norway renounced obedience to him August 5, 1523. At the commencement of the following year, Copenhagen and Malmœ acknowledged king Frederic. Gustavus sent a company of foot to assist in the siege of the latter place, and contributed ten ships to the reduction of the island of Bornholm.

wrote in the winter of 1524, Gustavus Ericson lay ready to attack Gottland, as soon as the sea should be open, with the whole power of Sweden; wherefore if it were impossible for the king to relieve the island, and save it from the hands of the Swedes, he begged permission to make terms in good time, "in order that the land might not be wrested from the crown of Denmark."⁵ The attack on Gottland, whose issue we have hereby indicated, was resolved upon in the baronial diet of Vadstena, at the beginning of the year. Lubeck, which suffered most from Norby's piracy, had pressed that it should be undertaken, promising through a special envoy its support, with the remission of the interest on the debt, and indemnity for the expenses of the war, if Sweden should not be able to hold the island. Brask, bishop of Linköping, of whose diocese it formed a part, and who afterwards complained that the enterprise had miscarried through the Germans who advised it, now united his representations to theirs, and Gustavus gave, although unwillingly, his consent. A fleet carrying 8000 men was collected for the expedition, of which the command was entrusted to Bernard of Melen, a German knight, who had passed over from the service of Christian, and had been admitted into the Swedish council, invested with the government of Stegeborg, and married to Margaret Vasa. This lady, a kinswoman of king Gustavus, but inimical towards him, from a dispute regarding an inheritance, was not without influence on the conduct of her husband. Bernard of Melen reduced the country without difficulty, but was so slack in conducting the siege of the town and castle of Wisby, that Norby, with whom he had a secret understanding, obtained time to place himself and the island under Danish protection. In the meantime a personal interview of Gustavus and Frederic took place at Malmö, and Lubeck interposed its mediation between the kings. By the convention of Malmö, dated September 1, 1524, Gustavus bound himself to restore Bleking to Denmark, and to refer the dispute respecting Gottland to future settlement. Bohusland, however, he retained for

a time, and negated for ever the Danish claims of superiority, and the renewal of the Union. Meanwhile the treachery of Bernard of Melen was revealed. He induced his troops to take an oath of fidelity to himself, occupied the castle of Calmar on his own behalf, and proceeded for reinforcements to Germany, where he entered into a bond to reconquer the kingdom of Sweden for Christian II.⁶ The castle of Calmar was defended with the bravery of desperation against Gustavus, who did not take it without a heavy loss in men, and subjected seventy of the garrison to the punishment of traitors. These events already stand in connexion with the first revolt against Gustavus, which however, as well as subsequent insurrections, had a deeper cause.

The principles of the Reformation had now begun to spread towards the north. It was soon manifest that the king had placed himself at its head in Sweden, although he took his measures with that mixture of pliant subtlety and boldness which ever distinguished him, more strongly marked the more his character was tested by events. Olave and Lawrence Peterson, two brothers, who had studied in Wittenberg, and were disciples of Luther, returned in 1519 to their native country, and preached his doctrines there for the first time. They attracted the attention of Gustavus, and received his protection⁷, although bishop Brask, who had already procured a brief from Pope Adrian VI. for the extirpation of heresy in Sweden, demanded the establishment of inquisitors in all the bishoprics, and the prohibition of Luther's writings⁸. The king, who was himself in correspondence with Luther⁹, appointed Olave Peterson, whose bold sermons at the elective diet of Strengness excited general attention¹, to be minister and town-clerk of Stockholm, and made his younger brother Lawrence professor in Upsala. Here the king caused a disputation for and against the new doctrines to be held, in consequence of which twelve questions were drawn up, to be examined thereafter in an assembly of the Swedish Church². For his chancellor, he selected Law-

⁵ Letters of Severin Norby, March 7 and September 14, 1523, and March 14, 1524. Archives of Christian II.

⁶ The contract, which exists in the Archives of Christian II., and is dated Brandenburg, May 1, 1526, begins "I, Bernard of Melen, knight, &c. openly acknowledge by this instrument that I, out of true and dutiful inclination, have undertaken to conquer, with God's help, the kingdom of Sweden, once for all," &c.

⁷ "Know ye for certain that it becometh our power to protect every one of our subjects against violence;" writes the king to bishop Brask. Scandinavian Memoirs, xiii. 58.

⁸ Ut aliqui deputentur in certis diocesisbus—inquisitores hereticæ pravitatibus. Letter of Brask to Johannes Magnus, who had arrived as papal legate in 1523 (l. c. xvii. 146), and obtained from Gustavus a letter against the opinions and books of Luther (see *Litteræ Domini Regis contra opinionem Lutheranam*, *ibid.* 159). It is plain, however, from the king's letter to bishop Brask in 1524, that this was not published: "For what you write to us respecting the books of Luther, that we should forbid their sale, we know not how this may be done, seeing that we have heard them censured by impartial judges as not useless, but especially because books against this Luther have been brought into the country; therefore, according to our poor mind, it might be profitable that both the one side and the other should be placed before men's eyes." Scandinavian Memoirs, xiii. 58. Two years afterwards the king forbade bishop Brask to translate and pro-

mulgate the letters of the pope, the emperor, and duke George of Saxony against Luther, as instigating to revolt. He also suppressed the printing-house founded by the bishop in Söderköping. Scan. Mem. xvi. 43.

⁹ "We have, from the very commencement of our reign, been adherents to the true and pure word of God, so far as grace hath been bestowed upon us for the understanding of it;" says the king in a letter to Luther, August 16, 1540; printed by Spegel in the documentary proofs to his Chronicle of the Bishops.

¹ They were levelled from the first at the secular power of the clergy: Periculose pullulare incipit heresis illa Lutherana, per quamdam magistrum Olavum in ecclesia Strengnesensi, presertim contra decreta sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ ac ecclesiasticam libertatem ad effectum, ut status modernæ ecclesiæ reduceretur ad mendicantem et statum ecclesiæ primitivæ. Brask to the bishop of Skara, July 12, 1523. Scan. Mem. xvii. 143.

² The disputation was held at Christmas, 1524, between Olave Peterson and Doctor Peter Gallé, provost of Upsala, and each of them by the royal command drew up a particular answer to the questions proposed, which was printed. These were, "1. Whether doctrines of holy men, and usages or customs of the Church, which have not God's word for them, should be received as binding. 2. Whether our Lord Jesus Christ hath granted to the priesthood, the pope, or the bishops, any other authority or dominion over men, but only

rence Anderson, provost of Strengness, and afterwards of Upsala, who had spent his early years in Rome, and now in his old age was a pupil of these younger men. The nature of the maxims now prevalent respecting the property of the Church may be perceived from the words addressed by the chancellor to the monks of Vadstena, when they complained of the aid demanded from the convents, for the expedition to Gottland. He answered them: "The monies of the congregation are those of the people³."

Three months after the king's elevation to the throne, when he rendered an account to the people at the fair of Westeras of the revenues of the kingdom, he stated the expenses of the war at 960,000 marks⁴, wherefore he had been obliged to contract large debts. Those due to Lubeck, as they were acknowledged at the diet of Strengness, amounted to 68,681 Lubeck marks for military stores, with 3,609 marks in cash advanced⁵, not including 200,000 guilders for the payment of the soldiery⁶, which, however, were probably refunded in the same year with the plate of the churches, since this debt is not afterwards mentioned. To these besides were to be added the expenses incurred for the conquest of Finland, for the expedition against Gottland, for the suppression of the revolts, the establishment and maintenance of a new government. Thus the first years of Gustave's reign were all marked by new and extraordinary levies of money, which pressed with especial severity on the church, and were excused by the king on the ground of the public need⁷. So early as 1522 aid was required from the clergy, and in 1523 a tax in money, under the name of a loan, was imposed on all the churches and monasteries of the kingdom; in 1524 a new benevolence was granted

on account of the expedition to Gottland, for which end the king also sent his own plate to the mint; in 1525 the cavalry were removed into quarters in the convents, and the chapters were charged with the maintenance of soldiers assigned upon them, the king receiving nearly the whole of the church tithes for the year; and 1526, two-thirds of their produce, although he complains that "from some concealed practice of the priesthood" these revenues had by no means equalled his expectations. The tithes were to be applied towards discharging the public debt. For the same purpose the nobility and clergy also granted an aid in 1526; the towns were taxed, and a heavy tallage laid over the whole kingdom, on such goods as the common people were best able to spare, "because at that time there was very little money to take in the land⁸." Various unfavourable circumstances made the pressure of all this to be more severely felt. The tokens or need-money, called *klippings*⁹, which had been current at four times their worth, were at once cancelled in 1524, instead of being reduced to their real value. Misunderstandings with the Hanse Towns, combined with the piracies of Norby, cut off all importation of foreign goods, by which the price of salt was so much enhanced that the poorer classes were compelled to boil sea water¹; and when this want was supplied by means of a commercial treaty which the king concluded with the Netherlands, a grievous dearth took place in 1527 and 1528. Next year the kingdom was ravaged by that wasting epidemic which received the name of the English or cold sweat. Upon the famine the chronicles remark, that "the people had nothing for bread but bark-cakes, and any one who was able to buy chaff or mash, looked upon himself as

to proclaim the word and will of God, and whether it is fitting that any should be priests but such as do this. 3. Whether their laws, injunctions, or ordinances, can load a man with sin, if he act against them. 4. Whether they have power by excommunication to sever any one from God, as a limb cut off from God's congregation, and to make him to be a limb of the devil. 5. Whether the lordship which the pope and his tribe have exercised he for or against the lordship of Christ. 6. Whether God's service be anything else than to keep his commandments, not men's inventions, which God hath not enjoined. 7. Whether a man may be saved by his merits, or only by God's grace and compassion. 8. Whether the monastic life have any ground in Scripture. 9. Whether any man have or have had power to dispense the sacrament in wine and bread otherwise than as Christ himself ordained it. 10. Whether we should put faith in revelations which are said to have been made, other than are proved by Holy Scripture. 11. What ground may the Scriptures afford for purgatory. 12. Whether men should honour, venerate, and pray to the saints, and whether the saints are our defenders, patrons, mediators, and intercessors before God." See the whole in Troil's Memoirs for the History of the Swedish Reformation, v. i. (Handlingar till Svenska Reformationens Historia.)

³ Quando dicimus ecclesie pecuniam, quid aliud quam pecuniam populi dicimus? Scan. Mem. xvii. 206.

⁴ The document (entitled "Thette wart framsatt, &c. This was explained to the common people at Westeras A. D. 1523, at Martinmas, and may be promulged in other places of the country,") is published by Fant: Dissertatio de causis, oh quas Gustavo I. contra Christiernum II. opulitanti fuerint Lubeenses, Upsalæ, 1752. If we reckon the Swedish mark of that time at twenty skillings in silver, or 8½d. (compare Hallenberg, on the Value of Coins and Wares in Sweden under the reign of Gustavus I.), the sum above-mentioned

will amount to 400,000 silver rix-dollars (which, taking the rix dollar at 1s. 8d. is £33,333 of the present English money, an enormous sum for Sweden in that day. T.)

⁵ Tegel. Sartorius, History of the Hanseatic League iii. 159. The Lubeckers demanded two marks Swedish for one of Lubeck, to which Gustavus would not consent. (The Lubeck mark is 1½d., so that they would have made a good bargain; 77,290 Lubeck marks make about £1,720. T.)

⁶ Nine guilders were equal to about eight rix-dollars (200,000 guilders would thus be nearly £15,000).

⁷ Loquutus sum majestati sue de gravamine ecclesiarum, &c.; respondit profusis lacrymis, quod nulli mortalium plus displicere possit eadem exactio quam sibi, et quod eam necessitas et nulla voluntas majestati sue imperaret. Johannes Magnus, letter to bishop Brask, August 1, 1523; Scan. Mem. xvii. 157. The archbishop no doubt set down the king's tears to the account of his own eloquence, for to hishop Brask Gustavus holds on the same subject language which is not at all that of lamentation: "This does every honest man's conscience tell him, that in a time of public strait, when such burdens are imposed on the kingdom, all must help to bear them; both churches, convents, monks, and preachers, specially when nothing else will suffice." Scan. Mem. xiv. 50.

⁸ See Stiernman, Resolutions of Diets and Meetings, v. i. under all the above named years.

⁹ The *klipping* of Gustavus had passed for eighteen so-called pennings, equal to three skillings five rundstycks (about 1½d.); its real value was nine rundstycks ($\frac{3}{4}$ 0d.). The churches had been obliged to surrender their money for klippings.

¹ Circular of the king to the country and the towns, April 20, 1526, that "ships of Holland had arrived at Stockholm with salt, cloth, wine, and other wares; wherefore the people should be of good heart, seeing that the dear time would gradually cease." Registry of the Archives.

very fortunate. In Roslagen, as well as every where in the islets, numbers of men and cattle perished with hunger. The king indeed caused several thousand lasts of grain to be imported from Livonia, and sold it in the hundreds and parishes at a mark to the tun², with careful precautions that the price should not be raised to the poor; but the people were so badly disposed and unthankful, that they gave no thanks to the king for this, but called him the hunger and the bark-king."

The priests represented the dearth as a punishment from Heaven on account of their heretical sovereign; and Gustavus had to curb both their disaffection, and the exaggerations of the preachers of the new doctrines. In Stockholm, where the German burghers took an eager part in the fluctuating opinions of that time, the king, on his return from the conference of Mahöns in the autumn of 1524, found the whole town thrown into commotion by two anabaptists who had recently arrived; Knip-perdolling, afterwards one of the leaders of the sanguinary fanatics of Munster, where his boucs are still kept in an iron cage in the church-tower, and Melchior Rink. These men had found followers, and possessing themselves of the church of St. John, they preached on the book of Revelation, stormed the churches and monasteries, and threw their broken images and ornaments upon the streets and market-places. Even Olave Peterson was put to silence by this; the king rebuked him sharply for his negligence, and banished the authors of the disturbances from the country. But these scenes gave general scandal, which was increased by the behaviour of many of the new preachers; whence the king, who was now riding his Ericsgait, reproachfully upbraided them, "as acting with great indiscretion, not having the right understanding or way to lead the people to the knowledge of God's word," and "as leading many of them an evil and vicious life." He sought to appease the people by every method, assuring them, that he by no means intended the introduction of a new faith³, but only the correction of abuses.

More than one of the Union kings had lost his throne for less. It was not without wonder that the Swedes of this day learned, that in Gustavus

Vasa, Sweden had found, not merely a liberator, but a master, for men had been long accustomed to revolutions. "The humours of the common people are wont with us lightly to change⁴," wrote the wary bishop Brask in confidence, to a colleague at the elective diet of Strengness in 1523, from which, to the dissatisfaction of both the king and the council, he absented himself, sending his chancellor in his place, with an exhortation to give good heed to what he set his seal. Gustavus was soon to experience the truth of the prediction; and the first revolt against him was an attempt again to upraise the house of Stur⁵, which was highly honoured and beloved throughout the whole kingdom.

Proof of these intrigues Gustavus obtained ere three months had passed over since his election, and two of his new bishops stood at their head. It was doubtless a fortunate circumstance for his impending blow to the hierarchy, that at the commencement of his reign all the bishoprics, with the exception of two, were vacant⁶. But he deceived himself if he counted on the devotion of the new men with whom, through his own influence, the sees were filled. They all, sooner or later, became his enemies. Peter Jacobson, commonly called Sunnanvræder⁷, who had been chancellor to the administrator Steno Stur⁸ the younger, was chosen bishop of Westeras. The election had proceeded "upon deliberation by the Dalesmen⁹," as he himself mentions; and in the first year of his episcopate, he was detected in seditious practices among them, as Gustavus proved by his own letters, which were produced before the chapter of Westeras. He was deprived of his office, and the same punishment overtook the newly elected archbishop, master Cannte, provost of the chapter, who appeared as his defender. They fled to Dalecarlia and stirred up the Dalesmen, who wrote to Gustavus; "that they could by no means suffer that he should impose more taxes in money on churches, convents, priests, monks, the men of the trading towns, or the commonalty of Sweden;" they renounced fealty and obedience to him, if he would not lower prices in the kingdom, expel foreigners from the council⁸, and clear himself from the charges of having thrown Christina Gyllenstierna

mit them to give loose to their avarice contrary to law." Registry of the Archives

⁴ *Sententia vulgi nostri facile solet variari. Hæc fiducia-liter vobis scribimus.* Letter of Brask to the bishop elect of Skara. Scan. Mem. xvii. 131. It was not till later in the year that Brask renounced all communion with the fugitive archbishop Gustavus Trollé, to whom he had recommended himself before the latter's departure: *rebus regni tunc in eo statu existentibus, ut difficillimum videretur regem Christianum defici posse.* Brask to Gustavus Trollé, October 18, 1523, l. c. 171.

⁵ Upsala, Strengness, Westeras, Skara, Abo. Of the old prelates there remained bishop Ingemar of Wexio, compliant and enfeebled by age, and Brask of Linköping, the only one who was efficient.

⁶ Lit. Southwind.

⁷ *Maturu Vallensium consilio.* Letter to bishop Brask. Scan. Mem. xvii. 123. This was according to the privileges then claimed by the Dalesmen, of which more hereafter.

⁸ "Mælers, trolls (goblins), and devils, who lay their heads together to prey upon the common people." Letter and Remonstrance of the Dalesmen, Registry of the Archives, 1524. By the two first words they mean Bernard of Melen, and Gustave Trollé, on whose alliance with the king untrue rumours were spread abroad.

² After 1527 the coinage was so depreciated, that three marks answered to one silver rix-dollar (thus making the mark a trifle more than 6½d.). Hallenberg l. c. 112. (The tun contains 4½ Winchester bushels; about 20 tuns go to a last.)

³ As an example of the light in which Gustavus represented the matter to the people, his letter to the Helsingers in 1526 may be quoted. "Certain monks and priests," he writes, "have brought us into scandal; chiefly for that we blame their irregularities." Among these the king reckons, that if a man owes them anything, they refuse him the sacrament, instead of pursuing their demand by law; that if a poor man on a holiday kills a bird, or draws himself a plate of fish from the stream, he is forthwith obliged to pay a fine to the bishop and the provost for sabbath-breaking; that the laymen have not the same rights against the priests as these have against the former; that the bishops took the inheritance of priests dying intestate, passing over their heirs; that the clergy have fraudulently possessed themselves of much of the crown property, and embezzled the king's proportion of judicial fines. "When they perceive that we look to the interest of the crown, which is incumbent on us by reason of our kingly office, they straightway declare that we wish to bring in a new faith, and Luther's doctrine; whereas the matter is no otherwise than as ye have now heard, that we will not per-

into prison, and made away with or banished her son Nicholas Sturé.

This happened at the very time when Gustavus had procured the release of Sturé's widow from a Danish prison. Christina Gyllenstierna met at Calmar her eldest son Nicholas Sturé, who was now in his twelfth year, and had lately returned from Dantzic, whither he had been sent in 1520, to escape the persecutions of Christian. Bernard of Melen sought by detaining young Sturé in his charge, to give a colour to his own defection, and left a servant of the house of Sturé in command of the castle of Calmar². Rumours were soon spread both in and out of Sweden, that Severin Norby was aiming at the hand of Christina Gyllenstierna, and through her, at the government of Sweden¹. Gustavus publicly alludes to this report as the loose talk of the common people, which was circulated by mischievous intriguers². He secretly suspected Christina Gyllenstierna of participating in this design³. She herself denied that Norby, although she had given him hopes, ever received her plighted troth⁴, and allowed the king to choose for her another husband. Gustavus received the young Nicholas Sturé into his court, and sent him in the spring to his mother, but he died in the summer of the same year at Upsala⁵. The king was dissatisfied with the conduct of this youth. A report was spread by traitorously inclined persons, that he had fled to save his life, and we shall soon see a false Sturé appearing under his name in Dalecarlia.

Irreconcilable interests had combined in these plots, which had the double object of elevating to power the house of Sturé, and of restoring king Christian. That the latter entered into Norby's intentions, we learn from a written promise of the fugitive prince, by which he engaged "that if lord Severin should marry the lady Christina, and thereby come into the government of Sweden, he should hold the kingdom absolutely as the king's lieutenant for a yearly tribute⁶." Christian moreover issued a public letter, purporting that he had

transferred his power to Norby until he should himself return to his dominions⁷. Norby, who still remained in Gottland, made a descent therefrom upon Scania in the spring of 1525, where both the country and towns, excepting Malmö, again did homage to Christian. At the same time the factious bishops attempted to induce the Dalesmen to march against Gustavus⁸. Letters forged in their name, with false accounts of insurrectionary movements, and exhortations to a general rising, were circulated throughout the kingdom about Easter. Not finding, however, the support on which they had counted, the prelates fled from Dalecarlia into Norway, whence upon the demand of Gustavus they were sent back under a promise of safe-conduct on his side⁹: yet with the condition that "they should abide the sentence of their legitimate judges, and suffer and make atonement as the award should direct." Olave, archbishop of Drontheim, seeing himself obliged to deliver up the fugitives, declared in his letter to the king that "their legitimate judges" were "the prelates of the Church, seeing that the accused were men of the priestly order¹." But this was far from being the opinion of Gustavus. He caused them both to be tried by the council as traitors, without regard to the protest of the bishops who were present, and of the chapter of Upsala, and inflicted the punishment to which they were condemned, in spite of every intercession². Previously to their execution, they were subjected to contumelies which cannot be vindicated, although the object doubtless was to show how little ecclesiastical dignity would protect the guilty. Clad in tattered vestments, and sitting backwards on starveling jades, the offenders were led into Stockholm, the one with a crown of straw, the other with an episcopal mitre of birch-rind on his head. Mountebanks in antick dresses encompassed them, who bawled, "Here comes the new king, lord Peter Sunnanvæder." In this fashion they made the circuit of the town, and were forced at last to drink fellowship with the hangman³.

² Bishop Brask writes to Thuré Jenson, that Bernard of Melen had named Henry the Jute, who had been in the service of Christina Gyllenstierna, to be captain of the castle, and that the latter had with him Nicholas Sturé, which caused much blame to be cast upon the lady Christina. Scan. Mem. xiv. 63, 64.

¹ A letter from Mecklenburg in the Archives of Christian II. (without name of writer or date) mentions that Severin Norby will wed Steno Sturé's widow, and receive with her the whole kingdom of Sweden.

² Letter to the nobility and commonalty of Smaland, 25th March, 1525. Scan. Mem. xiv. 44.

³ Gustavus writes to bishop Brask, that Severin Norby had sent messages to Lady Christina, proposing marriage, by which she and her children might arrive at the government, "into which indiscretion she had allowed herself to be misled;" l. c. 32; and to Magnus Brynteson (Liliehök), commander at Elfsborg, on February 15, 1525, that mischievous intrigues had been set on foot, especially by the lady Christina and her party, for the discovery of which the king begs him to employ his spies, both within and without the kingdom. Registry of the Archives.

⁴ In a letter of December 29, 1526 (quoted by Hvitfeld in his History of Frederic I.), she begs that influence may be used to induce Norby to desist from such discourse. She had indeed written to him that she would prefer him to every other suitor, if she should ever contract another marriage, and had presented him with a ring, but had never given him

her promise. At Christmastide, 1526, the king betrothed her to John Thureson (Roos), son of the high steward Thuré Jenson.

⁵ "We send to you, according to your request, your son Nils, well perceiving that he can have little fruit of instruction or good manners with us, where he gives small heed to his service, and shows no will or liking to be at hand where we are, but rather shuns us and holds himself apart where it is possible for him, though this is very displeasing to us, and we have chastised him for it with words and meet correction. Seemeth to us therefore advisable that you should send him for some time to another place, where he may more improve himself, not spending his time unprofitably." Letter from the king to Lady Christina by Nils Stenson. Grips-holm, April 1, 1527. Reg. of the Archives.

⁶ Articles for Severin Norby by Roloff Matson, March 20, 1525, in the Archives of Christian II.

⁷ The letter, which was intercepted, may be read in Hvitfeld's History of Frederic I.

⁸ Confession of Peter Grym. Troil, Memoirs, ii. 282.

⁹ See the letter of safe-conduct in Tegel.

¹ Letter of the archbishop to the king, dated Nidaros, July 5, 1526. Registry of the Archives.

² "Thereto his grace made answer, that such matters could not be so easily passed over." Minute-book of the town of Stockholm. Troil, Memoirs, ii. 269.

³ This took place in the autumn of 1526, when the sentence had been passed on Master Canute, but not on Peter Sun-

Men now began to be aware with whom they had to do; but they scarcely yet comprehended the full measure of that intrepidity which in Gustavus was usually evolved stroke by stroke, as the resistance offered and the circumstances of the case demanded, from a beginning that was apparently tranquil and even compliant. For such alway was his commencement, unless urgent necessity prescribed a different line, and he ever went greater lengths than even his opponents expected. Signs like these announce to us the soul which teems with a future yet unrevealed. Those who wish to study his character in this phase from its earliest disclosure, may be referred to the correspondence with bishop Brask, as one of the main sources for the history of the first year of his reign. This prelate was beyond comparison the most influential, as well as the most sagacious and best informed man of his day in Sweden⁴; in his way the upright friend of his country, for whose economic prosperity he formed projects which Gustavus himself, and subsequently others of Sweden's distinguished men, again revived⁵; a friend too of Swedish liberty, as he himself understood it, and as he explains it in letters to his friend Thuré Jenson, "that the freedom of the realm depended on the church and the baronage⁶;" for which reason he opposed, and afterwards censured, the government of the Sturés⁷. He treated the young king from the beginning with a kind of fatherly superiority, styling him administrator and "dear Gustavus," and accepting in return the title of "gracious lord." Shortly after the royal election, he obtained a confirmation of all the privileges of his bishopric and church⁸. But he was soon destined himself to feel the force of the king's saying to the last catholic archbishop, Joannes Magnus,—"Thy grace and our grace have not room beneath one roof⁹." With the aggressions of Gustavus on the clergy began the prelate's opposition; and with every impediment thrown in his way, the king went one step farther, as if he were bent on reducing his most powerful adversary to extremities, so that the latter at length determined, after

navvæder; they were sentenced to be beheaded and broken on the wheel, and were accordingly executed in February, 1527, the former in Stockholm, the latter in Upsala.

⁴ Doctor Peter Bennetson, who travelled abroad in 1529, received a commission from Brask to send into the country glaziers and paper-makers, "to get knowledge of water-hammers both for copper and iron," and also "to learn to work in a laboratory," as the bishop meant to establish one. He was likewise charged to buy for the latter not only breviaries and mass-books, but also the latest juridical writings and works of the Italian poets, seeing that "there were always on sale in the city of Rome many Italian treatises in rhyme, as for instance 'Inamoramantum Karoli Magni, Inamoramantum Renoldi vel Orlandi,' &c." Scan. Mem. xiii. 114.

⁵ Brask, in a letter to Thuré Jenson of the year 1526 (compare Linköping's Biblioth. Handl. i. 191), was the first to propose that connection of the Baltic with the North Sea, which has been effected in our own days by the Göta canal.

⁶ Scan. Mem. xiii. 120.

⁷ He imputed to Steno Sturé the elder the disturbances which had vexed the kingdom for so many years (id. xiv. 47), and had claims against Steno the younger, which were first adjusted by an agreement with his widow.

⁸ Confirmatio d. Gostavi regis electi privilegiorum domini Lincopensis et ecclesie ibidem d. 18 Oct. 1523. l. c. xvii. 170.

⁹ So Gustavus is said to have answered when the archbishop thus pledged him at a banquet in Upsala, "Our grace drinks to your grace." (Rhyzelius, Bishop's Chronicle.) The weak Joannes Magnus had come as papal legate to Sweden,

the example of Joannes Magnus, to quit the kingdom. But he was first to see the hierarchy of Sweden completely overthrown. Presages of its downfall were already fast accumulating.

Olave Peterson, although a priest, entered into wedlock at Stockholm in 1525. "He will defend this by God's law," writes the king to bishop Brask. Accordingly, he vindicated his conduct in a published tract¹; nor did his example want imitators in the order to which he belonged. In the capital the Latin mass was abolished by a resolution of the magistrates. At the fair of St. Eric's day, 1526, Gustavus himself, sitting on horseback on one of the barrows of Upsala, discoursed to the people who stood round, on the uselessness of the Latin service and the monastic life². Then repairing to the chapter, he demanded of them, "by what right the church held temporal power, and whether any ground for its privileges was to be found in Holy Scripture;"—the New Testament, translated by Laurence Anderson, having been printed this year at the king's instance. On the other hand, he confirmed the privileges of knighthood and nobility at a baronial diet held in Vadstena. He now sought to acquire an ally against the church, and showed the nobility what they might gain by the reduction of the conventual estates, preferring himself, before the council, a claim to the monastery of Grips-holm, as heir of its founder, Steno Sturé the elder. His allegation was, that the consent which his father gave to its foundation had been extorted. Shortly afterwards, grounding himself on the voluntary cession of the monks, he sequestered the convent without waiting for the declaration of the council. An explanatory letter was issued to all the provinces, intended, in his own words, to obviate evil reports, for which end the transaction is represented almost as an instance of the royal generosity³. At the same time he wrote to bishop Brask⁴, who had undertaken to make an inventory of the appurtenances of Nydala Abbey, "that he, the king, would himself take order regarding the

and as such was reverently received by the king; but he was induced, by views upon the archiepiscopal chair, to treat the new doctrines with great mildness. Incited by Brask, he attempted afterwards to show his power, but with such indiscretion that he was deprived, and obliged to quit Sweden in the autumn of 1526, under the semblance of a legation to Poland. The same year Brask also seems to have resolved upon flight; for he twice requested, though vainly, the king's consent to his visitation of Gottland, a pretext on which he actually left the kingdom in the following year.

¹ Een liten undervisning om echtskapet, &c. A short treatise of marriage, in whom it is commendable or not. Stockholm, 1528.

² The peasants called that they would keep their monks, and not allow them to be driven out, but would themselves feed and fodder them. Tegel.

³ In the letter of the monks on this affair, circulated at the same time with that of the king, they say that they had solicited the consent of his grace to their repairing every man to his own friends, which he had been graciously pleased to permit, and had distributed to them in addition clothes and money to a great sum, for which he had taken into his own hands, by way of indemnification, all the estates of the monastery. In this way the king obtained even those to which he could not lay any hereditary claim. These are doubtless what the king means by the "estates which had fallen in along with the others, and are not our own," in a letter to the council, to whom he refers this matter. Register in the Archives for 1526.

⁴ August 29, 1526.

monasteries," which was indeed performed in such a fashion that one after the other was brought under his own management. The secular fiefs of the bishops were confiscated⁵, and the fines at law due to them were collected by the king's bailiffs, all complaints on this head being set at nought. No further regard was paid to the spiritual jurisdiction; on the contrary, the king adjudicated even in ecclesiastical causes, gave to monks and nuns who wished to quit their convents letters of protection⁶, and declared excommunications invalid⁷. He appointed and deposed priests by his own authority, and assumed the episcopal right of taking the effects of those who died intestate, doing this even in some cases where the parties had left a will⁸, and sharing their revenues with them at his good pleasure.

The king was encompassed by revolt when he embarked in these proceedings. In the autumn of 1525, after their defection with the prelates above-named, the Dalesmen had concluded an agreement with Gustavus at the provincial diet of Tuna, which he attended in person; but this was of no long duration. In the very next year they refused to pay the taxes imposed for the discharge of the public debt, as being unauthorized by law⁹; and all Norrland adopted a similar determination. At the commencement of 1527, consequently six months before the death of the youth Nicholas Sturé, an impostor, bearing his name, appeared in the more remote parishes of Dalecarlia. This person fled, he pretended, before the face of a heretical and godless king, who would not suffer the rightful heir of the realm to remain at the court, drawing a sword against his bosom wherever they might meet, and continually thirsting for his blood. The false Sturé was a peasant lad from the parish of Björksta in Westmanland, the illegitimate son of a cotter woman, considerably older than the object of his personation, yet of delicate and fair aspect,

crafty, smooth-tongued, (he spoke with such eloquence as to draw tears from the Dalecarlians,) and not without experience of the world, having served in noble households. He had been practised in his part by Peter Grym, who had formerly filled a place in the household of Steno Sturé the younger, and was latterly the chief confederate of Peter Sumanvæder. This pretender found many adherents in the upper Dales, where the Sturé name was highly honoured, and obtained the support of the archbishop of Drontheim. He married a Norwegian damsel of condition, surrounded himself with a body-guard and a court, (his chancellor was a runaway monk,) coined money, and was called the Dale-younger, or Dale-king.

At this time, when one or more provinces rose in revolt against the legal authorities, such affairs did not cause great exasperation on either side. It was by no means unusual to declare a willingness to open a negotiation for the adjustment of conditions of obedience, and Gustavus was always ready to consent to such a proposal. There was no rebellion with which he did not negotiate, and none which he did not punish. The discussions with the Dalesmen, (whose demands he heard with patience, as for example, their request that he would not suffer embroidered clothes to be worn at his court, and that all those who ate flesh on Friday should be burned alive,) were protracted throughout a whole year, partly on account of the tribute, payment of which every man refused¹, and partly on account of the false Sturé, who found support in the upper parishes, where Gustavus himself had first commenced his career, but not in the mining districts, or the southern portion of the province. Meanwhile the king convoked for the 16th of June, in WESTERAS, that diet whose results were to be so important.

As early as the commencement of 1527, Gustavus

⁵ Bishop Brask lost the hundreds of Gullberg, Boberg, and Aska. See his correspondence, which also contains the proofs of the following statements.

⁶ Letter of protection for a monk of the Franciscan monastery at Arboga, "who wishes for reasonable cause to quit his convent and order." December 27, 1526. Register in the Archives.

⁷ Thus the king rescinded Brask's interdict against the marriage of Olave Tysté, a noble of East-Gothland, which the parents attempted to hinder by placing the bride, against her will, in the convent of Vadstena.

⁸ The priest in the parish of Munktorp, in the diocese of Westeras, had died. The king orders Bennet the Westgoth, his bailiff in Westeras, to see that the successor to the benefice, Master Lars, sends him the silver tankards of the deceased, and keeps his horse for the king's use; also that the king should get his share of the rest of the silver; yet the successor might retain some of it, "that he might not be quite foredone." Reg. in the Archives, 1525. At Abo, Master Jacob, the provost of the chapter, died, and bequeathed by will a large sum of money. The king exhorts the chapter, Aug. 23, 1526, "every man carefully to consider whether that money could not have been better applied than Master Jacob had applied it?" whence he enjoins them to modify the disposition of it so, that when the heirs and the poor had obtained their share, the rest might be employed for the payment of the public debt. They are reprimanded for having chosen a successor without inquiring the king's pleasure; yet their nominee may retain his place, if he will pay 200 marks yearly into the royal chancery. The king had previously caused a catalogue to be made out of the benefices in the gift of the crown in Finland. By a letter of Feb. 1,

1526, they were all taxed at 300, 200, or 150 marks yearly, if the incumbent preserved his dues. Reg. in the Arch. 1526.

⁹ The king himself appears to have had some doubt on this head, as he writes to the bailiffs who were to collect the tax, "Ye have no need to wonder that we give you this command, seeing that the council have so ordained it." In the same letter, however, he enjoins the bailiffs to use all their diligence and pains that the common people may be induced to consent. It is generally difficult to distinguish between the exhortations and orders of Gustavus, for he usually begins with the one and ends with the other. In the spring of 1527, the king complains in a letter to the bishop of Skara, of the notion spread by certain worthless persons, that "we were minded to appropriate the said tax to our personal use," while he found himself between so many fires, first with the Lubeckers, if their demands were not satisfied, then with the Danes and Norwegians, if they had not their own will with Viken (Bohuslän); lastly, "with our own people, who bring us into evil repute by reason of this very tax, clamouring that they are burdened with one impost after another, especially the Dalesmen and Helsingers, who have yet paid not a penny, but hatch one treasonable design after another, and harbour among them in the upper country a notorious rogue and thief" (the false Sturé).

¹ In the letter of March 2, 1527, to the commonalty of the Dales, the king vainly represents that it was absurd for those who dwelt in Tuna and other places, where there was good commodity of life by fields and meadows, to expect to excuse themselves on the plea of inability, like those who dwelt in Upper Dalecarlia; "but they are not such a set as they call themselves," he writes to the council of state; "it is not our mind that they should extort from us better conditions than others of the realm." Reg. in the Archives, 1527.

intimated, that with the assistance of the council and the wisest men of the realm, he would make inquiry into the dissensions which had arisen in religion. Since his accession, general or baronial diets² had been held yearly, often twice a-year, the position of the king requiring it, although the frequency of these meetings was a subject of complaint. They appear to have been attended for the most part only by the neighbouring inhabitants and the councillors resident in the province in which they convened; sometimes too their acts were drawn up only by the king and councillors. In Westeras the numbers of the assemblage were for that day considerable. There were present four bishops³, four prebendaries, fifteen lords of the council, one hundred and twenty-nine nobles, thirty-two burgesses⁴, fourteen miners, with one hundred and five peasants from all quarters of the kingdom, excepting Dalecarlia⁵, from which no members were sent, and Finland, whence none appear to have been summoned, although the statute of the diet was afterwards promulgated there, as well as in the remainder of the kingdom. Warning had been given to the nobles that they should attend well equipped; the king reckoned upon their support in the decisive step which he meditated against the authority of the clergy. At the banquet with which he welcomed all the estates, it was noticed that the bishops who formerly on all public occasions were entitled, in right of their office, to the highest place, even above the administrators, if there were no king, should now be seated below the councillors. On the day following, the prelates met in the church of St. Egidius with closed doors, and subscribed, mainly at the instigation of bishop Brask, an anticipatory protest against all aggressions on the rights of the church. They concealed this instrument under the floor of the church, where it was found fifteen years afterwards.

The deliberations of the estates were held in the hall of the Dominican monastery at Westeras, and were opened with an exposition of the state of the realm, which was read by the chancellor LAWRENCE ANDERSON. He reminded them of all that the king had done for the country, and under what circumstances he had taken on himself the burden of the government; he might have found good reason to excuse himself, in the fear that such a game might be played with him, as beforetime with many others⁶, from the unsteady humours which possessed the nation against authority and government; he was young, and had given consent to that which afterwards he had often rued. It

² Riksdag. Herredag.

³ Namely Brask of Linköping, Magnus Haraldson of Skara, Magnus Sommar of Strengness, and Peter Magnuson of Westeras, the latter being the only one besides Brask who had received his consecration, which was performed at Rome by the king's special request, after Peter Sunnävader had been deposed. This Peter Magnuson afterwards consecrated the bishops appointed by the king. Of the four prebendaries, two were from Upsala, of which the archiepiscopal chair was vacant, and two from Vexjö, the bishop of which was prevented by age from attending.

⁴ Besides the representatives of Stockholm, who, singularly enough, are not named in the catalogue in Stiernmar, although they were present, and had great influence with the diet.

⁵ So the king himself complains (letter to the common people of the Dales, February 14, 1528, Reg. of the Arch.). Deputies were present, however, from the district of the

was not possible for him to rule a people who, whensoever the king wished to abrogate aught that was faulty in the state, straightway took to their pole-axes, and called the ill-disposed to revolt by "the looped and charred staff of summons⁷;" and most of all up in Dalecarlia, where they boasted that they had raised his grace to the throne, although the Dalesmen, after the victory at Westeras, which indeed was the beginning of the liberation, but far from its close, had mostly gone home. Now they pretended that all had been wrought by their hands; they would set in or out of the government of the kingdom whom they listed, and bawled for more freedom than other good men of the realm, just as if these were to be looked upon, in respect of themselves, as but slaves and bondsmen⁸. The German envoys were now present, and demanded payment of their debts; the Dalecarlians might come and see whether they would hold an insurrection for good payment. All was laid to the king's charge, both the dearth which he had sought to mitigate to the best of his ability, and the assessment of churches and monasteries which was to be excused by the necessity of the case; although it was otherwise reasonable in itself, that the superfluity which the commoners had accumulated should also be used for their requirements, and for the lightening of their burdens, when need was. Lastly, it was imputed to the king that he was introducing a new faith into the land, because he, and many with him, had now learned to consider how they were cozened and oppressed in money matters by the churchmen, who were under the shield of the Pope in Rome. The rulers of this land had been long enough exposed to the danger of provoking the Romish confederacy, and had been obliged to endure the insolence of the bishops who revolted and levied war before their eyes, according as the archbishop Gustavus Trollé had declared to the lord Steno Sturé, that he had received from his pope a sharp sword to bear upright before him, and that he would use other weapons than a wax-candle in the conflict. The same administrator, lord Steno Sturé, had not been able to maintain more than 500 soldiers from the revenues of the kingdom, because the crown and the baronage had scarcely the third part of that which was possessed by priests and monks, convents and churches. The king acknowledged that he had permitted God's word and gospel to be preached. But he had caused these preachers to be summoned to defend their doctrine, and some of them were now present and ready to do so. This however,

Kopparberg, and negociators were afterwards sent by the Dalesmen.

⁶ "That the like Shrove-tide mumming might be tried with him as with many others." Tegel, whom along with the Chronicles we have followed for this exposition. In the king's "Propositions," Stiernman, Resolutions I. 57, it is stated that he had offered so early as 1521, in the congress in Vadstena, from which his regency is usually dated, to lay down the chieftaincy (höfvidsmansdömet), which is merely another word for the former; whence we see that he considered himself as Administrator by the choice of the people in Upper Sweden, before he was confirmed in the office by the nobility at Vadstena.

⁷ "As has lately happened in West-Gothland," the king adds. The epithets applied to the staff of summons have been explained in Chapter VII.

⁸ "Esthers and thralls," it is said; therefore the name of this people is used as synonymous with bondmen.

the prelates of the Church heeded not, but wished to preserve their old usages, be they right or unright. There were some who slandered him publicly and shamelessly, pretending that he would suffer no priests to remain in the country; but he was minded to die like a Christian man, and knew that teachers were indispensable. He would support them in all matters if they discharged their duties satisfactorily, but he requested the advice of the estates regarding those who did not use the faculties of their office for the behoof of the commonalty. He himself was ready to abdicate his dignity in exchange for a fief and to give them thanks for the honours they had conferred on him, but if any government were to exist, means must be found for its sustentation, and now more than formerly, if Sweden were to have a king. That method of carrying on war which was now used in other countries, made greater charges necessary; the fortresses and castles of the kingdom were dilapidated and in part destroyed; the income of the crown was endangered, whilst every one wished to be king over his own labourers; and yet the baronage had become weaker, so that it was unable to fulfil its obligations for the defence of the realm. The customs had sunk to nothing; the mines of silver and copper had fallen to decay; the trade did not support the towns, and for the little which yet remained, the country and the towns were quarrelling; the yearly outlay of the crown now amounted to two and a half times more than the receipts⁹. For such a strait help was required, whosoever might bear rule in the land.

When this statement had been read, the king requested an answer from the barons and the bishops. Thuré Jenson, the oldest member of the council, who had been raised by the king in the preceding year to be high steward, called upon bishop Brask to speak. The prelate declared that he knew indeed well in what fealty he was bound to his king; yet that he and his whole class were also obliged to render obedience to the Pope in spiritual things, and could not without his sanction consent either to any alteration of doctrine, or to a diminution of the rights and property of the Church. Had worthless priests and monks sought gain by encouraging superstitious usages, which the heads of the Church themselves disapproved, such practices might be abrogated and punished.

The king inquired of the council and the nobility, whether they deemed this a fair answer; Thuré Jenson declared that he knew of none better. "Then have we no will," exclaimed Gustavus, "longer to be your king. From you we had expected another answer, but now we cannot wonder that the common people should give us all manner of disobedience and misliking, when they have such ringleaders. Get they not rain, the fault is ours; if sunshine fail them, 'tis the same cry; if bad years, hunger, and pest come, so must we bear the blame. All of ye will be our masters; monks, and priests, and creatures of the Pope, ye set over our heads, and for all our toils for your welfare, we have no other reward to expect, than that ye would gladly see the axe at our neck, yet none of you but grasp its handle. Such guerdon we can as well want as any of you. Who would be your king on

such terms? Not the worst fiend in hell, much less a man. Therefore look to it, that ye release me fairly from the government, and restore me that which I have disbursed from my own stock for the general weal; then will I depart, and never see again my ungrateful father-land." The king at these words burst into tears and hastily quitted the hall.

In the confusion which now ensued no one ventured to speak, much less to tender advice. Thuré Jenson alone was bent on showing his courage, and prepared for his departure with beat of drum, affirming that no man within this year should turn him into a heathen, Lutheran, or heretic. But when on the following day the same indecision prevailed among the barons, expressions of impatience began to be heard from a number of the common people. If the matter were rightly considered, they said, king Gustavus had reason on his side; the good lords might now make an end of the business, else would the peasants take counsel for themselves. The traders from the towns were of the same opinion; the burgesses of Stockholm cried that they would at least keep the capital open to the king; and Magnus Sommar, the bishop elect of Strengness, at length declared, that the servants of the Church wished not to be screened at the peril of ruin to the whole kingdom. Many thanked him for this speech, and besought the clergy that the contested points of doctrine might be handled before the estates, in order that laymen also might gain some insight into them. Olave Peterson and doctor Peter Galle thereupon disputed throughout a whole day, the latter answering at first only in Latin, till the people with threats compelled him to make use of his mother-tongue. On the third day even Thuré Jenson and his party were obliged to yield, since the peasants and burghers tumultuously called, that they would go to king Gustavus, and with his help visit and destroy them all if they would not give way. A deputation was despatched to the king, who meanwhile was taking his pleasure in the castle with his captains of war. The chancellor and Olave Petersen laid before him the supplication of the estates, that he would quietly continue in the government, and they would pay him willing obedience; yet Gustavus gave them a severe answer, denying their request. Three times was the same petition carried up by new commissioners, in the last instance falling on their knees with tears, before he allowed himself to relent. When he again, upon the fourth day, appeared among the estates, "there wanted little," say the chronicles, "for the common people to have kissed his feet; although a great part of those who were there congregated soon forgot this transaction, and were afterwards no better than before."

All his demands were conceded. The king's propositions (as the phrase now is, but then called "framsättningar," while Swedish words were still used for Swedish affairs) were answered by each class for itself, by the nobility, the traders, the miners, and the peasants, although their deliberations appear to have been held in company. The statute which was the result of these, known under the title of the *Recess of Westeras*, and dated on Midsummer's day 1527, was issued in the name of

⁹ In the *Recess of Westeras*, in *Stjernerman*, the king states the certain receipts of the crown at 24,000 marks

(£500) at the most, while the outlay amounted to more than 60,000 marks (£2000) yearly.

the council of state, whose seals were appended to it, with those of the nobility and of certain burghers and miners appointed on the part of the commonalty. The bishops, who from this time were no longer summoned to the council, briefly declared, in a special instrument, "that they were content, how rich or poor soever his grace would have them to be." The act of the council on the Recess of Westeras contains, 1. A mutual engagement to withstand all attempts at revolt and to punish them, as also to defend the present government against all enemies, foreign and domestic; 2. A grant of power to the king, to take into his own hands the castles and strongholds of the bishops, and to fix their revenues¹ as well as those of the prebends and canons, to levy fines hitherto payable to the bishops, and to regulate the monasteries, "in which there had for a long time been woeful misgovernment;" 3. Authority for the nobles to resume that part of their hereditary property which had been conveyed to churches and convents since the Inquisition (räfst) of Charles Canuteson in 1454, if the heir-at-law could substantiate his birthright thereto, at the Ting, by the oaths of twelve men²; 4. Liberty for the preachers to proclaim the pure word of God, "but not" the barons add, "uncertain miracles, human inventions and fables, as hath been much used heretofore." Respecting the new faith, on the other hand, the burghers and miners declare that "inquiry might be made, but that the matter passed their understanding;" as do the peasants, since "it was hard to judge more deeply than understanding permitted." The answer of the latter betrays the affection they still, for the most part, bore to the clergy, with the exception of the mendicant friars or sack-monks, of whose conduct they complain. Of the bishops' castles they say that the king may take them in keeping, until the kingdom shall be more firmly settled; for the article respecting the revenues of the Church, they believe they are unable to answer it, but commit this matter to the king and his council. In that supplement to the statute, which is entitled the Ordinance of Westeras, it is enacted, that a register of all the rents of the bishops, cathedrals, and canons, should be drawn up, and the king might direct what proportion of these should be reserved to the former owners, and how much paid over to him for the requirements of the crown; that ecclesiastical offices, not merely the higher, but the inferior, should for the future be filled up only with the king's consent, so that the bishops might supply the vacant parishes with preachers, but subject to

reviewal by the king, who might remove those whom he found to be unfit; that in secular matters priests should be amenable to the civil jurisdiction, and on their decease no part of their effects should devolve to the bishops; finally, that from that day the gospels should be read in all schools, "as be- seems those which are truly Christian."

When these arrangements had been concerted, the king turned towards the prelates, and demanded from the bishop of Strengness, the castle of Tynnelsö, which the latter declared himself ready to surrender. A similar answer was returned by the bishop of Skara in reference to that of Leckö³, but when the king came to bishop Brask and requested his castle of Munkeboda, silence and sighs were the only reply. Thure Jenson begged for his old friend, that the castle might be at least spared to him during his life time, but the king answered shortly, "No!" Eight lords of the council were obliged on the spot to become sureties for the bishop's obedience. Forty men of his body-guard were taken from him to be entered among the royal forces, and they formed a portion of the troops who were forthwith dispatched to take possession of the fortress with its artillery and appurtenances. At the same time, the king sent various men of note as commissioners to the principal churches and monasteries throughout Sweden, to take into their keeping all documents concerning the estates and revenues of these foundations, and a declaratory letter of the council on the Recess and Ordinance of Westeras was issued to all the provinces. Bishop Brask succeeded by a seeming submission in freeing himself from the securities he had been obliged to find; shortly afterwards, pretending a visitation to Gottland, he quitted the kingdom for ever and joined the archbishop, who was likewise a fugitive in Dantzic.

GUSTAVUS now proceeded to celebrate his coronation in the beginning of 1528, and chastised the revolt of the Dalesmen, the negotiation with whom had been carried on during the diet of Westeras, by agents reciprocally appointed; but the pretended Sturé, though his party had greatly decreased since Christina Gyllenstierna herself had declared him to be an impostor, continued to find protection and assistance in Norway, where he had sought⁴ refuge, and more covertly, in Dalecarlia. The Dalesmen, who from the indulgence with which they had so long been treated, expected not only impunity, but exemption from the impost of which they had refused payment, were now summoned to meet the king at the assize (landsting) of

¹ Or "with how many men they should ride," since the revenues of a baron were at that time reckoned by the number of his armed followers. The archbishop Joannes Magnus, in the year of his deposition, rode his visitation into Norrland with a train of 300 men, and was attended by the sons of the most distinguished nobles.

² This related to land exempt from taxes (frälsejord); taxable ground (skattejord), which had been transferred to the Church, was to be restored, "however long it might have been alienated."

³ The king did not demand the castle of Grönsö from the bishop of Westeras, because he had already, in 1521, taken it from bishop Otto, who favoured the Danes, without subsequently restoring it to his successor Peder Sunnanvæder, which was one of the motives to his defection. The king acknowledges—as he writes in 1525 to the provost of the

chapter of Upsala, that he had taken the estate of Grönsö from the bishop of Westeras at the time when the latter was his enemy, seeing that it had belonged to the crown, and that the see of Westeras had so long possessed it, that any sums laid out upon it must have been more than replaced. Reg. of the Archives. The bishop's castle of Kusö, not far from Abo, was pulled down in 1528 by the royal order.

⁴ He went from thence to Germany, but was arrested at the instance of Gustavus, and brought to trial at Rostock, where he was condemned to death, it is said, not for his rebellion, but for a robbery which he had committed before his appearance as king in Dalecarlia. There exists a letter from one Canute Nilson, secretary to king Christian, dated Schwerin, November 20, 1528, acquainting the fugitive king with his fate. In this he is styled son of lord Steno, and it is stated that when apprehended he was on his way to the king.

Tuna. On their arrival, they found him at the head of 14,000 men, by whom, on the field of conference, they were surrounded. A letter, in terms of menace, from the deputies of all the realm below the Dale country was read, in which they were denounced as recreants from the league which united them with the other provinces. The instigators of the revolt were delivered up, sentenced to death, and executed on the spot. The rest received grace; and there were many who had expected pardon, even for those who were really guilty, since the royal safe-conduct, under which all had come, excepted no one. From the Dales the king proceeded to Helsingland and Gestricland, where obedience was restored by the like method, but without bloodshed.

Of the popular temper at this time the chronicles give the following description:—"The king might labour as much as he would that they might bear goodwill to him and his labours, yet it was of no avail. The reason was, that he had so few upright servants, with understanding and will to order his affairs for the best, nor could he obtain such before the popish creed was mostly rooted out. Never would the Dalesmen have been so lightly brought to revolt, nor the West-Gothlanders and Smalanders beside, if they had not cherished a perverse opinion of the king, that he wished to suppress the Christian faith. With such charges did the old folk, and especially old priests, fill the ears of the common people, so that did the king show himself mild or harsh, it was taken alike ill. If he discoursed pleasantly, they cried that he wished to tickle them with the hare's foot; if he spoke sharply, they then said, that for all their taxes and burdens they had nought else to expect from him but reproaches and bad words, and that he would undo them and the whole kingdom. With the provinces which remained quiet it was mostly feigning, for they did it out of fear, because they heard how with strong hand he had compelled the Dalesmen and Norrlanders to obedience."

For the effects of the diet of Westeras to ripen to maturity in Sweden, seventy years were required; it cannot therefore surprise us, that at first the opinions expressed upon its enactments should have been bitter, and often mutually conflicting, or that they should have given rise to great disorders. The convents, stripped of their revenues, which had been granted in fief to the barons, who were obliged in return to the maintenance of soldiers for the service of the crown, were deserted. When the Dominicans of Stockholm complained that they had not wherewithal to live, the answer was, that they might provide themselves elsewhere, "since men were wont from hunger to deliver up castles and towns, much more convents⁵." Of their ejected inmates, the aged filled the land with their tales of wroth; the young for the most part married, monks often becoming the husbands of nuns, which, according to the feelings of that day, awakened no less scandal than when the virgins of the cloister were seen degraded to the condition of public courtezans. There were many who took occasion from the statutes of Westeras to withhold from the priests every source of income, so that in 1528 the king was forced to remind men, by an or-

dinance, that the tithes and legal dues of the clergy must continue to be paid conformably to the various local usages. For this caution in changing the old observances of the church he reaped scant gratitude. By the decree of the Synod of Örebro in 1523, most of them were retained, but with an injunction that their true sense should be made clear to the people, whence Olave Peterson, in his Swedish Manual, published at this time, says that he has "allowed most of the ceremonies to stand which had been theretofore used, and were not contrary to God's word." For this compliance the more vehement of the Germans in Stockholm assailed him with insults, as if he had fallen away from the gospel, "wherefore they were reprovably admonished that they should raise no uproar in the town, and were informed, that the people of this land must be softly dealt with⁶." Letters from the king to his officers exist, in which he reprimands them for their unseasonable zeal in pressing the Swedish mass on the people, "though little improvement could follow till the generality were better instructed⁷." With this view, it was further ordained by the synod of Örebro, that a lection of Holy Scripture should be held daily in the cathedrals, and that learned men should be appointed ministers in the towns, who could give instruction to their more simple brethren in the country. Persons capable of acting as teachers, however, were too often not to be found. The seminaries of Upsala and Stockholm, the former under the superintendence of Lawrence Peterson, the latter under that of his brother, had hitherto been the only schools in which these could be obtained. Gustavus himself took good note of the talents of the preachers who, according to the decree of Örebro, were sent to all the cathedrals. These were not every where well received; of two who were sent to Skara, one was driven from the pulpit, the other stoned out of the school, when he was about to prelect on the gospel of St. Matthew. Soon afterwards tidings arrived that the flames of revolt had broken out in West-Gothland and Smaland.

The high steward, Thure Jenson (Roos), whom Tegel calls the real root of this rebellion, was the most powerful of those provincial magnates who had been left from the times of the Union, and resembled them in this, that he possessed property in all the three kingdoms, a case not unusual in this age, and which was provided for by a special article in the Recess of Malmö in 1524. He was the oldest member of the council, and justiciary of West-Gothland, an office which his grandfather had previously filled. So extensive was his influence over the nobles of the province, that they attempted afterwards to excuse their own disloyalty by alleging the weight of his name; he used to style himself also "the head of all the West-Goths⁸." The king, whose lieutenant in this division of the realm he was, had laboured to gain him by the bestowal of large fiefs; for which the steward, according to the custom of bygone times, performed but small service to the crown, as the king's letters show. His being reminded of his obligations in this respect was considered as a proof, that even the new advantages which were

⁵ Id. p. 291.

⁷ Id. iii. 171.

⁸ In his speech to the Westgothlanders, in Tegel.

⁵ Minute-book of the town of Stockholm; Troil, Handlingar, ii. 283.

promised to the nobles at the expense of the Church were not so secure as had been hoped. The ancient league between the hierarchy and the baronage was not yet dissolved. At the diet of 1527, Thuré Jenson had been the most zealous defender of the bishops; after his return home, he omitted to promulgate in his province the Recess and Ordinance of Westeras; and a judgment passed against him by the council in a question of inheritance between himself and the king⁹, at length brought forth an ebullition of his long-cherished hostility. He conspired against Gustavus with Magnus, bishop of Skara, and the principal barons of West-Gothland, and began to agitate the common people in the spring of 1529. Two years before the Smalanders had already refused to pay the tax imposed for the cancelling of the public debt, and shot arrows at lord Thuré Trollé in the forest, when he came on the side of the king to open a negotiation on this subject. They now put to death the king's bailiff, who had received a grant of Nydala abbey, with several of his servants, and took captive a sister of Gustavus, the widow of Joachim Brahe who had married the count of Hoya. From Jenköping they issued letters to both the Gothlands, calling upon the inhabitants, with invectives, the bitterness of which betrayed a clerical pen, "to chastise the cruel king and his Lutheran faction." Thuré Jenson, with his adherents, wrote to the Dalesmen in the same sense; his son Jöran, provost of the chapter of Upsala, repaired himself to Norrland, to raise the Helsingers again in rebellion, and a thousand men who had drawn together in West-Gothland, under the command of one Master Nils of Hvalstad, a priest, guarded the road leading from that district to the upper country.

Of all the insurrectionary movements in the time of king Gustavus, the revolt of the West-Goths was the only one which was called into activity at the instigation, not only of the clergy but the nobility. Yet the lords sought to push forward the peasants; a proof sufficient that the barons were no longer so powerful as they had been. The energies of democracy were never more vigorous in Sweden, than after the massacre of Stockholm had broken the strength of the magnates, and the diet of Westeras that of the bishops. Gustavus stood amidst a turbulent stream of popular force which had burst its bounds. This had first raised him to a throne, which during twenty years it struggled to overturn. His accustomed mode of action, to follow the torrent when it was about to overpower him, until he should gain firm footing, was dictated to him by necessity, and it must be acknowledged that he well knew how to guide himself among the dangers of his position.

"Might good words help, we have spent largely enough," he writes to the count of Hoya. "Treason is so mighty and so widely spread that we wist not whom we may believe; come therefore to us with the greatest power of horse and foot that ye can bring up. In our town of Stockholm, as also in the free barons and knights of Upland, who have sworn homage to us anew, we can place assured trust. The commons of East-Gothland, the Dales, and Upland, have promised us to remain quiet. Our

messengers to the seditious are not yet come back!" The insurgent Smalanders, doubtless to their own amazement, received from the king the following letter: "We have heard that ye took our sister into your ward, upon the false rumour that Upland had risen against us and that Stockholm was besieged, wherefore we give you gracious thanks, but pray you to send her to us; further, we have heard that our bailiff Godfrey Sare has been slain in your country, for what cause we know not; peradventure he has offended in somewhat and overstepped our command, which might well have been changed without this mishap. We wish but the best to all of ye, and thereupon will stake our neck." Letters of the king and his council were despatched to all the provinces, to the effect that he would gladly mend whatever might be wrong in his government; touching religion and the Church, nothing had been determined without the assent of the council and the estates, nor should be hereafter. The Smalanders were besides wheedled with a pledge, that two convents² should be preserved; the clergy he engaged to exempt from entertaining the royal troops, if they would give their aid in appeasing the commons; to the Dalesmen he promised the remission of the tax they had so keenly contested, and to the miners an acquittance from some of the demands of the crown. The abundance of the sovereign's good words seemed not to suffice; he begged that others too would employ the like. It was usual at this time when one province was in revolt, to invoke the mediation of the rest, in reference to the ancient league by which they had been united. Thus the town of Stockholm now wrote to the Dalesmen, praying them to refrain from taking part in this insurrection. The Dalesmen and the miners on the other hand, although two years afterwards they were themselves ready for a new rising, addressed on this occasion a special letter of admonition to the factious West-Goths and Smalanders; but the East-Goths in particular, the neighbours of the latter, were employed as mediators. Delegates from Upland and East-Gothland, with the royal envoys, hastened to West-Gothland and Smaland, bearing an offer of full pardon for the men of these territories, if they returned to their obedience.

The result was, that when Thuré Jenson convoked a meeting of the West-Goths on Larfs Heath, April 17, 1529, and harangued them from a great stone, on the expediency of electing another king, Magnus, bishop of Skara, also assuring them that the Pope would absolve them from their oaths, the yeomen made answer, that "a change of lords seldom made matters better, therefore it seemed to them most advisable to hold fast to the fealty which they had sworn to king Gustavus." Thereupon both the West-Gothlanders, and the Smalanders, who had informed the royal commissioners that they would be guided by the decision of their brethren, laid down their arms. In the writ of accommodation pledges are given to them, that what had happened, should be as a matter dead and forgotten; and that no heresy should be introduced into the kingdom; yet, the king adds, "the Recess of Westeras shall be observed in every

⁹ His wife was Anna Vasa, and was half-sister to the father of Gustavus.

¹ April 29, 1529. Reg. of the Archives.

² In Calmar and Kronöback.

point." In this settlement the mediators are placed on a parallel with the authorities, for it is stated that "the good men of Upland and East-Gothland likewise, who have interceded for the disturbers, shall have power to mulct of goods and life every man who after this day by word or deed shall stir up any disorders against the king." So this sedition was quelled. Jöran Thurén, the dean, who had attempted to raise the Helsingers, was at last seized by them and delivered to the king, who was satisfied with dismissing him from his office³. His father, the old high steward, with bishop Magnus, fled across the border to Denmark.

Seven barons, who all style themselves councillors of state in West-Gothland⁴, had plotted with the rebel leaders at Larfs Heath, before the resolution of the yeomanry was known, to change the government of Sweden, and had renounced fealty and obedience to king Gustavus. Their letter was not sent, and assurances were afterwards given them by the priest, master Nils of Hvalstad, that all the documents by which their participation in the revolt might be proved should be committed to the flames. Deeming that the king did not know, or would not see their guilt, (they had even during the troubles received letters from him graciously expressed,) the three chief of them,—Magnus Brynteson (Liliehök), a youth of amiable character, whom the conspirators, it was said, had fixed upon to be king, Nils Olson (Winge), and Thure Ericson (Bielke)—ventured to lay the whole blame of this transaction on Thure Jenson and the bishop, and to offer themselves to the judgment of the council and the estates at the diet, now convoked in Strenghness. Here Gustavus vindicated himself at length from the accusations brought against him, and caused a defence of the Recess of Westeras, composed by Lawrence Peterson, to be made public. On the trial⁵ it was declared, that the arraigned lords had forfeited all claim to be included in the warrant of peace granted by the king, or to obtain a pardon; the rather, that although thrice called upon by him to acknowledge their guilt and sue for grace, they had refused to comply. They were therefore, in accordance with the tenor of their own letters, now produced against them, condemned to death; and the sentence was executed on the two first-named. The pardon of the third was granted to the supplications of his mother, but he was obliged to pay a fine of 2000 guilders (£158), and the rest of those who had borne a leading part in the revolt saw themselves under the necessity of purchasing the

king's good will afterwards with money and costly presents.

The debt to Lubeck was still unpaid. From an account adjusted in 1529 by the king's brother-in-law, the count of Hoya, with the authorities of the town, it is plain that the capital had not been diminished⁶ since the year 1523, notwithstanding the tax levied for its discharge, and this circumstance was one cause of the general discontent which prevailed. An agreement had now indeed been concluded, by which the privileges granted in 1523 were to be confined to Lubeck, the town consenting that the debt should be paid by instalments within four years; but even this engagement rendered necessary the employment of extraordinary means. Imitating an example which had already been set in Denmark⁷, a baronial diet held at Upsala in the early part of the year 1530 resolved, that from all the town churches of the kingdom one bell should be taken towards the cancelling of this debt. The municipalities acceded to this measure, and in the following year the same requisition was extended to the rural churches, the bells being redeemable with money, at the option of the parishes. Agents specially commissioned by the council settled the conditions of arrangement with the commonalty of the various districts; engaging on the king's side, that what was thus collected should be applied only to the object specified, and that the expenditure of the sum should be accounted for by persons thereto appointed. The tithes for the year were besides exacted, with all of the money and plate still remaining in the church-coffers that could be spared. In this way the debt of Lubeck was entirely paid off; but its discharge cost the king a new insurrection. The Dalecarlians once more rose, took back their bells, which they had already delivered up, and despatched letters throughout the kingdom, in which they invoked the remembrance of the ancient confederation, requesting that twelve men of condition from every hundred might assemble in a general diet at Arboga on St. Eric's day (the 18th of May), 1531, in order to deliberate and come to a decision upon certain affairs of the commons, which concerned the interests of all men, more especially respecting the dissensions in the Christian church. The peasants in Gestriceand, in a part of Westmanland and in Nerike, likewise resumed possession of their bells. At a meeting held by the barrows of old Upsala, the king with difficulty appeased the discontent of the Uplanders; subsequently he employed their chiefs, with the

royal majesty, as also for the answers which his majesty had given thereon. Upon which the estates of the realm, after due examination, declared that the king's majesty, with his well-grounded answers, had cleared himself beyond cavil of all the matters of the imputations." As the Recess of Westeras had been the occasion of the revolt, this was now also expressly confirmed.

⁶ Compare Tegel, i. 220. The king was dissatisfied with the count's reckoning, and maintained that he was entitled to various deductions from the sum.

⁷ A letter of Canute Nilson, secretary to Christian II., dated Schwerin, November 28, 1528, informs his master that a burdensome tax had been imposed in Denmark and Holstein: "they have taken the bells from the churches and carried them to the castle; where there are three they take two, where there are two, one." The firm of Fugger, it is said, bought them. It is added that "the barons were stiffly insisting on taking back their estates from the churches and convents." Archives of Christian II.

³ His brothers John and Lars, both councillors of state, had remained true to the king.

⁴ These were Nils Olson, Thure Ericson, Magnus Brynteson, Axel Possé, Thord Bondé, Nils Clauson, and Matts Kaffe. See the letter of the councillors of state in West-Gothland to the Smalanders, April 17, 1529. Reg. of the Archives. The two last were not councillors. It is hence clear that Matts Kaffe, whom Celsius and others represent as active against the insurgents, was one of the conspirators.

⁵ The king himself appeared against these barons (as formerly against Master Canute and Peder Sunmanvæder) in the character of prosecutor, and in the proceedings of this diet generally he stood in the relation of a party. Hence Tegel says, "King Gustavus rendered himself to trial before the lords of the council and the nobles, the burgesses of the trading towns, the miners and the yeomanry, who were assembled in Strenghness, for all matters, articles, and points which had been dishonestly invented and charged upon his

magistrates of Stockholm, in a negotiation with the insurgents of Dalecarlia. At their head, in the present attempt, appeared men who had heretofore been the most faithful adherents of the king. The peasants of the Dales, said these, would not again allow themselves to be pinned in a ring, as once upon Tuna Heath; to come across the Dal-elf at Brunbäck without the Dalesmen's leave was what no king or lord of the land had ever dared; even Gustavus should not come into their country without safe-conduct, or with a greater following than they themselves should appoint; nor would they suffer any other officers to live among them other than such as they had themselves consented to receive, and as had been born among them⁸. All this they alleged to be the old custom of their country, and they now kept armed guard upon the borders. When the king came to hear this, he said, it was now the time of the Dalesmen, but that his own time was coming, and to the astonishment of all, he nominated one of the principal insurgent leaders to be governor of the Dales.

This caution was rendered necessary by the perils which threatened from another quarter. Christian II., though dethroned, was ever busied with plans for recovering the kingdoms of which he had been master, and he had more than once collected troops for this purpose, whom yet he never succeeded in keeping together. An army of 26,000 men, which he led against Holstein in 1523, with his brother-in-law the elector of Brandenburg, disbanded for want of pay, and the king was forced to hide from his own soldiers. In the year 1526, Gustavus was informed by a letter of the Danish council, that Christian was again in march towards Holstein with 10,000 men⁹. This armament was to operate in conjunction with the partisans of Severin Norby, whose designs upon Sweden have been already mentioned¹, but the army, upon the report of Norby's flight, dispersed. Meanwhile the dwelling of Christian in the Netherlands, where he lived under the protection of the emperor, was a point of re-union for all the Swedish malcontents and exiles. Here resided the former archbishop Gustavus Trollé, who had carried off with him the old records of the kingdom²; here were gathered Thuré Jenson, bishop Magnus of Skara, and Jon Ericson, dean of Upsala, who held communication with bishop John Brask, now likewise a refugee. In the year 1530, they

bound themselves by a special covenant³ to replace Christian "by the arms of their adherents" on the throne, and invoked the aid of the emperor, "to free Sweden, for the boot of Christendom, from a tyrant who cared neither for God nor men, for word, honour, nor repute⁴." The return of Charles V. to the Netherlands at this time inspired Christian with new hope; in Denmark and Sweden it awakened new terrors. By lavish promises and prospects of booty, a band of military adventurers was collected round him, which soon formed an army of 12,000 men, whose first exploits consisted in plundering the country. The emperor, who was otherwise little satisfied with his brother-in-law, at length paid over to him the arrears of the dowry of his deceased sister, and the Hollanders furnished ships and artillery, solely in order to be rid of their troublesome guests. From Norway, whither Gustavus Trollé had previously repaired, money and plate gleaned from the churches were sent. By the end of October 1531, Christian put to sea with a fleet of twenty-five vessels, and though these were dispersed by a storm in which several were lost, he was himself fortunate enough to effect a landing in Norway at Opslo⁵. The Norsemen, who had long been disaffected to Danish rule, perceived in Christian the instrument by which they might regain independence. Although he had embraced the principles of the reformers (in whose communion his consort had died, as the king himself wrote to Luther), he now appeared as the defender of the Catholic faith in the north. Olave, archbishop of Drontheim, and all the bishops of Norway with the exception of Bergen, the clergy, the nobility, and the greater part of the people declared for his cause. On the 30th of November, 1531, the council of Norway renounced fealty and obedience to king Frederic, exhorting the Danes to make common cause with them, and Christian was again acknowledged as king of Norway. At the same time the banished Swedish lords who were among his train, endeavoured actively to promote his interest in Sweden. They wrote to the insurgent Dalecarlians, as also to West-Gothland and other provinces, that king Christian had changed to a pattern of pure justice and meekness, and that he had come to restore the Christian faith. But in Sweden, the conquest of which Thuré Jenson had deluded the king into thinking an easy matter⁶, these intrigues produced

⁸ In the Registry of the Archives for 1526 exists a letter of the king, written during the rebellion in the Dale-land instigated by Peder Sunnanvæder, to the miners of the Kopparberg, on the nomination of a new bailiff; "which yet," he says, "we cannot do without the consent and presence of you all, nor will, against your privileges." The Register notes, however, that this letter was never sent forth.

⁹ Letter from Tyge Krabbe and Claas Bille, councillors of Denmark, to king Gustavus, October 1, 1526; "that king Christian was in motion with 3000 horse and 7000 pikemen, but when they learned that Severin Norby had miscarried, their courage failed them." Reg. of the Archives.

¹ His last attempt, in 1526, to make war on Gustavus with the assistance of Denmark, which was refused, is mentioned by Tegel, i. 124. He fled to Russia, and was kept prisoner there till 1529, when he entered into the service of the emperor Charles V.; next year he was killed at the siege of Florence. He was by birth a Norwegian.

² In a letter from Antwerp, March 12, 1530, Gustavus Trollé tells king Christian that it is not advisable to keep the register of the kingdom of Sweden any longer in the Bur-

gundian dominions, because the Burgundians were not to be depended upon, but he would deposit it for the king's use elsewhere, and acquaint him with the place. Archives of Christian II. Where it was preserved is now unknown.

³ Dated at Antwerp, September 27, 1530, and drawn up in the name of all the above-named lords, but not subscribed by Brask, who was still in Prussia. Compliance with the spirit of the times induced the insertion in this bond of an article providing that estates of which the crown had been wrongfully deprived, might be again resumed by the sovereign.

⁴ So Gustavus is styled in the draught of a memorial to the emperor, conceived with implacable bitterness. Among other statements, it is there asserted that in Sweden the nuns had become public courtezans, and that the king proceeded to such lengths in his plunder of the churches, that he caused the church-yards to be dug up in order to boil saltpebre from the bones of the dead.

⁵ Now Christiania. T.

⁶ "Baron Thuré Jenson often asserted that he would with

no effect. And when Christian himself, in an incursion into Bohusland, met with an obstinate resistance from the inhabitants, the prompter of these deceitful hopes, to which the invader had yielded credence, was obliged to expiate his misrepresentation with his life. The headless body of Thure Jenson was found one morning upon the road in Kongelf.

The common danger accelerated the adjustment of particular differences between Sweden and Denmark. Bohusland, of which Gustavus had kept possession for ten years, was again given up to king Frederic in May 1532, and the settlement of the claims which both parties preferred to Gottland was postponed. The two kings formed a league for mutual defence, and a Swedish force entered Upper Norway. The fate of Christian was soon decided. His ships were burned by the united squadrons of Denmark and Lubeck. On one side was a hostile fleet, on the other the castle of Aggerhus, which was still in the hands of the Danes; his troops mutinied from hunger and want; and in pursuance of a convention he surrendered to the commander of the Danish squadron, bishop Canute Gyllenstiern, stipulating for a safe conduct to Denmark, in order that he might negotiate in person with his uncle, king Frederic, to whom he was coming, as he phrased it, like the prodigal son; if no amicable compromise of their disputes could be effected, he was to be free to quit the kingdom. The bishop however was declared to have exceeded his powers; in his own excuse he suggested that the conditions, although promised, need not be fulfilled. So bitter was the hatred of the grandes against Christian, that king Frederic was obliged to give a written assurance to the nobility of Denmark and Holstein⁷, that he should be kept in perpetual imprisonment, the document being committed to the custody of eight barons, four Danes and four Holsteimers⁸. The unfortunate prince was incarcerated in the eastern tower of the castle of Sonderburgh, in a vaulted chamber, of which all the apertures were walled up, one little window excepted, through which his food was introduced. In this abode of horror, where a Norwegian dwarf was his only companion, king Christian lived seventeen years, the first twelve without any alleviation of his misery. It was decreed that a war undertaken in his name, should once more bring Denmark to the brink of ruin, and expose Sweden to dangers of the most formidable kind. His imprisonment lasted in all seven and twenty years, and was only terminated by death. After the year 1544, its rigours, at the intercession of the emperor, were mitigated, and the renouncement of all his pretensions at length, in 1549, brought about the removal of the captive to the castle of Kallundborg, where he received a princely maintenance, with permission now and then to divert himself with the pleasures of the chase. But calamity had broken his strength of mind, and those attacks of despondency, from which he had formerly suffered in his most prosperous days, being now deepened by his immoderate use of the wines of Italy, in his last years not unfrequently

two or three thousand men conquer all Sweden; such support did he expect to obtain." Hvitfeld.

⁷ Hvitfeld says to Gustavus and the Swedish nobility also, but Gustavus himself complains that in the disposal of Christian he had not been consulted. Tegel i. 313.

assumed the character of insanity⁹. His son John, who was educated at the imperial court, died at Ratisbon, upon the same day which consigned his father to a dungeon. Of his daughters, Dorothea was married to the elector Palatine, Frederic II.; Christina first to Francis Sforza, afterwards to the Duke of Lorraine. These princesses and their children continued to put forward claims, which more than once disturbed the peace of the north.

Such being the event of Christian's invasion, Gustavus obtained time again to turn his thoughts to the Dalecarlians, in whose territory all was for the present tranquil. The Dalesmen, weary of moving about in arms among their forests, had made an offer to the king at the end of the year 1531 to redeem their bells with a sum of 2000 marks, and were the more gladdened by his promise of pardon¹, that they regarded it as a silent confirmation of their privileges. They celebrated with feasts, say the chronicles, the old liberty of the Dales. But the king on the other hand had determined for ever to extinguish their claims to peculiar privileges above the other inhabitants of the kingdom; and he was besides moved anew to indignation when the miners set at nought his summons to defend the kingdom against the attack of Christian, and held communications with his runaway subjects². These mutinous excesses were ascribed more especially to "Magnus Nilson with his faction," who, the real instigator of the bell-sedition, was at that time the richest miner in the Kopparberg, and of whom it is popularly said, that he shod his horses with silver. In the commencement of the year 1533 Gustavus cited his own retainers, with those of the nobility, to meet at Westeras. No man knew against whom this armament was really directed, although rumour spoke of new plots by the factionaries of king Christian. To his captains the king's injunctions were—"Wheresoever ye see me advance, thither haste ye speedily after." The expedition took its way to the Dale country, whose inhabitants had lately sent representatives to Westeras. These the king detained, and in their stead despatched proclamations to the Dalecarlians, purporting that "he well knew that little of what had happened could be imputed to the common people; he came only to hold an inquisition upon the guilty, whom it was meet they should cast out from among them." He invited them all to come to a conference at the Kopparberg. The king arrived as soon as the letters, and the commonalty assembled, some with goodwill, others by constraint. Troops, as on the previous occasion, encompassed the assembly; first several lords of the council spoke to the people, afterwards the king himself. He questioned the Dalesmen; whether they remembered their promise made six years before, when he had pardoned the revolt then commenced? Whether they supposed they might play this game with him every year with impunity? This bout should be the last. He would suffer no province in his dominion to be hostile; for the future theirs should be either obedient, or so desolated that neither hound nor

⁸ Holberg, *Dannemarks Riges Historie*, 2, 266.

⁹ *Id.* 2, 373.

¹ Reply to the letter of the Dale-folk, November 7, 1531. *Reg. of the Archives.*

² This is stated in the sentence of the delinquents, Tegel, 1, 322.

cock should be heard in it. He asked them where they would have that border which their king must not dare to overstep? Whether it became them as subjects thus to master their magistrates? What was the true reason why the Sturés, although the rulers of the land, had never ventured to cross the stream at Brunnbäck without the leave of the miners? To such insolence he at least would not submit. After this fashion the king spoke to them long and sharply, and during the time the whole of the commonalty were upon their knees. He called upon them to deliver up the instigators of the last sedition, which was forthwith performed. Five of them were tried and executed upon the spot; the rest were carried prisoners to Stockholm, where in the following year three of them, pursuant to the judgment of the council and the town magistrates, were put to death, and among them Anders Person of Rankhytta, in whose barn Gustavus had once threshed. The forfeited property of the offenders was restored to their wives and children³. Thus ended the third and last rising of the Dalecarlians against king Gustavus.

At this time Lubeck was calling up its last energies for the maintenance of its commercial power; for its citizens, who "wished to hold in their sole grasp the keys of the Baltic, looking only to their own advantage⁴," had long seen with reluctance the Hollanders dividing with themselves the trade of the North. They had contributed to the overthrow of Christian II., because he had favoured these rivals, but they had not reaped the fruits expected from his fall⁵, and they ended by wishing to raise him from his prison to the throne. Gustavus had already in 1526 formed a commercial treaty with the regent Margaret of the Netherlands, and although Christian had received support from that quarter in his last enterprise, the misunderstandings thereby created were eventually adjusted. Lubeck on the other hand demanded that Sweden and Denmark should declare war on the Hollanders, and in the mean time postponed the assertion of its own quarrel with them in order to kindle a new one in the North. Marcus Meyer and Görgen Wollenwever, two bold demagogues, were the men who, having ejected the old council of Lubeck and usurped the government in the name of the populace, ruined the power of their native city by the attempt again to make and unmake kings. By the death of Frederic of Denmark on the 3d April, 1533, and the disputes which afterwards arose respecting the succession, their plans were advanced. To excite new troubles in Sweden they employed the name of young Suanto Sturé, a son of the last administrator, who had fallen into their hands. The generous youth refused to be the tool of their designs, for which they found a more will-

ing instrument in the count John of Hoya, whom Christian reckoned one of the persons "introduced into the government by the towns⁶." Gustavus, as has been mentioned, had united him in marriage with his sister, placed him in his council, and bestowed upon him a considerable territory in Finland. Estrangement seems to have first arisen between the count and his sovereign from the computation of the Swedish debt made by the former at Lubeck in 1529, fixing the amount at 10,000 marks higher than Gustavus would acknowledge⁷. The debt was afterwards discharged within the period agreed upon, but the Lubeckers maintained that from 8,000 to 10,000 marks of the same were still wanting, while Gustavus asserted that the Lubeckian commissioners had omitted just so much from their accounts, and applied the money to their own use⁸. The consequence was that the Lubeckers seized a ship belonging to the king, whereupon he laid an embargo on all Lubeckian vessels in Swedish harbours, the bitter hatred of the townsmen to him taking vent in speeches, writings, overt acts of hostility, and at last also in clandestine designs against his life. The count of Hoya fled with his wife and children from Sweden, and was received at Lubeck with public testimonies of rejoicing. Associating himself to the other Swedish exiles, he took part with Gustavus Trolle and Bernard of Melen in the war which now broke out. In the year 1534 began the count's feud, so called because the possessors of power in Lubeck placed count Christopher of Oldenburg at the head of their attack upon Denmark. This was the last blow struck for Christian II., whose cause Lubeck pretended to lead; it was the last contest between the Reformation and Catholicism in Denmark; it was likewise one of the burgesses and peasants against the nobles, waged with furious exasperation, and at first with success, since Malmø, Copenhagen, the Danish islands, Scania, Halland, and Blekinge in a short time acknowledged the captive Christian as king. As soon as all prospect of his liberation disappeared, Lubeck supported duke Albert of Mecklenburg in his pretensions to the Danish crown⁹, and held out to his nephew Philip hopes of obtaining that of Sweden. At the same time count Christopher of Oldenburg urged forward his own schemes, and Christian's son-in-law the palgrave Frederic, afterwards elector, sought to enforce his rights from Germany by the emperor's aid, obtaining adherents even in the northern part of Norway¹.

The imminence of mutual danger occasioned a closer alliance between Sweden and Denmark, which, sanctioned by the Danish council in 1534, received additional strength when Frederic's eldest son Christian III. a year and a half afterwards mounted the throne². The Lubeckers were driven out of Scania, Halland, and Blekinge, by the forces

³ So Tegel and the chronicles; but this must be understood only of a portion of the property. By a royal letter of investiture of the 10th November, 1534, Stephen Henriksen, burgo-master of Upsala, received half of the property of Anders Person. Reg. of the Archives.

⁴ Act of the diet of Stockholm in 1526.

⁵ The treaty formed with Denmark at Copenhagen in 1532, excluding the Hollanders from the Baltic, was not ratified, the emperor and stadholder of the Netherlands having declared that Christian's invasion had been undertaken against their wishes.

⁶ Instructions for Roloff Matson, March 20, 1535. Archives of Christian II.

⁷ See the reasons in Tegel, 1. 221.

⁸ See the different letters of Gustavus respecting the debt to the council of state, the count of Hoya, the magistrates of Stockholm and Lubeck, the latter of September 14, 1533. Reg. of the Archives.

⁹ He was married to the daughter of Christian's sister.

¹ To punish their attachment to Christian and his family, a resolution was passed after the end of the war by a baronial diet in Copenhagen, "that Norway should for the future have no separate council, but should be governed as a province of Denmark."

² He visited Gustavus at Stockholm in 1535.

of Gustavus; their fleet was defeated by the combined Swedish and Danish squadrons. In Denmark too their good fortune came to an end with the overthrow in Fünen (in which Gustavus Trollé was mortally wounded), though Copenhagen was devoted to their interest, and the defence of the town was protracted throughout a whole year. Towards the end of the siege the distress was so extreme that people died of hunger in the streets, and children were observed sucking blood from the breasts of their expiring mothers³. Lubeck saw itself reduced in 1536 to conclude a peace with Denmark, which brought the war with Sweden also to an end. But the dissatisfaction of Gustavus that Denmark should have concluded a separate peace, and under conditions by which he deemed his interests to be prejudiced in several points, the difficulties which arose concerning the payment of the loan wherewith he had assisted Christian III., and various other disputes, had afterwards well-nigh led to a rupture with Denmark. At length a good understanding was restored, and an alliance between the two kingdoms for twenty years contracted, at a personal interview of the sovereigns in Brömsebro. The Hanse Towns on the other hand, after this unsuccessful attempt to restore their ancient influence in the north, never recovered their former privileges. In Lubeck, the party which had instigated the war was overturned. Among their plans was included a conspiracy against Gustavus; the king was to be assassinated, and Stockholm delivered to the Lubeckers. The plot was detected, and its authors, who were for the most part German burgesses, suffered (in 1536) the penalty of their crime. Four years afterwards, Olave Peterson and Lawrence Anderson were accused of not having revealed this treason, which had come to their knowledge through the confessional. They were brought to trial and condemned to death; Lawrence Peterson, who had been appointed in 1531 the first Lutheran archbishop, being obliged himself to sit in judgment on his brother⁴. The king granted them their lives, yet not without imposing a heavy fine, and also consented that Peterson should again resume his ministry in Stockholm. Both had filled the office of High Chancellor, and they were the last Swedish ecclesiastics who held this dignity.

Meanwhile the work of the Reformation was advancing in the northern kingdoms. Gustavus is said to have counselled Christian III. to break the power of the bishops in Denmark. The temporal lords of the council combined with the sovereign to deprive the bishops of all power, whether eccle-

siastical or civil, in the government of the kingdom. The Danish prelates were all arrested upon the same day of the year 1536, and a reduction of the Church property was undertaken. Gustavus also was at this time displeased with his Protestant clergy. He reproached his new instructors, that by incautious alterations of the old usages of the Church they offended the simple, and displayed besides a very eager inclination to master his person and government. The vehement and free-spirited Olave Peterson first drew upon himself disfavour on this account. "Hereby come scandal and sedition," wrote the king to his brother (April 24, 1539), the first Lutheran archbishop, "that the people are not instructed before reformation ensues; men should first learn, and then reform; preachers shall ye be, but no lords; believe not we shall let it come to this, that the bishops should get back the sword." He seemed even disposed to abolish the episcopal office in Sweden, and to reconstitute the Swedish Church upon the Presbyterian model. George Norman, who had been recommended by Melancthon to the king's best confidence⁵, was appointed superintendent over the whole clerical order in his dominions⁶. According to an instruction⁷ issued in 1540, office-bearers, called conservators and councillors of religion, supported by assistants who were styled elders, were to regulate the affairs of the Church in the provinces under his revision, and to hold visitations.

Although this arrangement appears never to have been generally carried into effect, it is certain that visitations of the sees were made accordingly, by which the king appropriated to himself the remnant of plate still left in the churches, furnishing to each in return a copy of the Bible, which was completely translated into Swedish in the year 1541, and that changes were made affecting the power as well as the titles of the bishops. From the year 1544, the king ceased to give the episcopal designation to any except the primate of Upsala; the others were styled ordinaries, and the bishoprics were subdivided according to the royal pleasure among several of these overseers, "seeing that the bishops have heretofore had far too large dioceses and jurisdictions⁸." Towards the end of this prince's reign, the sees of Upsala and Linköping were thus parcelled out each into three portions, those of Westeras and Strengness into two⁹. In all the countries where the reformation was established, it is observable that at first vacillation and uncertainty prevailed respecting the question of supreme authority in spiritual affairs. Gustavus scrupled not to arrogate this power to himself.

³ When the famishing inhabitants demanded the surrender of the place, the town magistrates answered, that "they had not yet, as in the siege of Jerusalem, devoured their own children." Hvítfeldt.

⁴ Messenius, *Scandia* v. 71, 85. The royal anger had also been awakened by various expressions employed by Peterson in his Chronicle of Sweden. In the Registry of the Archives for 1536 are two letters by the king upon this conspiracy, dated the 15th and 26th of May (the first addressed to the common people at the fair in Upsala on St. Eric's day), in which it is stated that the master of the mint, Anders Hanson, with certain Germans and a number of Swedish burghers, had bound themselves to take off the king, either "by placing gunpowder under his chair in church, or by other traitorous devices;" and further, that the conspirators purposed to seize the castle of Stockholm, to expel all the

magistrates and the whole body of nobles, "as some of the German towns, with Malmö and Copenhagen, were minded," and finally to bring the realm under the dominion of the Hanse Towns.

⁵ A copy of Melancthon's letter to the king, dated Wittenberg, May 12, 1539, exists among the Palmsköld Collections in the Library of Upsala.

⁶ Warrant for master George Norman to have inspection over bishops and clergy, Upsala, December 8, 1539. MS. in the Palmsköld Collections.

⁷ Instruction by which the conservator and councillor of religion in West-Gothland shall be guided. Nylödöse, April 9, 1540. MS. *ibid*.

⁸ Commission for those who are made Ordinaries. Westeras, June 19, 1557. MS. *ibid*.

⁹ Spegel, *Proofs to the Bishops' Chronicle*, p. 114.

"Ye would wish to be far better scholars than we, and many good men besides," he writes to the commonalty of Upland¹, "and hold much more fast by the traitorous abuses of the old bishops and papists, than by the word and gospel of the living God. Far be this thought from you! Tend your households, fields and meadows, wives and children, kine and sheep; but set to us no bound in government and religion. Since it becometh us as a Christian monarch, for God's sake and for righteousness, conformably to all natural reason, to appoint ordinances and rules for you; so that if ye would not look to have wrath and chastisement from us, ye should be obedient to our royal commandment, as well in temporal matters as in religion."

The king had employed the nobles as auxiliaries against the hierarchy. He had confirmed their charter of privileges in the year 1526, and invited them by the Westeras Recess to participate in the reduction of ecclesiastical property. The alliance was soon found to be burdensome, and by a decree of 1538 he forbade any one to lay hands on the possessions of the Church until the party had proved his right before the king himself. Meanwhile the permission, once given, had been used by the nobility in such a manner as to excite highly the discontent of the people. "Thou and thy like," wrote the royal censor to the councillor of state, George Gyllenstierna², "live as there were neither law nor rule in the land;" and to the baronage: "To strip churches, convents, and prebends of estates, manors, and chattels, thereto are all full willing and ready, and after such a fashion is every man a Christian and evangelical." The insurrection which had broken out in Scania during the Lubecine war was directed particularly against the nobles. Soon the spirit of revolt spread to the adjacent Swedish provinces, and so early as 1537 troubles arose in Småland, in which the peasants were heard to threaten, "that they would slay their lords and root out the whole body³." Rigorous measures stilled the tumult for the moment, but the disaffection continued, and in 1542 rebellion was general in Småland. Nils Dacke, a peasant who had been forced to flee into the woods for homicide, was the ringleader. His band at times numbered 10,000 men, and he defied with success the whole power of Gustavus, "because," so runs one complaint, "the peasants will not come forth into the open field after the fair custom of war, but when the household-men (the term at this time for the regular soldiery) set upon them, then do they like the wolf, and hug the forest with all haste again." The rising spread from parish to parish, or more correctly, from wood to wood, through West and East-Gothland, upwards as far as Södermanland. First there come secretly emissaries in the night time—it is stated in a relation to the king⁴—who press followers in the name of the

common weal and the advancement of Christianity. Then if the priest of the parish be married, his house is straightway plundered; the same is done to rich landowners and yeomen, who are called lick-lords⁵. In this wise they make the greater number partakers of their knavery, and ever go forward, spying out all roads and paths, not seeking the clear fields, but holding by the forest. All that belongs to the gentry is forthwith ruined, none dares to ask after it, and all who are in livery are accounted for thralls to the great. They say, that they mean no ill to traffickers, but only to lords' men and retainers, pretending that they wish again to build up Christianity, to abolish the Swedish mass, and bring all things back to their old condition. The royal bailiffs were killed, the manor-houses plundered, and the crown was offered to Squanto Sturé, who now, as in the former attempt of the same kind, remained true to his sovereign. In vain the king tendered the insurgents his pardon if they would return to obedience. From the complaints of grievances to which these transactions gave rise, it would seem that the king's bailiffs and the barons had perpetrated various outrages, which he sought to excuse on the plea that they had been committed without his knowledge. "Ye reave and rend from the needy wretches of peasants—he writes to his officers—all that they have, sometimes for a small matter, and then it ensues, they being completely impoverished, that no other resource is left them, but to run from house, home, wife and child, and betake themselves to the forest-thieves." There were moreover some of the king's own economical regulations which had pressed with peculiar severity upon the population of this region. Old priests fanned the flames of disturbance, lifted up their hands and anathematized the king in the churches. A truce was concluded with the royal approbation, but within a short time it was broken. Dacke ruled with absolute sway in Småland and the isle of Oeland. The Swedish refugees, duke Albert of Mecklenburg, the palgrave Frederic, who ennobled the rebel leader, the emperor Charles V. himself, by his chancellor Granvella, entered into communication with the revolted peasants⁶. There were moments during these disorders in which Gustavus despaired of his own crown and of the public safety. At length, in the summer of 1543, they were suppressed. Abandoned by all, Dacke wandered a vagabond in the forests of Blekinge, and was finally, according to the most general account (for some make him to have escaped to Germany), overtaken by his pursuers in these wilds, and shot dead with an arrow⁷. Thus ended the fiercest insurrection which Gustavus had to brave. It was also the last. Upper Sweden remained faithful to him, and the Dalecarlians voluntarily marched to his aid.

¹ Letter to the peasantry at the fair of Disting, 1540, in the Registry of the Archives.

² Dated at Gripsholm, March 5, 1538.

³ Tegel 2, 92.

⁴ In what manner the rabble of traitors made their progress from Småland. Registry of the Archives for 1543.

⁵ Herrehycklare, flauwers on lords; lord-losels. T.

⁶ See the emperor's warrant (dated Barcelona, October 23, 1542), for Granvella to repair to Sweden, or to exchange written communications with the factious; and his letter to the peasants of Småland in Hvitfeldt under the year 1542.

⁷ Messenius (Scandia v. 96) says, that the real Dacke escaped to Germany, again ventured to Sweden in king John's reign, and died of the plague at Stockholm in 1580.

CHAPTER X.

GUSTAVUS VASA. THE HEREDITARY SETTLEMENT.

SETTLEMENT OF THE CROWN OF SWEDEN IN THE HOUSE OF VASA. INTERNAL TRANQUILLITY. REGALITIES OVER COMMONS, WATERS, FISHERIES, AND MINES ASSERTED. CHARACTER OF THE KING'S ADMINISTRATION. FINANCE. MEASURES FOR THE PROMOTION OF AGRICULTURE, MINING, AND COMMERCE. ARMY AND MARINE. EDUCATION. RELATIONS WITH DENMARK AND RUSSIA. STATE OF FINLAND. FAMILY OF GUSTAVUS. ERIC AND ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND. DIET OF STOCKHOLM. THE KING'S SPEECH TO THE ESTATES. HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH. ACCOUNT OF HIM BY HIS NEPHEW.

A. D. 1544—1560.

So early as the year 1526, when the council solicited the king to choose a consort, provision was made that if God should grant him sons, one of them, and the eldest in preference, should be his successor, while lands and fiefs were to be settled on the others, as was befitting for the children of a sovereign. Six years elapsed before he wedded the princess Catharine, daughter of Magnus, duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, and sister to the queen of Denmark. Eric, born on the 13th of December, 1533, was his eldest son by this marriage, which was but of short duration, for two years afterwards the young Catharine suddenly died. This union was not of the most happy, yet the fault probably was not on the king's side only, since his second wedding, contracted in 1536, was rich in domestic joys and bliss, although his bride had been destined for another. She was Margaret Leijouhufvud, daughter of Eric Abrahamson of Loholm, a councillor of state, behended at the massacre of Stockholm, and had been previously betrothed to Suanto Sturé, the same youth for whom the enemies of Gustavus had intended the throne, and who was now obliged to yield up to the royal love the object of his own affections⁸. Eric, and John (the king's first-born son by Margaret) were presented to the council, convened at Örebro, on the 4th of January, 1540, along with several of the chief nobles and prelates. The king drew his sword, and the assembled peers, touching the blade, took an oath administered by him, and confirmed by the reception of the sacrament, in which they acknowledged his sons as the legitimate heirs of the kingdom. Four years afterwards, at the diet of Westeras, this act was further confirmed, and the succession to the throne settled according to priority of birth upon the male heirs of the sovereign, the estates recognizing and doing solemn homage to Eric as crown-prince. A violent thunder-storm during the ceremonial, and a brilliant rainbow which shone out at its close, were regarded as prognostics, with terror or hope, as men were differently inclined. In his speech to the estates at the sitting of the diet, the king once more expressed his attachment to the principles of the Reformation: to serve God rightly, to love him above all, and to believe in Jesus Christ as our only Saviour; to hear and teach God's word with gladness; to be obedient to magistrates according to his injunction; to love one's neighbour

as oneself; and keep God's commandments. This was the true worship, these were the true good works, and for this we had God's bidding. But of consecrated tapers, palms, masses for the dead, adoration of saints, and the like, nothing was found in scripture, and God had forbidden such offices, like as he had instituted the holy sacrament as a pledge and sign of the forgiveness of our sins, not that we should set it in gold and silver and carry it round the church-yards or other places. "Such we let you understand and know, he said, trusting in God that we herein do what is right. Therefore is it much to be wondered that ye will so stubbornly cling to the bishops and the old usages of the church."

The Act of Hereditary Settlement passed at Westeras, and dated the 13th of January, 1544, is drawn up in the name of all the estates by order of the nobles², who here style themselves "members and props of the crown of Sweden." At the diet of Strengness in 1547, the estates declared themselves likewise ready to acknowledge and maintain "the testamentary disposition which the king's majesty has made or may yet make for the princely heirs of his body." The statute for this purpose was framed by the clergy¹, although it is plain from various records, that the other orders also gave their assent to it. Now, for the first time after the beginning of the Reformation, we find this estate,—no longer represented by the bishops only, but also by pastors of churches both in towns and rural parishes,—again mentioned as present at the diet; a proof that the greater number at least² were now Protestant. After the act of settlement had been passed, an order was made, "that the king's majesty might not daily be burdened and troubled with so many affairs," for the councillors of state to be in attendance upon him continually, two every month.

A peace of ten years following the troubles above detailed, allows us time to contemplate Gustavus in his internal administration. The Liberation was his first work, the Reformation his most difficult, and the establishment of the throne by the hereditary settlement his last, of which the true scope was to set the crown upon all the rest by securing their permanency. But place them all together, and how much do they not overpass the limits of one man's life! Once again after the days of this

⁸ Suanto Sturé, at the queen's suggestion, was married in 1533 to her sister Mary. (Leijouhufvud, lit. Lionhead.)

⁹ Among the 143 persons of this order here enumerated and present, one clergyman, Herr Pafvel of Floda, in the diocese of Strengness, is named among the councillors of the

superintendent, or inspector (Tillsynsman), as he is also termed, George Norman.

¹ See Sjörnman, Resolutions, i. 200.

² The statute mentioned is drawn up by the clergy of the dioceses of Upsala, Westeras, and Strengness.

monarch, the ancient days of the Union, although in another shape, were destined to return; once again the papacy was to struggle here too, not without hope of success, for the recovery of its former influence, and the interval of another generation did not suffice to efface from the memories of the nobles of Sweden what they deemed themselves to have lost by the hereditary settlement. How little ground was there to expect at that moment, that all the great fabric which his hand had raised could be consolidated during the space of a single reign, and the system in its operation acquire the certitude of law! Well did the founder appreciate the chances of the future, and it was in the foreknowledge of the coming storm that, to fortify the power of his house against its rage, he laboured with an impatience which was not always content to obey the behests of conscience in the means employed.

All was yet in the mould, nothing had reached its appointed goal, and least accurately defined were the new relations of the Church towards the state. Hence the Recess of Westeras, on which these were grounded, underwent in practice continual alterations. By its provisions, the revenues of bishoprics, canonries, cathedrals, and convents, were so far committed to the king's discretion, that he was free, after reserving to the holders and masters such a proportion as was required for their due maintenance, to apply the residue for the behoof of the crown. Nevertheless, the confiscation of the estates appertaining to these foundations was not the immediate result. The king was content with the payment of a fixed rent in money, adjusted by compact with the bishops, chapters, and monastic priors, whether clerical or laical. Gradually this arrangement was changed, and it completely ceased after the hereditary settlement. The king sequestered the episcopal estates, and the

³ Even for glebe-lands no exception was made, although there is proof that the king defended these from the encroachments of others, forbidding the nobility, in 1544, to seize any estate or tenement belonging to a glebe without his consent. But there are in the Registers several instances of manse confiscated, which was generally effected by the junction of parishes. Thus the king writes in 1548 to Danemora, that the priest there may well serve two churches, because the king wanted the manse, and if the peasants did not let his husbandmen sit "unshorn," he would take another way with them; likewise in 1552 to the minister and parishioners of Høkhufvud (Hawkhead) in Uppland, that he needed the manse for his mining works, wherefore they must look after another manse at the other church in that parish. (Register in the Archives.) Some portion of the glebe-land, however, appears generally to have been reserved for the support of the pastor, and there were not yet any chapels of ease. The glebes in Norrland, "as much thereof as the minister can fairly keep," were already excepted from sequestration by the Westeras Recess, although they had been formed here from feu-ground (skattejord), which in other cases, where it had come into the hands of the Church, was seized without exception. In places where the monasteries had been dissolved, the king himself appointed spiritual instructors; and so, according to the statement of Eric Benzelius, (Utkast till Svenska folkets Historia,) arose the term regale, benefice. So early as February, 1526, the king sent to the see of Abo a catalogue of several "benefices royal," as he called them, which were bound by old custom to pay a yearly rent, although the same had for long been omitted; whence it appears as if such had existed from a very ancient period. Perhaps the king really refers, though his words are far too general, to the annats or first year's income

incomes of the bishops were paid instead out of the two-thirds of the tithes, which by the Westeras Recess were vested in the crown. The like befell with the estates of the canons as well as with their dwelling-houses in the towns, which escheated to the crown as the incumbents of canonries died off or were removed to benefices in the country. In the same manner the remaining conventual estates were appropriated, as the monastic life was by degrees dropped, so that at last only some few aged nuns were to be found in the convents of Vadstena, Skenninge, Nadendal, and Skog, who were supported by the king. By different ordinances in 1545 and the two following years, all other ecclesiastical estates, not comprehended under the denominations already mentioned³, were transferred to the state, the inferior clergy being indemnified out of the proceeds of the crown-tithes. The king found it necessary to vindicate from misrepresentation, in a public letter of July 9, 1547, a step which exceeded the limits drawn in the Recess of Westeras. It follows from what we have stated that Gustavus made deep inroads on the property of the Church, yet, even in respect to revenue, the Protestant establishment of Sweden had a better lot than many of her sisters in other lands. The first evangelical archbishop long maintained at his own cost fifty students in Upsala, and his contemporary bishop, Martin Skytté of Abo, eight, at foreign seminaries of learning⁴. The inferior working clergy, who likewise received the third of the tithes anciently possessed by them, were always, although inimical to the king, the objects of his care. A change of faith has seldom been introduced with such an utter absence of persecution. The reign of Gustavus shows but too many political victims; not one shed his blood for religion. There are indeed instances of the deprivation of clergymen⁵, but for the most part the king was satisfied with giving the old younger coadjutors,

of vacant clerical benefices, which during Catholic times fell to the Romish see, and which the civil authorities had already begun to appropriate in some places; Gustavus levied them in all cases throughout his reign; and thence afterwards the year's grace (nadar) for the widows of the clergy arose. The number of these benefices royal was increased in various ways. The king reserved to himself the disposal of all prebends (the revenues were often conferred on laymen), and commanded moreover, although by the ordinance of Westeras the bishops had to fill up the cures, that the announcement of vacancies in the larger benefices should be laid before himself.

⁴ Rhyzelius, Biskopskrönika, p. 344. The fifty students whom Lawrence Peterson maintained were originally the like number of swash-bucklers, received by the king's order for the defence of the new archbishop against the still Romishly inclined canons of Upsala. Messenius, Scandia v. 55.

⁵ See the king's letter of February 28, 1548, to his privy councillor Botved Larson, to look carefully to two priests whom he had caused to be brought to Stockholm, and who had engaged to him to adhere thenceforward to the true evangelical creed. One Ambörn, a priest in Grëbäck in the diocese of Skara, received back his living after he had renounced Popery, and with it the king's letter of favour, of February 6, 1552. Register in the Archives. Incapable preachers were also deprived at the several visitations which took place under Norman's superintendence. The clergy of West-Gothland were obliged, in 1510, to pay fines for their ignorance. Upon one of them being asked, "*Quid est evangelium?*" his answer was, "*Est baptismus;*" and another declared that he had nothing to do with the Old Testament, because it had been lost in Noah's flood. Hallenberg, Value of Coins and Wares, 232.

while we often see him arranging the conditions between them, and anxiously providing for the appointment of evangelical preachers to the vacant parishes.

The extension which the Recess of Westeras received in its execution beyond its letter, (and how brief and imperfect is not the phraseology of the written documents of this age!) is hardly to be blamed, for the cause lay in the nature of the subject-matter of the act. The participation to which the nobles had been admitted in the "plundering" (*sköfving*, an expression of this age for confiscation) of the church had furnished to their sovereign an urgent motive for saving what might yet be saved.⁶ As already remarked, the nobility obtained by the Recess a right to resume that part of their property which had been possessed by churches or convents since the inquisition of Charles Cannteson. There was, no doubt, a condition annexed, that no one should exercise his right till he had proved it before the court by twelve witnesses, according to law. But he who reflects on the notions prevalent in relation to matters of law and right, when Sweden emerged from the chaos of the Union, and remembers that the judicial offices, of which the revenues were granted away similarly to other feudal tenements, were at the disposal of the nobles,—their duties being discharged, as the king himself laments, by persons "utterly unskilled in the written law of Sweden,"—will be able to form an adequate conception of the weakness of that defence which was thus raised against the caprices of power. The king found reason in 1528 to take under his own especial cognizance the claims which had been made in several individual cases. Ten years afterwards this new condition was made universal in its application, and the irregular appropriations of individuals "who wrested and rent from the churches and convents to suit themselves," were revoked. Another infraction of the Recess of Westeras had become not less necessary. The limitation of the claims of the nobles to the interval which had elapsed since king Charles's reduction, as decreed by the statute, was soon found to be impossible in practice. The convents fell to decay, and who could distinguish what of their property had been acquired before or after 1454? Claims were advanced to the whole mass, and all would have been plundered if the king had not interfered, to prefer, no doubt, claims of his own, but which were at the same time those of the community. Similar motives produced that third extension of the Recess, after the hereditary settlement, to all estates and husbandmen generally remaining to the church and clergy, indemnity being found in return from the part of the titles which had been vested in the

crown. The hierarchy, a fallen power, could no longer protect itself, much less others. The clergy, as they themselves admitted, were no longer able to defend their property. In exchange, they at least gained an accession of security; and even the nobles had no just ground of complaint, since a considerable share of the appropriations thus made was distributed in new infeudations.⁷

So great a power in the affairs of the church could not fail to exert an influence on the king's civil authority, and from the Recess of Westeras accordingly dates the establishment in Sweden of a new state-law, by which it was considerably augmented. Although the full powers which it claimed were not at this period admitted, still ineffaceable traces of its existence remained. All those rights of the crown to commonable woodlands, lakes, streams, fisheries, mines, which the spurious statute of Helgeandsholm pretends to derive from so ancient an epoch as 1280, were now really asserted and obtained validity. The extent of commonage or common ground (*allmanning*) unoccupied by individuals, in which the old laws comprehend not only forests, but mountains and waters, may be viewed as a fair measure of the development of civil society. This notion of one common property varies widely in its compass, being expanded in proportion as the community itself increases from a village to a hundred, to a province, to a kingdom; not seldom the larger type absorbs the subordinate and limited, from which itself sprung, especially where the crown, as representative of the public, eventually lays claim to all commonable estate. During our middle age we observe these claims illustrating without entirely dissipating the confusion which involves the relations of this species of property, more indefinite in an extensive and scantily settled region than in other countries. For in Sweden, where so many parishes are still possessed of similar property, the title thus sought to be vindicated by the throne was never fully made good, though it was more than once asserted, and by the restorer of his country in the strongest terms. His words are, "all tracts of ground which lie unoccupied belong to God, the king, and the crown of Sweden."⁸ In the days of Gustavus, therefore, even commons of hundreds are styled "the king's," "the crown's,"⁹ and the old right of property in those lands which the people possessed, obliterated by the new name, fell into oblivion, and was declared to be one of mere usufruct. The king extended this system still further. He declared all the herring-fisheries in the Baltic to be "the just property of the sovereign," and established in Sweden the maxim that "the flood

⁶ He complained, in 1544, that his bailiff Nils Westgöte did not give in an account of the plunderings (*sköfvingar*) which had occurred within his district.

⁷ Compare the Inventory of the Estates of Bishops, Canons, Prebends, Churches, and Convents, with documents annexed, drawn up by order of Charles XI. in 1691, by Örnhielm. MS.

⁸ Rescript of King Gustavus I. to Helsingland, Gestriland, and Angermanland, April 20, 1542. This is not, however, the first occasion on which he had embraced the maxim, as is plain from the circumstance, that in a charter of August 12, 1535, he grants permission, "out of special grace and favour," to the people in Vermeland, without hindrance to use, to settle, and to hold those commons which they had anciently possessed, notoriously and of right. On the 17th February, 1548, the king again wrote to the Vermelanders in reference to the clearing of new settlements, that he

would gladly give leave for such to be formed, and that they might retain the portions of wild land which they had brought into cultivation, under tribute to the crown; on the other hand, the king could not permit the nobility to hold their clearings free from the payment of dues. On the 25th November, 1548, he orders that in West-Gothland "those enclosures of noble proprietors to which, peradventure, they possess little or no title," should be reclaimed for the crown. Frälsemän, or persons sitting tax-free, are forbidden (February 9, 1549,) to make encroachments on the commons of the crown in Smaland. Register in the Archives.

⁹ On the land-taxes of Sweden, up to and at the beginning of the seventeenth century. (Om Svenska Jordens beskattning, &c.) Academiical Dissertation, by P. E. Bergfalk. Upsala, 1832, i. 25.

¹ Rescript of March 1, 1545.

belongs to the crown," applying it not only to the salmon fisheries in the streams of Norrland and Vermeland, but also to water-mills which had been or might be constructed on them². Lastly, he declares it to have been determined that all veins of ore in Sweden shall belong to the crown³. And his appeals in this as in other questions to "the law of Sweden," and to "all charters of the kings, princes, and lords, his deceased predecessors," though not always well-founded, would be the more readily received, that men had had sufficient time during the Union to forget what really was or was not a right of the crown.

These extended claims served indeed, on the one side, to make the resources for the support of the population more generally accessible, wherefore the king states it as a corollary from the rights of the crown in respect to mines, "that every man should have liberty to open mines in the domain of the crown, who would consent to discharge the crown dues therefrom, according to compact with the bailiff of the mines." On the other side, a discretionary power was confided to the king's hands, which might become dangerous for individual rights of property, especially as the logic of Gustavus was not lightly deterred by fears of possibilities. His arguments against the exemption of the clergy from payments to the state are remarkable. "This can we with our poor understanding divine, although ye will not,"—he writes in 1525 to bishop Brask,—"that land that is tax-free has first of all been made assessable and after become tax-free, not that the king should then have nought more to do with it, as ye write, but that service should therefore be done to the king. If the sovereign shall have nothing to do with churches and convents, where abideth the service which should be performed for that land free of taxes which is now under churches and convents? Therefore ye are not to write that the crown has laid out nothing there, and consequently ought not to raise any thing thence." We have here only the first link of the chain of conclusions, which stretched much further. All waste land was now regarded as belonging and having ever belonged to the crown; it was held to be unquestionable that, consequently, all socage-farms⁴ had been founded upon the crown-lands; and that the royal bounty by which the occupants received grants in perpetuity, was the only cause which had dis severed these from the proper domain of the crown⁵. The number of estates originally comprised in this was small, but it was considerably augmented in this reign, perhaps by prejudications of the same kind. Gustavus strictly maintained and acted upon this proposition. To the

sokemen of Upland he writes, "that they allow themselves to fancy, that when they have acquired such fee-farms by lawful inheritance, purchase, or otherwise, they may deal therewith as it pleases them. To that we answer, that so long as they maintain such granges with the requisite buildings in good condition, and perform other obligations, they may keep possession of the same; but if they fail in that, then their tenements escheat to us and the crown of Sweden⁶." He refutes the same "perverse opinion" among the sokemen in Smaland with the same logic, and when the independent peasants complained that the king's bailiffs held surveys of their buildings, he answered (Feb. 6, 1550); "yet do we think that it well befits us, as the lord of this realm, to see that surveys are held upon the houses of the crown peasants, the nobles having like power in respect to the peasants of their manors." "It will be well they should be brought to account for waste," the king writes on another occasion⁷, "when they have allowed wood to grow up in the meadows, and neglected or badly manured the fields; the interest of the crown will by no means suffer that we overlook this." And, what is most important, many peasants, upon such grounds, forfeited their right of property to the king.

Gustavus commonly showed that he entertained the most exalted notions of the powers of his regal office, and though he ascribed its origin to God and to the people, to judge from his favourite saying and his last words, yet the divine right appears to have had the preference in his inclinations at one period of his life. "In the name of the Holy Trinity," he said, when the council in the year 1540 swore obedience to him, upon his bare sword, as an hereditary sovereign, "and out of the Divine strength and power of Almighty God, which is bestowed upon us and all the royal and princely lords, heirs of our body, from generation to generation, to rule and dispose over you and all our subjects upon earth, we hold this sword of righteousness over you to witness; herewith swear⁸." Immediately thereafter he styled himself king hereditary⁹, without waiting for the formal act of settlement subsequently passed at Westeras.

With this disposition the king did not feel it to be at all incompatible to declare upon any outbreak of popular discontent, that he was ready to change and to amend whatever might be faulty in his government; they might well make their discontent known without feud or revolt; they should complain to the king, if his officers transgressed in any thing; he could not travel to every man in the kingdom and hear how it went with him. We have

² To the councillor of the exchequer, Botved Larson, upon the fishery in Skelleftea, Pitea, and Tornea, February 16, 1548. "We hear that in the upper country there are some good salmon fisheries, which belong to us." To the same, March 11, "upon the streams of Vermeland, where there are opportunities for salmon fisheries and saw-mills, whence the crown may derive some advantage." Registry in the Archives.

³ Prohibition to the miners of Nora Forest to enclose crown mines. Westeras, March 29, 1551. Register of the Archives.

⁴ This is the nearest expression I can find for *skatte-hemman*, granges or farms of which the proprietor was bound to pay rent, or do service to the king, and which were thus held by a tenure similar to that of socage. T.

⁵ Bergfalk, ib. 33.

⁶ To his bailiffs in Upland, dated Upsala, April 15, 1541. That the peasants themselves should let out their lands, and thereby draw "stiff corn-rents" so that the farms fell to ruin, was not to be permitted. On May 26, 1553, the labourers of the peasants are forbidden to pay rent to any one but the king.

⁷ To Mats Ingemarson, Gripsholm, June 29, 1547. To the crown peasants in Smaland who do not keep their farms in order, February 4, 1553. Registry in the Archives.

⁸ See the oath in Tegel.

⁹ "Your rightly reigning hereditary king." Form of government in West-Gothland, April 9, 1540. Stjernman, Statutes, i. 163. To the common people at the fair of Dis-ting, February 3, 1541. Registry.

seen in the various insurrections, with what independence the communities of the provinces which were for the time quiet acted as mediators and negotiators, invited to the office by their sovereign himself. He ordinarily acknowledged the political influence of the people by accounts and expositions, publicly rendered, of the transactions of his administration. Such statements were made not merely at the diets, but for the most part annually at the great fairs, especially in Sweden Proper. There the democracy was stronger, and the king either himself attended such popular assemblages, as those of Upsala, Strengness, and Westerns, to hold discourses to the commonalty, or excusing his own absence, he sent some of the council with his letters for the same purpose. These papers contain either relations of military occurrences (the bulletins of the time), and hostile assaults apprehended, or of the course of negotiations, or proclamations in reference to revolts, or the new doctrine (which the king would never admit to be new), or the demands of the people to abide in all by that which they termed "old and of yore," or accounts of expenditure, or propositions respecting other administrative affairs, with not unfrequently good advice upon domestic economy, intelligence of the king's health, and other matters, all in language, the characteristic stamp of which would alone have proved that it was dictated by himself, had we not his own testimony, that from want of intelligent assistants he usually directed his own chancery in person¹. His industry, like that of all men without exception whose activity has bequeathed any fruits, far exceeded the ordinary measure of exertion². He used to say to his sons: "Give due consideration to all things, execute them quickly and hold to them, deferring nothing till the morrow. A resolve not carried out at the right moment, resembles a cloud without rain in great drought."

Yet it belongs to truth not to conceal that these dissimilar sides of his administration sometimes ran into the two opposite extremes of demagoguism and despotism, which are besides related to each other as fraud and force. A policy may be termed demagogic which deludes the masses in order to manage them; and history shows that in all cases in which these influence the government immediately, not less than in despotisms, such a policy has prevailed. In Sweden, where democracy was so powerful, it had been from of old in use. The Sturés were no contemptible masters of the art; and bishop Hemming Gadd might have given lessons to students of its mysteries. This arose from their position as popular leaders, wielding a power

in many respects indefinite and ambiguous, struggling against the Union without daring to break it. The path in which Gustavus moved was more open and lofty, but even he, especially in the earlier portion of his career, saw himself obliged to employ the same methods. No one can fail to observe that the promises he made in moments of peril were not always to be relied upon when it had passed away. The Dalecarlians complained in their first insurrection that truth was never to be found in him; the Smalanders during Dacke's raid did not confide in his offers of amnesty. And they were right, for his mandate to his commanders was to the effect that "they should deal artfully and tenderly with the rogues; they were to undertake and engage to grant them every thing that was possible, even if they should not keep what they promised³."

Throughout some years a foreign influence is observable in the councils and measures of this king's government, proceeding chiefly from Conrad Peutinger, or, as he called himself, Pyhy. This man was a Netherlandish jurist, who coming to Sweden in 1538, won the royal confidence by his attainments as well as by craft and flattery, and was advanced to the dignity of high chancellor and privy councillor of government and war. His long title may serve as a specimen of the style which, introduced by him, was long established in the public affairs of the kingdom, and which shows, above all, an inexhaustible command of unswedish words respecting the "high and royal power, authority and perfection." He was one of the projectors who, when any thing new is passing, force themselves upon rulers; an adventurer, as Luther afterwards styled him in a letter to the king. It was he who framed the oath whereby the hereditary succession was first guaranteed at Örebro in 1540⁴, for which the magnates could never forgive him; he was likewise so odious to the people, who said that they had got with the Dutch chancellor a new king and lord in the land, that Gustavus himself was obliged to undertake his defence in a public ordinance. The so-called "form of government for West-Gothland⁵," of the above-named year, exemplifies the constitution which the chancellor designed for the kingdom. A provincial board, composed of a lieutenant or under-chancellor (who was also called conservator in affairs of religion), four assistant-councillors or assessors, and a secretary, under the king and the supreme council of state, was to preside over the government, the administration of justice, and also, with the concurrence of the royal chamber of accounts (*kammarrad*), over the management of the rents and estates of the crown, together with the police. This last word,

¹ We find it sometimes observed in the registers, "*Scriptis regia majestas; dictavit regia majestas*;" the latter probably was more frequently the case. The king was a stickler for purity of diction: "Besides, thou mayest tell thy clerk," he enjoins one of his bailiffs in 1529, "that he should keep to his mother tongue the Swedish, and not write us *jeg* for *jag*" (1).

² "I have often spoken with the said king Gustavus, who was a prince very high and puissant, very active and ready, taking incredible pains and labour with his affairs. As for his wit and industry, his great and memorable enterprises, his prudence in conducting them, as well as the wise administration and preservation of the said kingdom for so long a time, and the happy success of his designs, do so commend him that he ought justly to have surmounted all envy."

Correspondence of Charles Dantzai, minister of France at the court of Denmark. Scand. Memoirs, ii. 25.

³ Letter to the high marshal Lars Siggeson, baron John Thureson, with several councillors of state, and chief men assembled in East-Gothland. Stockholm, August 22, 1542. Registry in the Archives.

⁴ "In the time of king Gustavus, Conrad von Pyhy, a foreigner, was high chancellor, who, against the law and liberty of the kingdom, was set over all native Swedes; he brought in new oaths and ceremonies, as was seen at Örebro, and took upon himself to make new laws and reform the provincial governments. So, too, Norman, who wished that the nobility should hold their estates by feudal tenure, after the German fashion." Eric Sparre, *Postulata Nobilium*, 1593.

⁵ Stjernman, id. i. 137.

like many of the rest, had been hitherto unknown to the country, and appears to have awakened very great alarm, since among the accusations of the peasants, from which the king was obliged to defend his German chancellor, we find the complaint, that they had no longer liberty to bake and brew in peace⁶. The police was to be managed by a "rittmaster" (who was likewise to be an assistant-councillor), with "a moveable troop;" they were to be distributed on the public high-roads, where "they were to question every one of his occupation and business, arrest suspected persons, and demand way-bills or passports from foreign or internal traders." Whether this constitution, with its police, was ever brought into practice may be doubted. Not long after it was framed, the last great rebellion broke out, produced among other causes by the levy of that aid which the king with his council of government was empowered by its provisions to decree, and the new plan of taxation adopted in 1540⁷. Three years afterwards Conrad von Pyhy was overthrown; of whom the king declared "that he had meddled much to the loss rather than the behoof of ourselves and of this realm⁸." On his return from an embassy to France he was charged with bigamy and also with embezzling a large sum of money, was stripped of his offices, and ended his days in prison in the castle of Westeras.

That Gustavus himself would have long consented to entrust his authority in the provinces to an administration so composed seems the less credible, as he loved in all such matters the shortest way, namely, that of personal interference. The immediate relation in which he stood to his bailiffs never left much power to the possessors of the great fiefs, who were likewise the king's lieutenants. Their power over his own peasants he expressly restrict-

ed⁹, and his private estates were now very numerous in all parts of the kingdom. Being related to the principal families of the country, he could personally profit by the authorization he had procured for the nobility to resume possession of family property that had been allocated to the church, of which indeed he had himself set the example. In consequence, many a nearer claim was obliged to yield to that of the king, and we find it even stated, "that his majesty often accounted himself related to one and the other, who could by no means be brought into his genealogical table¹." Hence the heritable estates of Gustavus, which comprised 2500 manors in the hands of Charles IX.², not including the share which John, duke of East-Gothland, then possessed, were for fifty years after the death of their owner the subject of continual disputes and claims for restoration. They were not merely increased by the expedient mentioned; the transactions of his reign supply abundant proofs that the king sometimes demanded estates and houses from the proprietors for a promise of compensation, which was not always fulfilled, sometimes received them as presents from persons who were not the proprietors³, and sometimes appropriated them solely because they lay convenient for him⁴, to effect which violent measures against the refractory were not always spared⁵.

With all his kinsmen the king had controversies as to the inheritance of property. He regarded himself, moreover, as heir-general to all the plate and moveable goods of the churches, convents, and ecclesiastical foundations, not forgetting even copper kettles, and tin cups⁶, took the place of the bishops as co-heir to all clerical estates, and was not content with the smallest share⁷. When

the king's death complaint of such practices was made at the diet of 1561. Örnhielm's Relation.

⁴ To Nils Person, in relation to some lands with extensive oak woods, which belong to Dame Brita, relict of Lasse Anderson. "We will that thou, for our behoof, shouldst take the said lands under thy charge, and lay tax on them." Vadstena, April 8, 1550. Registry in the Archives.

⁵ To Simon Nilson, that he should release from prison Peter Olson of Skeke, since he gives up a farm to the king. September 14, 1559. Registry.

⁶ In the instruction for his bailiffs in the district of Upsala, June 1, 1548, they are required to make search where the copper and tin vessels in the guild-chambers of the hamlets had been conveyed. It is there also ordered that all forest-pastures, as also all good fisheries in lakes and streams, shall be vested in the lieutenancy, or care shall at least be taken that the castle shall have its part in them; the bailiffs are besides forbidden to brawl with, threaten, or oppress the peasants; neither may they drink over-deeply.

⁷ Lars Erson, bailiff in West-Gothland, had requested to know the king's will, in relation to 200 ounces of silver and 500 marks in money, which master Mans Ambjörnson in Skara had left. The king, although he was remembered in the will, (it was now common for both clergymen and laymen thus to dispose of some portion of their effects, formerly demised to the Church,) replies, on the 21st March, 1544, that when in former times rich clerks had left such inheritances, the bishops used to grasp nearly all. The heirs might give in a memorial as to their sentiments in regard to the evangelical doctrine, and the king would consider the matter further. He did not always wait for the death of the owners of inheritances. He writes to the bailiff at Stegeborg, July 29, 1544; "We have understood that the fat master Peter, who heretofore has held the parish of Grenna, would give up his cure and fix himself on a socage-farm. So shall he have neither the parish nor the land, seeing that his

⁶ Letters of the king to the hundreds lying about Upsala, 1540.

⁷ This undoubtedly is included among the "intolerable burdens and taxes" of which the people complained, according to the king's letter to the commons of Upland in 1540. The Smalanders, after the revolt, were exempted from this aid (again imposed at the diet of Linköping in 1544) with the assent of the council and the nobility, but were obliged in return to give the king several thousand oxen as an atonement.

⁸ Letter of January 4, 1553, to Lars Siggeson Sparre. The king was equally dissatisfied with Pyhy's successor in the chancellorship, Christopher Anderson Rödd, who wrote himself *Artium liberalium magister*, as well as councillor of state. He escaped to Lubeck and died abroad. Gustavus did not again fill up this office.

⁹ Letter from Upsala, April 14, 1541, that not they who possess fiefs, but the king's own bailiffs, should collect from his peasants the so-called yearly *foddering*; a contribution which arose in this way, that horses were distributed to the homesteads to be supplied with fodder.

¹ Manuscript relation of the church estates, already quoted, made by Örnhielm, by order of Charles XI.

² Letter of Charles IX., distributing the hereditary estates among his sons. Nyköping, March 31, 1610. Registry in the Archives.

³ "Further his majesty caused various estates to be reclaimed for himself, yet with no other intention than that those concerned should receive full compensation in other estates, which nevertheless was long deferred, and during the life of his majesty never was brought to any performance; besides, it happened that one and the other made over his pretended rights to different estates to his majesty, who thereupon took possession, although it was afterwards found that those who made over the estates had no right to the same." After

vacancies occurred, he applied to his own use in many cases the revenues of the greater benefices, paying the inferior clergy himself. In addition to these matters of gain, he engaged personally in the pursuits of agriculture, mining, and trade in all the productions of the country, more largely than any of his subjects, and by these means amassed great wealth. To his bailiffs he was a terror, and thus, like himself, in questions of property, they were by no means scrupulous. At Salberg, where, as usual in the greater mines, there was at this time an asylum for all except atrocious criminals, a weekly payment of twopence (öre) to the king was exacted even from "loose females, who herded there for their roguery and dissolute living." On the other hand, the king did not spare his own property for the service of the state. The Lubecine war had exhausted all his resources, and to this was to be added the calamity of a conflagration in the castle of Stockholm, "where we," he says, "went out of it so bare, that we had no more than a jerkin and a silver can, from which we might drink." In 1537 he began again to lay up money; the Dacke feud, he complains, cost him what he had gathered in seven years. Commencing his hoard anew, he was able to leave at his death, notwithstanding the war of his last years and the large extraordinary expenses which marriages in the royal family and Eric's English wooing occasioned, four large vaulted apartments full of silver, called, from one of his chamberlains, Master Eskil's cellars, besides several store-houses filled with valuable wares. In the latter half of his reign he established breeding farms (afvelsgårdar) in all parts of the kingdom: in Norrland, the peasants, who were alarmed by the proposal of their formation, purchased its abandonment by offering to raise the yearly amount of their land-tax⁸. There were estates which the king took into his own management, in order to maintain upon them quotas of foot or horse soldiers for the public defence. Upon many of them both tillage and the breeding of cattle were prosecuted on a great scale; and at Gripsholm, queen Margaret had under her own charge a dairy-farm so extensive, that two-and-twenty maidens were employed in tending the cows⁹. On those farms, which were often the seat of the king's residence,

matters do not so greatly please us, but he may betake himself to Vadstena and there become a burgher. He well may have gathered so much as may last him his life long." Register.

⁸ The king consents to this arrangement for Angermanland and Medelpad by his letter of October 29, 1556. The cause of these apprehensions is shown by the following letter of the king to his lieutenant in West-Gothland, Gustavus Olson Stenbock, July 8, 1558: "It were a great advantage that the fine farms which are now held by a heap of peasants who do little good for the crown, were applied to the breeding of cattle, whereby soldiers might be maintained for the defence of the realm, so that payments might not always be required from the commonalty." Register.

⁹ Statement of the high chamberlain Stiernelid, from the old accounts of the castle. In the Registry for 1548 is preserved a letter of the 14th January, from the king to a bailiff in Smaland to this effect: "Our dear housewife Margaret has complained that the milch-cows which Sigfrid Jonson sent to Gripsholm were not so good as they ought to have been. Wherefore admonish him strictly that we are little satisfied that he does not give more heed to what he is commanded." The first public employment of Göran Person, who was

the surrounding peasants were bound to perform day-service, and the bailiffs are enjoined to deal occasionally with them in this matter. There are still extant mandates under his hand for the most trivial matters of domestic economy, and the state archives sometimes resemble the day-books of a great household. As years increased, the care of these farms became his favourite occupation, and at length the weakness of his age. When he visited Finland during the Russian war in 1556, he selected several new farms of the same kind, on which considerable sums were expended (it was found after his death that they had cost more than they had yielded), in which the excellent opportunities for fisheries and water-mills "in the beautiful streams" did not escape his observation. Commissioners were specially despatched throughout the country in 1558, to draw up an inventory of the royal estates, to whose attention were recommended divers plans of economic improvements, which do not appear in all respects practicable, but at least prove that he looked upon the kingdom as his own property¹⁰.

We do not find that the king doubted the rectitude of his own conduct, or was very deeply concerned at those violations of individual rights which often attended his measures. These appeared to him to vanish in the higher prosperity of the whole community, which he never omits to extol in contrast with bygone days, sometimes in colours which attest a deep feeling for well-ordered domestic happiness. "At this time," he writes in one letter to the commonalty of Upland, "both men and animals may rise in early morning in happy quiet, and every man go cheerfully to his labours and business. Your lads and maidens go without care, glad and at peace into the fields, and so return home at even. Hills and valleys, plough-lands and meadows, stand now well adorned everywhere, yet are ye so unthankful and stupid, that ye will not acknowledge such peace and good times as an especial grace and blessing of God. Ye see and hear of all the neighbouring princes, lands, and towns, how they tax their subjects right well, mostly every year, often twice a year. We, who have for all your sakes quite drained and squandered our own substance, have

so powerful under Eric XIV., was of this kind. His instructions mention, among other points, that marshy flats should be drained by the tasked labour of peasants, or if that could not be effected, lakes should be formed upon them. The king sometimes despatched these affairs in a very merry humour. Among the Nordin Collections in the Library of Upsala, is the copy of a letter of sale which Gustavus wrote with his own hand to Lars Kaffe of Halqued in Upland, running thus—

"Helsa med Gud Lasse Kaffe.
Vetta ma du
Godze far du;
Penga ä mina,
Godze ä dina.
Gack bort och sätt dig,
Gud vare med dig."

Health and peace to Lasse Kaffe.

To wot thee I let
The goods thou shalt get;
The money is mine;
The gear is thine.
Away and rest thee,
God be with thee.

¹⁰ The first public employment of Göran Person, who was

yet heretofore laid upon you no extraordinary tallage, in the thought that ye yourselves would tender us some thankful acknowledgment, especially seeing that the children of that sanguinary tyrant, king Christian, are still alive. But ye reck little of the need that pressed upon us, in the thought that ye can preserve such good peace with your own hands at home in your own houses." The letter closes with an exhortation to pay the tithe honestly, an impost which the people had little scruple in withholding, since the largest share went no longer into the coffers of the Church, but into those of the crown. He adds injunctions to plant hop-gardens, to build kilns, to drain the fields, clear the meadows, and ring the swine. Several of the king's rescripts contain similar advice on household matters. These, dispersed throughout the parishes, were regarded, from respect to their author, in the light of commands.

On the whole, the people were eventually of the king's opinion, and long after his death men spoke of the last half of his reign as of the happiest time which was within their memory in Sweden. It belonged not to the spirit of that age that a ruler by arbitrary stretches of authority should quarrel irreconcilably with his people. Every man had for long been accustomed to demand a certain scope for his own actions. The people had emerged from the commotions of the Union more impatient of the law than of its transgression, and many a one who stubbornly resisted every general increase of the old rights of the crown, which were now almost forgotten, acquiesced in the dictate of power. In every question the personal element carries weight, and the relation in which Gustavus stood to the people was altogether personal.

This monarch was the founder of the Swedish financial system. A resolution was passed by the diet of Vadstena so early as 1524, "that the king's majesty should have power to ascertain all the rents and receipts of the crown, and to enrol the same in a register, as well as to number the soke, crown, and free peasants in each province, that his majesty might know to how much the reveues and reuts of the crown amounted." At the sequestration of the ecclesiastical estates the king took possession of the registers of the churches and convents, which perhaps furnished the model for the ground-rent books of the crown, first kept by his order. The

first directions for the chamber of accounts are of the year 1544, and were drawn up by the king himself¹. New schemes of taxation were adopted in all, or at least in the greater number of the provinces². The leading feature of all was a repartition of the taxes, no longer according to the number of heads, but according to the extent of ground, so that he who possessed more should also pay more, in place of the old mode of assessing every freeholder³ at an equal amount. The cultivation of the land undoubtedly made progress during the time of Gustavus. But the circumstance which is generally appealed to in proof of this, that namely of the export of grain, was merely accidental, and should not be taken for a proof that the country really had an adequate supply for its own wants. In 1550 the king states that he remembers a scarcity to have been caused by such an exportation; he gives, nevertheless, permission for the chamber of accounts to discharge the claim of a Hollander with grain, "if it should seem advisible⁴," enjoining the burgesses of Stockholm to buy grain in Dantzic the same year, in order to supply the country with provisions. In the following year such as were suffering from distress received succour out of the king's storehouses⁵. No Swedish king ever more zealously encouraged the settlement of the country. He compares this more peaceable and auspicious acquisition of land with that formerly made by the "army of Goths," whom hunger drove from Sweden even to Switzerland to seek out a new home, "where their descendants abide to this day." By migrations, he adds, to the uncultivated forests and wastes of Norrland, the great provinces of Helsingland, Medelpad, Angermandland, and North Bothnia had been won to the crown of Sweden; such examples should incite to their imitation, "since Sweden with Finland is, God be praised, so wide extended, that there is no need to seek far for fields, meadows, and productive soil, or to lament for want of room." He sharply reproves the peasants, some for crowding together too closely in the old settlements, others for taking more land than they could cultivate.

For mining operations also in Sweden the reign of Gustavus forms a new epoch. The silver produced from the mine of Sala, which the king caused to be drained, amounted according to computations made in 1530 to 47,994 marks. Re-

¹ This is clear from his instructions in letters to the councillors of the treasury as to the method of arranging the accounts, so as not to confound the receipts of one year with those of another.

² The king's first letter on taxation applies to the prefecture (län) of Stockholm, and is dated from the manse of Vallentuna on the Sunday before Martinmas, 1530. In it he refers to old books of taxes, and speaks of a yearly taxation, which also seems to refer to the former methods. Meanwhile we find the taxes raised during that year in the hundreds of the above-mentioned government, several of which were in Södermanland, as also in Helsingland. The addition was remitted by the king during the bell sedition, but afterwards re-imposed. In 1540 the new plan appears to have been first acted upon. Rescripts on the subject are preserved in the registers of that year to West-Gothland, Upland, Dalecarlia, West-Bothnia, Medelpad, Angermandland, Helsingland, and Finland. In all these the maxim is laid down, that every man should bear the burden of the tax in proportion to the extent of his lands, and that "one should not sit more kaiser-free than another, shifting the greatest burden from himself, and laying it on the poor, who have

the smallest portions of land." That the taxes were also raised in Vermeland during this year (though it is uncertain whether according to the size of the holdings), is shown by the king's letter to the hundred of Nordmark, in which he says that they should not wonder that he wished to raise the crown tributes among them likewise, as was but just; that their small starved cows would not serve for him, but they must furnish instead of two cows a full-grown ox. In the years 1555 and 1556 he writes repeatedly regarding the allotment of taxes in Finland; in 1557 to the commonalty of East Bothnia, that the imposts should now be assessed there according to the proportion of ground, and that the king could grant no diminution; in 1558 to the prefecture of Viborg, that every man's ground should be exactly measured by pole and ell.

³ "Fulsuten bonde," full yeoman.

⁴ Letter to Botved Larson.

⁵ To bailiffs and ministers in Södermanland, July 9, 1551, to assist the peasants with grain from the king's store-houses. This was given by way of loan, which was repaid. The quotation that follows is from the king's proclamation on the public distress in 1555.

specting the mine of Kopparberg he complains in 1553, "that it stood in its old condition, and did not return its expenses⁶." A change appears to have taken place in his latter years, for king John III. states that the working of the mine was resumed in his father's time at the cost of the crown; yet in 1563 it was not free from water. The copper obtained in other places was considerable, as at Garpenberg, where, we are told, the opening of new branches "was very gainful⁷." The most productive iron mines in the kingdom, those of Danemora, were placed in 1532 under the management of a German, Joachim Piper, a burgher of Stralsund, who formed a company, of which Gorius Holst, notorious from his connexion with the massacre of Stockholm, but subsequently pardoned, was a partner. The king was not satisfied with this association, which at first exported the ore to Stralsund and Wismar, having procured permission to that effect, merely, it is said, to try what can be made of it⁸; the cast iron was next exported, which the king prohibited in 1545; for so, he declared, the charter ran not which had been granted to them, that they might bring into the country persons skilled in mining, "in order that we also in this kingdom may learn the right method⁹." Such the king himself made endeavours to procure; in 1533 he wrote to his agent in Germany¹ to send "some good and well-skilled miners;" in 1534 and 1537 he renewed this commission. Accordingly, German smelters and smiths were introduced², with whom he established smelting-houses and forges in various quarters³. From these works the process of forging bar iron, which Gus-

⁶ Duke Eric, whom the king sent thither in 1554, wrote to the people of the East Dale to "assist in drawing the water from the old copper-mine, which was lying waste."

⁷ Letter from the king to Duke Eric, October 25, 1554. The king also re-opened, in 1552, the copper-mine at Atvidaberg.

⁸ "They are ever exporting, yet can we not learn the truth, what comes of it." The king's letter to Olof Larson, his agent, it seems, in Stralsund. Registry for 1533.

⁹ To Stephen Sasse, Upsala, April 10. Registry for 1545.

¹ Olof Larson, of the king's charge, was employed in acquiring a knowledge of mining.

² Among these the king mentions "little Hans, our hammer-smith," who was sent in 1544 to Germany, to engage smiths, with Marcus Klingenstein, who in 1557 was superintendent of "the many fine forges which we have caused to be set up in these past years in many places, though we bear that they do not in all respects go on so well;" probably the same with the Hammarsmed, who is named in several passages of the Registers, and who in 1540 received a grant of the mill of Vällinge near Stockholm for his lifetime.

³ There remain accounts of the establishment of forges at Vanga in East-Gothland, (with smelting-houses at Hällestad,) at Motala, at Fällingsbro, at Gefle, in Stockholm, and at the mine in Vermeland, from which the king's bar iron was taken to Elfsborg to be exported. Mention is also made of others, set up by burgesses of Stockholm in the hundred of Akerbo in Westmanland, at Köping and Hedanora. The king's letter (Upsala, June 6, 1553.) to Marcus Hammarsmed is remarkable: "We have heard that thou art raising the forge at Fällingsbro as large and strong as if it were to be a high church, as thy manner is. Thou mayst know that we by no means wish thee to build such large cathedrals at so great a cost, since it matters not much how good the house, if the hammer be but busy." Registry.

⁴ In 1550, he wrote to all the forge-masters in the diocese of Westera, to forge their bar-iron more carefully, because he had himself observed in Stockholm that it was very defective. Those of Nora and Lindsberg received alike rebuke,

tavus was especially careful to encourage, was communicated to other districts⁴, although in the civil commotions that ensued many of the establishments were destroyed, and the iron was exported in the old rude state⁵ down to 1604, when progress began again to be made, upon the foundation laid by the great king, in the improvement of the iron manufacture. To him likewise Sweden owes the introduction of saw-mills; several were constructed on his account by the same Marcus Hammarsmed who built so many of his forges⁶. A Swedish builder who learned his art in Bohemia introduced it in 1531 into Norway⁷.

Commerce now found new outlets. The trade with the German towns was again thrown open after the close of the Lubecian war in 1536, at a duty of five per cent. on the value of wares imported⁸, and one of less amount on salt and hops, with a prohibition to export articles of food, which was renewed from time to time, but occasionally taken off, as at Calmar in 1546, the reason assigned being the "scarcity of commodities in this end of the land⁹." In 1545 the king called upon the merchants to freight ships into the Atlantic, and himself set the example by despatching two vessels to Holland and Lisbon¹. Three years afterwards he prohibited trading to Lubeck², and procured in 1550 an agreement between the municipalities of the towns to refrain from engaging in the traffic; yet he connived at the visits of Hanseatic ships to the Swedish ports. "After this resolution," says Tegel, "burgesses and traders of this country began to make voyages to France, Spain, England, and the Netherlands, and did not frequent so much as formerly the towns on the August 24, 1559. The forges there paid the eleventh skip-pund to the crown, which in 1558 was raised to 100 skip-punds (about 13 tons 15 cwt.) yearly for all.

⁵ *Osmundsmide* was the term for the oldest and simplest method of preparing malleable iron, by one process, at first with wood fires. It was hammered into small pieces joined at the edge, of which 27, or at most 29, (according to the ordinance of 1529) were to go to a skip-pund, and was exported in vats. A more perfect method of obtaining wrought iron from the ore seems to have been that which the king sometimes calls *rånneverk*, smelting. He writes for some good smiths from Germany, who understood the process, also for nailsmiths, plate-makers, or other artisans, "yet no tipplers;" which last requisite appears, from a letter in the registry, (Jan. 5, 1548) to Hans Haraldson, respecting the swillers at Danemora, not to have been fully obtained. March 7, 1548, he sent a furnace-master and charcoal-burner to Vanga. He fixes himself the wages of the furnace-master, hammermen, and smelters, with the amount to be given for a charcoal kiln of large dimensions.

⁶ The king gives him power "to take the active management of our forges and saw-mills throughout the kingdom." March 3, 1548.

⁷ Hvitfeld, History of King Frederic I.

⁸ The export duty was fixed at three per cent. in 1560.

⁹ Stiernman, Commerce och öcon. Förordningar, i. 70.

¹ Letter of the king thereon to Botvid Larson, March 14. Registry for 1545.

² One specimen of the legal forms of this age may suffice. The prohibition was communicated to the merchants "secretly, yet on peril of life and goods." Swedish ships in Lubeck were to withdraw from thence secretly, and meanwhile no goods belonging to the Lubeckers to be exported, "they breathing nought but spite and defiance." A letter of reconciliation to the municipality of Stockholm, April 19, 1548, is to be found in the Registry, by which it appears that they had paid a fine of 3000 marks for having broken the king's mandate, by which is probably meant the prohibition against trade with Lubeck.

Baltic, seeing that they found great advantage in being able to buy foreign wares at first hand in the western markets, while those of Lubeck and other towns on the Baltic must buy them at the third or fourth hand." Gustavus had concluded a defensive alliance with Francis I. in 1542, accompanied by stipulations for mutual commercial privileges, which in 1559, by treaty with Francis II. were extended and more precisely defined. Salt imported from France paid no duty. The commercial treaty formed with the Netherlands in 1526, was renewed in 1551, and in the same year a like convention was made with England. By the treaties of peace concluded with Russia in 1526 and 1537, the Swedish traders obtained freedom of commerce with Russia, and permission to rebuild their old factory at Novogorod. In all the treaties with Denmark there were stipulations regarding the trade with that country, although, from particular causes, it was rather obstructed than hindered by the king. He procured and disseminated statements as to the classes of Swedish productions which it would be most advantageous to export, in order to obtain wine and salt from France; cloth, tin, and lead from England; silks, linens, spices, and sugar from the Netherlands; saltpetre and hops from Denmark; swords, harness, brass-ware and retail goods from Germany.³

The foreign commerce of the country in 1559, occupied 62 Swedish ships of 3150 tons (lasts) burden. The exports consisted of rough and bariron, logs, masts, laths, deals, butter, tallow, train-oil, seal's blubber, salmon, eels, hides, goats, and horses⁴. Copper, which is not distinguished among the exports of this year, is elsewhere mentioned as an article of export, as well as tar. The trade with Finland in fish, deals, and tar, was restricted in 1539 to Stockholm. The town of Helsingfors was founded in that province in 1559, with the view of rendering it the centre of the Russian trade, as Revel and Riga had hitherto been⁵. The king encouraged his subjects to embark in this trade, of which foreigners had hitherto drawn the profits. This plan had as little success, as the representations which his ambassadors made in 1556, to queen Elizabeth of England, "that she should forbid the new navigation along the coast of Norway to Russia (Archangel), which her subjects had a few years ago commenced, and cause them rather to visit the land of Sweden, especially the famous town of Elfsborg, which lay upon the West Sea, and had a good haven⁶." To this town, founded by the king, and also called New Lödöse, he devoted an especial share of attention, as being at this time the only Swedish port on the North

Sea, but the lack of inclination which his subjects discovered for commercial pursuits drew from him severe reproaches⁷. In the inland districts fairs were appointed to be held, whither alone foreign traders were permitted to resort⁸. His design was to confine traffic to the towns, and in this view he was induced to forbid trading to the nobles, who did not observe the prohibition; to the clergy, to his own bailiffs and the peasantry, excepting in Norrland, where, in compliance with the old custom of the country, one trader was to be allowed to every parish⁹. He wished that in the towns, as far as possible, every man should pursue some fixed branch of trade or handicraft, for the better attainment of which end guild regulations were framed, and now first authorized by the government. His "ordinance for the town of Stockholm," of the year 1557, provided for the maintenance of public order and cleanliness, with a strictness unknown at that day in the large towns of Europe. Anxious to secure expert craftsmen of all sorts for the better instruction of his subjects, he caused builders, stonecutters, masons, and joiners, to be brought into Sweden, and placed youths under their tuition as apprentices. At Westerwick he established a dockyard. An artist, Anders the painter, who was also employed in making plans of buildings, received a stipend from the tithes of Nyköping; to another, Canute the painter, of Stockholm, we find him sending a student. If a particular branch of industry was pursued with extraordinary success in one part of the kingdom, as that of lock-making in a district of West-Gothland, he took pains to communicate the improved method to others. He admonishes the peasants of Lerback, that on pain of his severest displeasure and chastisement, they should employ no "bad red iron" in the preparation of their steel, because the scythes made from it were worthless. For the rest, he supposed that he could direct the course of trade by prohibitions and taxes, several of which led to oppression and public disturbances. Thus his forbidding the Smalanders and West-Gothlanders to sell their oxen beyond the Danish frontier, or higher than at a certain price to himself and those to whom he had farmed out this privilege, was one of the causes of the Dacke feud. Nor was his rigorous ordinance for enforcing the current rate of money more praiseworthy, after he had himself depreciated its essential value¹.

At the Diet of Westeras, in 1544, it was enacted that "the high roads should be widened, and made more smooth, by the labour, and at the expense of the inhabitants of the adjacent parishes²." At this

³ Stjernman, i. 109.

⁴ J. Bergius, Stockholm för 200 år sedan. (Stockholm 200 years ago.) Inaugural Discourse in the Royal Academy of Learning, 1758.

⁵ Stjernman, i. 112.

⁶ Registers of 1556.

⁷ He wrote to the burghesses of Lödöse, "When perchance some ships or traders from foreign parts come to your place, ye fall every man upon them, like a drove of swine, snuffing up what is coming in." He who had the least share of understanding obtained the uppermost place among them, "If he had the best to roast, and was able to set down the most beer." Hallenberg, Value of Coins and Wares, 147.

⁸ These were of old standing: the Disting at Upsala, the Samting in Strenghness, the Martinmas at Westeras,

Henrymas in Örebro, Petersmas at Tingwall in Vemeland, and in Linköping, &c. Stjernman, i. 21.

⁹ He complains that "the Norrlanders despise tillage, and follow traffic as being lighter." Ordinances respecting trade, 1546.

¹ When the governor of the castle of Abo sent an assay which the king deemed of too fine a standard, he replied, "More of what costs most has been put into the kettle than need was." 'Tis more easy, thou knowest well, to get cabbage than lard, and if we put too much lard on the cabbage, it grows unwholesome, and agrees not well with those who eat it." The king called this striking *too fat a coin*. Hallenberg, id. 291.

² In reference to plans of improving internal communication by canals and arrangements for conveyance, Gustavus was far in advance of his age. He gave orders in 1553 for the con-

time there was no carriage road between Gothland and Swedeland across the Tived forest. Considerations of advantage in war, as well as others, led to the adoption of this plan; certain places of arms were appointed on these military roads, as they were denominated³, where the soldiery might assemble on the appearance of danger, and which were to be fortified⁴. The nobility and the towns were required to furnish statements of the number of men whom they could have ready for the king's service; and on a hostile invasion every fifth or sixth man, or in an extreme emergency, one man from every house, was to march against the enemy. Yet the king sought to be as sparing as possible in these summonses to the people, and he makes frequent mention of the security which the kingdom enjoyed under his government, who had but a moderate army, in comparison with the times of the Union, when the peasant was so often obliged to take the field with his wallet at his back. Towards the end of his reign the military force of native Swedes, maintained by yearly stipend, or by quartering them in the towns (burgh-leagner, as it was called), amounted to 12,934 foot and 1379 horse, besides 549 foot and 296 horse of the German companies⁵. According to an official minute respecting the army of his majesty upon the Russian frontier, October 9, 1555, every "headman over the soldiers" (captain), among the Swedes, received a monthly stipend of six marks (answering to about two and a half silver rix dollars⁶), every "order-man" (lieutenant) five, every private four marks, a horseman with fire-arms eight marks, on which sums they were bound to subsist themselves, taking nothing from the king's subjects. The horsemen complained that their pay was insufficient. The trifling difference between that of the officers and privates is surprising, but the former had probably several means of increasing their gains; and it is plain, from the king's prohibition, that undue furloughs were one of these. The foreign troops had higher pay. In the above number the nobles, who performed knightservice, are not included. This obligation was more precisely defined by the king; but, notwithstanding that towards the end of his reign its burden was lightened, it was never adequately fulfilled. Gustavus also created

the first naval force which Sweden possessed; since before his reign, according to his own expression, there were but a heap of wherries and other baulkes, serving no purpose of offence or defence⁷. Venetian ship-builders, whom he engaged and liberally paid, practised and taught this art in Sweden, and the skill by which the Finns and Norrlanders were soon pre-eminently distinguished, was the fruit of his provident care. Several of his ships were of great size, one being manned with a complement of 1000 soldiers and 300 mariners⁸; another vessel, the *Elephant*, employed in the Lubecine war, was larger than any that had ever been seen in the Baltic. These ships carried a greater number of canuon, though of smaller size, than is usual at the present day. In the Russian war the king also employed a kind of coasters or gun-boats with from ten to twelve oars.

The older seminaries of instruction had been too closely connected with the ancient Church, not to be involved in its downfall. Hvitfeld and Messenius, indeed, state, that Gustavus restored in 1540 the university of Upsala, founded twenty years before; and two years previously we find him complaining that circumstances did not permit him to accomplish this work, which it was his desire to effect. In the archives of this reign no trace of its actual performance is to be found, although they supply many proofs of the king's fostering care for the schools, which, nevertheless, do not appear to have in all respects answered their object, if we may judge by the trenchant reproof addressed by him to the bishops in the year preceding his death, relative to the character of the persons who were supplied to him by the schools for the service of the state⁹. A learned Swede, who resided abroad, draws at the same time a dark picture of the condition of his country in this respect, and concludes that the large hoard of gold and silver, the military stores, and the ships, the arms, and fortifications, were rather detrimental than profitable; inasmuch as out of all the bands which the king everywhere maintained, not without great cost, and to the sore molestation of the subject, not ten men were to be found, whose counsel he might employ in the affairs of his kingdom; and the same held true of the nobles, the heads of the Church, and the priests¹.

struction of the canal of Vaddö, first completed in our own day, as well as for the establishment of public carriages, which are still wanting, or have only recently been introduced between Fahlun and Westeras, and between Stegeborg and Vadstena. Register for 1548.

³ Those which led from the then frontier of Denmark, into the upper country, are enumerated in the statute of Vadstena of 1559, when the matter was again mooted. Tegel 2, 456.

⁴ Particularly Elfsborg, Jönköping and Vadstena. The castles of Gripsholm, Swartsjö, Westeras, Strömsholm, Kronoborg, Upsala, and Stegeborg, were almost entirely erected. Of this plan the fortification of Upsala (Letter to Master Pavfel, builder, on his sketch of the proposed works; Register for 1544,) also formed part, as well as the establishment of a place of strength in Dalarna. The castle of Stockholm was likewise enlarged and more strongly fortified by Gustavus.

⁵ In 1557. Essay on the Military Force of Sweden from Gustavus I. to Gustavus Adolphus, by C. Adlersparre, *Hist. Vitt. och Ant. Acad. Handl.* 3, 307. The quartering of soldiers was one of the causes of Dack's rebellion. "We feared that it might not be well pleasing to all men, that the soldiery should be dispersed with the nobles and priests round about," the king writes, March 1, 1541. Register.

⁶ Four shillings and twopence, English money. T.

⁷ Tegel, ii. 168.

⁸ Olaus Magnus, l. x. c. 3.

⁹ August 16, 1559. *Celsii Monumenta politico-ecclesiastica*, p. 44. Little improvement seems therefore to have been made since 1533, when the king wrote to all the dioceses, that the schools had so sadly declined, that where formerly there used to be two or three hundred scholars, there were now scarce fifty; in other places the schools were completely empty, which was chiefly to be imputed to the refusal of the people to send their children to school as formerly, or to give assistance to the scholars by alms, as they were bound. "How then," he asks, "shall Christianity be maintained, if none are educated to give heed to it? When your ministers die off, where will you get others? Therefore we counsel and exhort you to place your children at school, and help those who go there. And if any one shall tell you that they now teach nothing else but Swedish in the schools, believe him not. Only be not wanting on your own side, and there shall be no want of learning." Register for 1533.

¹ Letter from Göran Gylte to a Swedish baron. *Celsius*, id. 53. The king was himself in correspondence with this person, whom he supported, as he is also known to have maintained several students at the German universities. In

Lieutenants, and persons in authority, kept each of them a secretary, to read and answer the king's letters, as they were themselves unable to do so. Of the rudeness and ignorance of the clergy many proofs remain. Their manner of embracing the principles of the Reformation often consisted only in marrying their housekeepers, in order thereby to legitimate the offspring whom these had borne them². We find, that during the Catholic period, such housekeepers, on the death of the priest, used to receive a certain allowance from the parish³. The Evangelical ministers themselves did not always set an edifying example. John Kitchen-master, first a monk, afterwards a Lutheran minister in Stockholm, and married, was deprived, and thrown into prison by the king for his dissolute life⁴. The abolition of the old Church discipline before the new order of things was matured, was generally productive of injurious effects on domestic morals. The king, whose own life was pure, and deportment blameless, often denounces the prevailing corruption of manners. To what extent this reached, where other circumstances favoured the lawlessness of the ill-disposed, as upon the frontiers, is best shown by his letter to the inhabitants of the prefecture of Kronoberg, April 9, 1554. In this, referring probably to the visitation of 1550, he reproves those who, living on the borders, and moving hither and thither, now into Denmark, and now into Sweden, are regardless of their marriage-vow, and take to wife one woman after another, as they would change their horses⁵. He commands the prefects to watch narrowly the proceedings of these loose companions. At the same time the severity of the temporal penalties was increased, till at length adultery was punished by death⁶.

The peace which the kingdom had long enjoyed was threatened by Denmark and broken by a war with Russia. The treaty of Brömsebro, formed with Denmark in 1541, the letter whereof stipulates an alliance of both kingdoms for mutual defence, so in-

timate as in many respects to resemble the old Union, was really produced by the terror still inspired by the family of Christian II., who were supported by Charles V. When the treaty of Spiers in 1544 reconciled Christian III. with the emperor, and the danger for Denmark ceased upon that side, the old mistrust revived. At an earlier time the Danish monarch had been, no less than Gustavus himself, the enemy of the emperor and confederate of France, though the alliance of Sweden with Francis I. was regarded in Germany in a more odious light, and was styled by the imperial chancellor Granvella in his letters to the insurgents of Smaland "an ungodly league⁷." In the treaty of Spiers, Gustavus was included at the instance of Denmark, but in a manner which did not give him satisfaction, as the pretended right of the daughter of Christian II. to his crown was left open; on which account Gustavus and the Estates in the diet of 1547 rejected an overture to yield the claim on the payment of a sum of money. This did not tend to further the maintenance of a good understanding with Denmark. The convention of Brömsebro had settled none of the real matters in dispute; and as by the 22d article both the claim of Sweden to Gottland and also the pretensions which Denmark might feel itself justified in pressing on the Swedish crown were left over for future adjustment, the latter clause especially gave occasion to interpretations which might easily lead to an attempt to renew all the usurpations of the Union. It was also observed, that even after the hereditary settlement in Sweden seemed to cut off all hope in this respect, Christian III. assumed upon the arms of Denmark the three crowns of the Swedish escutcheon. The Danes on their side declared that this was only intended to maintain in historical recollection the former union of the three kingdoms, but Gustavus viewed the matter otherwise. It is not without ground that the ensuing wars have been considered as springing from this source⁸, although during the

1544 he recalls six of these, because he required their services at home. Registers.

² Where the clergyman was of noble birth this sometimes led to suits with his relatives. When, in 1544, Erland Bat, pastor of Sorunda in the diocese of Strengness wished to marry his old housewife (Forsia, for-seer), "as priests now use to do," his brother protested against his resolution "now to take in marriage this poor woman, whom he had long entertained for his mistress, and thereby to bring his spurious children into their noble lineage and inheritance." The matter ended by the parties being reconciled. Hallenberg, Handlingar till konung Gustaf II. Adolfs Historia (Memoirs for the History of king Gustavus II. Adolphus), Stockholm, 1784, p. 46.

³ There is a letter of Gustavus I. to his bailiff Bengt Westgöte, directing him to leave to the "forsia" of the deceased master Olave of Munketorp the portion fixed by the parish. Register for 1525.

⁴ Hallman, Biography of the Brothers Olaus and Laurentius Petri, 96.

⁵ Reg. for 1554.

⁶ Household order of King Eric, 1560; ordinance of king John, 1577. This crime was cognizable in the Catholic period by the spiritual tribunals, and by the temporal law was only capital when the offender was caught in the fact, and the prosecutor would not grant him his life for a fine.

⁷ The French ambassador Richers, who had been on a mission to Constantinople, to incite the Turks to attack the house of Austria, repaired to Gustavus at Calmar, shortly

after his return from the conference at Brömsebro, to form an alliance against the enemies of both kingdoms, the latter having previously despatched to Francis his secretary Trebou, to propose a commercial treaty. One of alliance was subsequently concluded by the envoys of Gustavus, his brother-in-law Steno Ericson Lejonhufvud, the chancellor Pyhy, Canute Anderson Lilje, and Göran Norman, with the plenipotentiaries of the French king, the chancellor Poyet and the admiral Chabot. It stipulates that the kings shall consider themselves as brothers, and so style one another, each watching over the interests of the other like his own, and granting free liberty of traffic to his subjects, and that they shall assist each other in time of war with 25,000 men and 20 ships, at the expense of the party requiring them. King James V. of Scotland was received into the alliance on these terms, that when he required help from France against any of his enemies, the king of Sweden should transport to Scotland a force not exceeding 6000 men, at the cost of the latter power. Du Mont, Corps Diplom. iv. 228. It was probably in consequence of this convention that Gustavus I. began those recruitments of Scotsmen for the Swedish service which were afterwards continued by his successors. In 1556 he was in treaty to obtain 2000 Scots for the war against the Russians, and in the register for that year is preserved a paper entitled "Codicillus ad duces et capitaneos Scotorum de stipendio et disciplina militum, qui sunt in servitio Reg. Maj. Suecie."

⁸ Gustavus himself quotes one expression, "he who would scratch the three crowns out of the arms of Denmark, must have sharp teeth and claws."

lifetime of the king himself the quarrel proceeded no further than mutual remonstrances. The perils of the Union, overcome by the struggles of his youth, still disturbed his imagination in the repose of age, and his own pen was employed in warning his country against their urgency. All the oppressions inflicted by Denmark on Sweden are fully set forth in the rare metrical tract entitled "A true answer to some passages in the Danish Chronicle⁹;" and we have the testimony of his own secretary, a witness who is entirely worthy of credit, that it was "composed and rhymed mostly from the king's own mouth¹." The dangers against which it calls on the Swedes to be prepared were indeed to return, although from another quarter, and through the instrumentality of his own best loved son.

In 1554 the Russian war broke out on the borders of Finland. Gustavus had regarded this portion of his dominions with a paternal solicitude, which was extended likewise to the more distant Laplanders. He forbade the oppressions practised by the trading peasants of Norrland and Finland upon this wild and defenceless race, and sought to disseminate Christianity among the Lapps by missionaries. By the labours of Michael Agricola, a Finn by birth, and the scholar of Luther and Melancthon, whom Gustavus appointed ordinary of Abo, the Finlanders obtained the Bible, Prayer-Book, Psalms, and the first books of instruction in their language. Their manners were still marked by much barbarity and lawlessness. The king was obliged in 1551 to chastise the Tavastrians², who had surprised and burned the newly established settlements of the Swedes, already flourishing, in the forests of East Bothnia. Dark and extraordinary crimes are mentioned³, and the remoteness of situation, tempting by the prospect of impunity, led to great outrages on the part of the possessors of fiefs and the royal bailiffs, as is shown by the king's letters to the Flemings, who then exercised great power in Finland⁴. The peace subsisting with Russia since 1510, had been last confirmed in 1537, but the frontier was undefined, and in desolate Lapland it was unknown to either side. Yet disputes speedily arose which produced quarrels between the bailiffs respecting the collection of the crown dues, and at length mutual plundering, homicides, and burnings. So

⁹ Sanfärdige Svar pa nagre stycker uthi then Danske Crönike.

¹ In this are printed some passages of the Danish Rhyme-Chronicle, of which a new edition had appeared in Denmark in 1555. Though of older date, the king seems to have considered it as a new work. His secretary Sweno Elofson thus writes of it: "Against this Rhyme-book king Gustavus put forth another book and answers thereto, mostly rhymed and composed out of his own mouth, of which I have knowledge." (Paralipomena, in the Nordin Manuscripts at Upsala.) To his son John the king writes, September 23, 1558; "The Danes have set the three crowns in their arms, and have caused to be printed a mocking chronicle, in revilement of us. Thereupon have we made answer to this chronicle, and will let thee have some exemplars, as soon as any are ready at the printing-house." While thus busied, the king borrowed from the archbishop Lawrence Peterson, a copy of Saxo Grammaticus, whom he terms, "one of the old Danish historians named John Saxo." He sends his tract, December 10, 1558, to his son Eric and others, with a warning "not to show it before Danes, because it is a mischievous piece." Two editions appeared in the above year; it is notwithstanding very rare. Göran Gylte, the learned person already mentioned, disapproved of the treatise (though

early as 1545, Gustavus, in a letter to Francis I., complains of an inroad of the Russians into Finland⁵. This was returned with equal damage from the Swedish side, though without the king's orders⁶, and brought on an open war, in which the grand master of the Livonian knights, and the king of Poland, promised their aid to Gustavus against the Czar Ivan Vasilievitch II. The king himself repaired to Finland in the following year, with a fleet and army. But mutual devastations, from which Finland suffered most, composed the whole occurrences of the war. The Russians laid fruitless siege to Wiborg with a very large army, and carried off with them a crowd of captives. Their chronicles relate that a man was sold for ten coopeks, and a maiden for fifteen. The war occasioned a great outlay, and disease raged among the soldiery. These causes, coupled with the failure of the promised help from Livonia and Poland, led first to a cessation of arms, and thereafter to a peace, concluded at Moscow, (April 2, 1557), for forty years. The disputed boundaries were to be determined by special commissioners.

Designs on Livonia from this side were soon to set the whole north in flames. The Russian giant was now beginning to struggle towards the sea, whence fresher air might stream upon his sluggish body. Gustavus kept aloof from the discords which were soon engendered. His sons did not share his own caution, and his knowledge of their character filled him with apprehension. Heavy was the weight of care accumulated upon his last years! He complained that his old friends had departed, and that he felt himself lonely in the world. He had lost in 1551 his beloved consort Margaret Lejonhufvud, who had borne to him ten children, five sons, and five daughters. He married again, after the lapse of a year, the young Catherine Stenbock⁷, not without some obstacles being interposed by the clergy, as the bride was the niece of his former wife; but the exacerbation of his temper, which no one could soothe in hasty moments so well as Margaret, showed how much he was affected by the loss he had sustained. Four of his sons, growing up, attained man's estate, of whom three became kings of Sweden; and in the elder two, before their father's eyes, those tendencies were already unfolding, without naming it) as serving only to revive old enmities. See his letter formerly quoted in Celsii Monumenta, 53.

² Letter to the bailiff, October 6. Register for 1551.

³ July 30, 1552, the king orders that the strictest inquiry should be instituted in relation to a late case of poisoning in Finland. "Such Italian (Välske) treacheries, of secret murder and poison, are strange and singular in our dominions." Regis.

⁴ The brothers Jacob and Eric Fleming. Both were deprived of their governments. Registers for 1529 and 1540.

⁵ The letter is of June 1. Register for 1545. In the preceding year a Russian embassy visited Stockholm. The Swedish governor at Wiborg detained them on their return, of his own impulse. Tegel, 2, 232.

⁶ Order to make prisoner Anders Nilson, because he and several of his fellows had by robberies, homicides, and burnings, provoked the Russians to attack Finland. Register for 1555. Compare Tegel, 2, 308.

⁷ Daughter of Gustavus Olson of Torpa, councillor of state, and after the death of Lars Siggeson Sparre in 1554, high marshal, and of Brita Lejonhufvud. Catherine, like Margaret formerly, had been betrothed to another (Gustave Johnson Roos), who yielded his pretensions to those of the king, and, as on the previous occasion, was united to her sister.

which were afterward to be the fruitful sources of so many disasters. They are styled dukes, though at first without dukedoms: Eric, while bearing this title, already addresses the people as subjects⁸; he is called also king elect or heir-king, and Gustavus speaks in 1554 of crowning him during his own lifetime. John, at the age of eleven, was invested with territorial fiefs in Finland, in order, the king writes, "that since we have caused the estates-general of Sweden to choose our son Eric king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals⁹, and have thus provided him with land and a kingdom, others of our dear children also may be endowed with such maintenance as is suited to princes¹," and this investiture was in 1556 extended to the whole of Finland. That John designed to convert his government into "land and a kingdom" for himself was already sufficiently evident in his father's lifetime. This first-born of his deceased queen Margaret was the favourite of Gustavus, though his affection for his son seems to have been impaired towards the close of life, if we may judge by the words which pain extorted from the old king upon his death-bed. Addressing Magnus (afterwards weak-minded), he said, "Thou art dear to me; thou hast never incensed me." Charles was still a child. With Eric he had long been dissatisfied, and was troubled on seeing that the prince inherited the wayward caprice of his mother, as well as the vehemence, which marked the temper of his father; qualities which took so alarming a shape as to obscure eminent natural abilities, cultivated by a careful education. To pacify his impatience, Eric was in 1557 invested by his father with Calmar, the castle of Kronoberg with its dependencies, and Oeland. Suspicion was awakened by the young king receiving the oath of fidelity from the nobility in his own name; and Tegel states that Gustavus, after this time, kept around him a German body-guard. In his letters to Eric, however, we detect no trace of ill-will at this time. He upbraids his son with being inaccurate in his accounts, with burdening the people too severely, and with vexing him about trifles, sometimes to procure new clothes², sometimes harness, and fittings for the representation of stage-plays³; on the other hand, he receives Eric's opinion in affairs of state with complacency, himself requesting his advice in weighty matters, and generally testifies entire confidence. Other occurrences arose in aggravation of his unhappiness. His eldest daughter Catherine was wedded in 1559 to Edward II., count of East Friesland. The mar-

riage festival, after some delay from an alarm of war, was celebrated with splendour⁴, the bride's portion being one of royal magnificence. In the train of the bridegroom was his brother count John; and the bride's sister, the young, beautiful, and light-headed princess Cecilia⁵, accompanied the newly married pair to Vadstena. There Eric discovered an intrigue between Cecilia and count John, seized the latter in the bed-chamber of the princess at night, and sent him to the king. The latter replied, that he was here called into counsel like a reaper after the field had been mowed; Eric himself had made this grievous mishap notorious, to his own discredit and shame, and that of all his house; what step could now be taken?—As the matter stood, the king dealt rigorously with the culprits, threatened count John with death, kept him prisoner nine months, and only set him at liberty after repeated intercessions by his kinsmen and several princes. Eric, after he had destroyed his sister's reputation, fancied that he could restore it by striking a medal bearing the effigies of Cecilia and the chaste Susanna! To the admonitions and reproaches of the king he answered sullenly, giving his father to understand that he should not write to his successor as to one of his bailiffs. This conduct, stubborn, insensate, and unstable, was repugnant to the king's inmost soul. "Dear son Eric," he writes in one letter, "thou sendest us many writings, but with what gladness we may read them, God truly knoweth. For his Son's death and sufferings, and for the filial love and obedience which pious children should bear to their parents, desist from this torment wherewith thou vexest and wringest the heart of thine aged and sorrowing father."—His entreaty of forgiveness in another letter, in case he should have erred in his vehemence, is deeply moving: "Dear son, our fatherly request to thee is, that thou wilt take no displeasure thereupon. God hath himself commanded in holy Scripture, that men should do no hurt nor shame to his anointed and to their blood, though sometimes defect or transgression may be found in them."—Sueno Elofson, his secretary, relates, that he had seen tears trickling down his cheeks, when he conversed with the queen upon what had occurred at Vadstena, and the behaviour of Eric. Not as if any weakness or humourousness had been found in them, the narrator adds, but he was troubled in heart so sorely, that the words forced the tears from his eyes. It is even said, so great was his indignation, that he intended a prison instead of a throne for his offending son⁶, but was

⁸ "Dear subjects." Letter of duke Eric to the burghers of Åbo, November 3, 1551. Register.

⁹ Gustavus took the "Vandals" from the Danish title.

¹ Letter of June 27, 1546. Register.

² "We have received thy writing a short while since, by which we perceive thou desirest our service (yet we hope not), that we should procure clothes to thy servants for Christmas from Henry Tailor; thus, dear son, thou mayest well wonder, how we should be able to provide for all things that happen in this realm." Register for 1557.

³ That he should have a "show-play" on Shrove-Tuesday, and borrow harness from the ordnance master, cannot be permitted. "If thou wilt have a play, thou mayest have a show of arms with our horsemen." Reg. for 1558.

⁴ "My heart's love Catharine," writes Gustavus to his queen, "we have received accounts which run more on strife and war than wedding. Seemeth therefore to us not very needful that thou shouldst hasten much with baking or other

matters, in preparation for the feast." Reg. for 1559. In Sweden at this day neither king nor queen regarded such household cares as being beneath their notice. August 27, 1558, he writes to his son Magnus: "Our dear housewife Catharine sends thee five shirts of which thou shouldst take care; item, to keep thy head clear, and not to run or ride too much about Oeland."

⁵ Cecilia, who is called "the fairest of her family," was united in 1564 to the Margrave Christopher of Baden, who, like several other German princes, was then in the Swedish service. After his death, she embraced the Catholic faith, and was supported by her brother John III. She died at the age of 87, after a dissolute life. The three remaining daughters of Gustavus were, Anna, married in 1562 to George John, palgrave of Veldentz, Sophia, married in 1568 to Magnus III., duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, and Elizabeth, married in 1581 to duke Christopher of Mecklenburg.

⁶ Peder Brahe, in his Manuscript Chronicle.

turned from his purpose by John's intercession. It is certain that those two brothers, of whom Messenius says⁷ that they lived in incessant contention, first in their play, next in reference to lands and governments, and lastly for the crown, appear during their father's last days to have had a secret understanding against him, though each probably for his own objects.

Eric kept his court at Calmar with all manner of wild and riotous excess. In his sports it was no uncommon thing to see eyes dashed out, and arms and legs lopped off⁸, which only served to provoke his laughter. Among his attendants we already observe Göran Person, afterwards his principal adviser, who having filled a place in the service of Gustavus had been dismissed from it⁹, and found a refuge at the court of Eric. Otherwise the young king lived mostly with Frenchmen, the chief of whom were Denis Burrey (or as he is usually called Dionysius Beurres), formerly Eric's tutor¹, and Charles de Mornay². Burrey, a zealous Calvinist, advised his master to make proposals for the hand of Elizabeth of England³, a suggestion which the latter embraced with his usual vehemence. What castles in the air were built upon the loosest hopes in reference to this alliance is best shown by the conditions which it was considered necessary in Sweden to require from Eric in case he should become king of England⁴. Another surprising feature of this transaction is, that John appears in it as the most zealous intercessor in Eric's behalf with his reluctant father, placing himself at the head of the costly embassy which was sent to England to prosecute the suit, and on his return advising his brother to present himself personally to the object of his vows⁵, which incited him to form the most romantic projects. Sometimes he determined to surprise Elizabeth in a disguise, sometimes again to captivate her by the display of all his regal pomp. In thus zealously promoting Eric's darling plan, John was not unmoved by some hopes of recompense. At the same time we find both the

brothers in apparent harmony, and actively engaged in another design of acquiring for John a portion of Livonia.

In February, 1559, after the Russians had plundered the whole country to Riga, Ivan Vasilevitch II. was informed by his commanders that Livonia lay in ashes⁶. Before this invasion, commenced in the year previous, fell the old but now shattered dominion of the sword-knights; and as aid was sought from Poland, the emperor, Denmark, and Sweden, the country was now about to become the theatre for the settlement of their contending pretensions, as throughout a whole century it continued. Here was already opening that series of wars beyond the Baltic in which Sweden was to be engaged; and it was not without good grounds that he, who is justly styled the father of his country, scrupled to enter on a path so full of uncertainty⁷. All the sentiments recorded as having fallen from him in his last year show that he viewed with the profoundest anxiety the prospect of Sweden's future. The very expedient he adopted to avoid setting her all to hazard in the dangerous hands of Eric, involved risks which undoubtedly did not escape his penetration. All around clouds were darkening the political horizon. He had received information that another last attempt was about to be made on behalf of the family of his old enemy Christian; and on the side of Denmark under the new king Frederic II. (since 1559), the chances of war seemed so imminent that Gustavus kept his army and fleet in readiness⁸. Those who now invoked his assistance for Livonia, the granting of which would have provoked a new war with Russia, were the same who deserted him in his former war with that country. He discerned only one Swedish interest at stake in the whole quarrel, that of setting bounds to the augmentation of the Danish power in this quarter, after Reval had offered, in 1558, its submission to king Christian III.⁹; and beyond question this was his motive in binding himself to support the grand-master of the order

⁷ Scandia, v. 114. Messenius, as secretly a Catholic, writes of Gustavus I. with ill suppressed bitterness.

⁸ Peder Brahe.

⁹ He is said to have been condemned to death by Gustavus, who commuted the sentence for one of banishment. Fant, de Georgio Petri Sala Montano, Ups. 1807. He was son to a priest at Sala, and had studied at Wittenberg. He was accustomed to inveigh against Gustavus I., upon which the old baron, Björn Pederson Bat is said to have remarked to him; "Know, Göran Person, that it is unjust so to blame old king Gustave; ye do it out of malignity, demeaning yourself like the hounds that bark at the moon; true he has his faults, which you cry out upon; but yet he is a masterpiece of God." Scand. Memoirs, 3, 32.

¹ In this office he succeeded the deceased Göran Norman in 1553; but he was in Sweden in 1547, as his bond of fealty to the king, and a grant of land to him, are preserved in the archives. He was afterwards under Eric councillor of state and chief-master.

² He styled himself baron of Varennes and came to Sweden in 1558.

³ He travelled as Eric's envoy to London in 1558, before Elizabeth had mounted the throne, and kept alive the prince's hopes by her and his own fair words through a stay of considerable duration; "doubtless because the air there agrees with him better," writes the king ironically, who at once saw the futility of these expectations.

⁴ Tegel, ii. 411, 412.

⁵ "We have herein yielded at a great charge to thine and thy brother's will," writes the old king to John. The equip-

ment of the duke's embassy cost 200,000 guilders (15,000*l.*), and another was besides afterwards sent, consisting of Charles Holgerson Gere, Gustavus Johanson Roos and Charles de Mornay. "So eager were we Swedes in this business (excepting king Gustavus), and most of all was king Eric bent upon the wooing, from which many conceived great hopes." (Sueno Elofson). "For what concerns the English affair and the expedition thither, to which your grace hath advised us, we have yet received no answer thereupon from the king's majesty." Eric to John.

⁶ Karamsin, History of the Russian empire, vii. 426.

⁷ "When I consider, of what praise he was worthy for all the good he accomplished, me seemeth as if I were wanting in understanding and words, to speak it rightly and according to his merit. But one thing I say, that if ever ruler was deserving to be called 'pater patriæ,' king Gustavus should bear that name with all honour and commendation." Sueno Elofson, Paralipomena.

⁸ Tegel, i. 364.

⁹ "We would have thee to think, dear son, what detriment it might work for our affairs, if the Danes should become our neighbours on this side also; whether it be not better to forestall than to be forestalled; to take the piece from the hound in time than to be bitten by him. Give us thy opinion hereupon." Letter of the king to Eric, December 8 and 10, 1558. Register. The peace-loving Christian III. rejected the offer above-mentioned; but his son Frederic II. transferred the claims he had acquired by purchase in 1559, to the bishops of Cösel, Courland, and Reval, to his brother Magnus.

by a loan, obtaining that town as security; unless it was a mere pretext on the king's side in order to take the matter out of the management of his sons. For we know that John also, who had formed connections with Reval by giving shelter in Finland to the pirates of this town, (the sea-thieves of Reval as Gustavus calls them,) was negotiating with the grand-master to furnish a loan upon the security of certain fortresses, and had made an engagement to this effect without his father's privity. The king had observed, as he declared, that his son had some clandestine matter on his mind, and made him earnest representations on this subject. "Seeing thou well knowest that Finland is not a separate dominion from Sweden, but that both are counted as members of one body, it becomes thee to undertake nothing which concerns the whole kingdom, unless he who is the true head of Sweden, with the estates of the realm, be consulted thereupon; and it be approved and confirmed by him and them, as thy bounden duty points out, and Sweden's law requires." But John turned for counsel in this design, not to his father, but to Eric. The latter informs his brother, who was still busied with his embassy to London, that he had given orders to his secretary with Clas Christersou Horn to negotiate with the grand-master for the delivery of the castles of Sonnenburg and Padis for the sum of 50,000 dollars, of which 10,000 were to be raised in Finland. "And when the king our father hears that this matter has had a happy issue," he adds, "and we hold the keys of the castles, doubt not that he will lay out the rest for us, or it can be procured in some other mode¹." He pledges himself to further the scheme according to the engagement he had made, "even should it move the wrath of the king²." Eric gave command for the immediate equipment of ships in Finland, which drew forth a letter from the old monarch, forbidding any obedience being given in matters of importance to "what Eric or our other children may order without our knowledge and sanction³." Thus we see the sons united against the father in the very point which was to enkindle a deadly enmity between them while he was yet hardly cold in his grave.

For the rest, Eric was so possessed with the hopes he had conceived from the assurances of his brother, now returned from London, that he was firmly resolved himself to lay his love at the feet of Elizabeth, although the queen at length, with more than ordinary frankness, addressed a considerate letter to the old king, entreating him to dissuade his son from proceeding. Eric at first declared this to be a jest, and when the king quoted the Latin words of the letter, "by which this business is broken off meetly and discreetly," he was of opinion that he had not rightly understood their meaning. "Thou holdest to another notion," Gustavus writes to him, "as if the queen's letter were not rightly interpreted to us. It were much more

to our wish thou hadst spared us such fancies, and not contemned us, thy father. Although we will confess that we are not so deeply learned in the Latin tongue as thou mayest be, yet have we those in our service who understand it well." *Qui amat periculum, peribit in illo*, the king adds. "It were good thou shouldst ponder the weal of thy house, and of all the inhabitants of Sweden, and shouldst consider the call which this people hath confided to thee after our mortal end, so that thou mayest store up in thy soul, like a worthy prince, the honour and majesty which thy father-land hath conferred upon thee⁴."

In the beginning of April 1560, the king complains to his eldest daughter, that he felt somewhat weak in his head and stomach; yet more from sorrow and apprehension, especially for his children, than from any other cause⁵. On the 24th of April he was taken ill at his house of Juleta in Suthermanland (Sudermania), of a choleric fever or ague; but his health improving after some days, he made excursions in his galley during the fine season, according to his wont, round the islands of the Mælar. His son John, who had now returned from England, he received with a glad welcome (May 25) in Eskilstuna, inviting the prince, with his brother Eric, to the diet convened at Stockholm for the 16th of June. The writ of convocation issued, the king said, "by reason that we feel weak and old, and many difficult and weighty matters remain to be settled;" a letter to Eric, in which he entreats his son not to give ear to those who dissuaded him from coming to the king⁶; and one to John, in which he complains that Eric kept spies on his father's motions⁷; are, together with his testament, the latest relics which the state archives preserve of king Gustavus. Of his last speech to the estates, and of his illness and death, we have accounts from his secretary, Sueno Elofson, and his confessor.

The writ enumerates free-born and freeholders (*frälsemen*), clerks, burgesses, and peasants, these forming the four estates. In relation to the first-named class, it will be remembered, that although horse-service, as it was called, or the furnishing of a horseman, was, by law, one condition of the immunity from taxation enjoyed by the nobility, there was, nevertheless, before its institution, a nobility of birth in the common sense, which equally subsisted afterwards. The nobleman by birth was the "free-born;" the *frälseman* was he who had won his privilege of nobility by service performed; both were reckoned as belonging to the class of nobles. That for admission thereinto, distinguished birth was not in general required, the words of Gustavus himself establish. When Eric stated, that in his dukedom several peasants' sons had come, by marriage, into the possession of tax-free (or *frälse*) estates, the king replied, that "trial

¹ To John, September 23, 1558. Register.

² Eric to John, February 11, 1560. Register.

³ To Joachim Bulgryn, upon the ships which duke Eric requests, without having acquainted the king; Juleta, March 4. To Steno Ericson Lejonhufvud; May 3. Register for 1560.

⁴ Letter to Eric, February 20, 1560, with one immediately following. Register.

⁵ Letter to Catharine from Ulvfe Sound, now Drottningholm, April 6, 1560.

⁶ He might be displeased indeed with those about Eric, but he had nothing against him individually. Letter to Eric, Strengness, June 3, 1560, in the Register.

⁷ "We send thee these letters, by which thou mayest perceive what company our dear son Eric uses to spy out our intents; and as our afore-named son is by nature something mistrustful, these toads he keeps about him do so spur him on by their instigations, that he meddles rashly with matters to which he has given no heed." He prays John to give him good counsel. June 4, 1560. This is the last letter of Gustavus in the Register.

must be made of every one's manhood and repute, according as the law prescribes, seeing that virtue, intelligence, and courage make nobility⁸." In addition, there were summoned to this diet the ordinaries (as the bishops were now termed), two clergymen, and two peasants, discreet men, from every hundred, with four burgesses from each of the towns.

June 16, Gustavus came to Stockholm, and informed the estates, by message, that he would meet them at the palace on the 25th of the month. On the appointed day he took his place in the hall of assemblage, accompanied by all his sons, king Eric, duke John, duke Magnus, and duke Charles; the last, who was still a child, standing at his father's knee, the others on his left hand, each according to his age. The king having saluted the estates, they listened for the last time to the accents of that eloquence so well liked by the people, that when in the diets he deputed one of his officers to make a proposal, they were wont to cry that they would have himself to speak. "They well understood," he said, "and those of them who were fallen in years had seen it too, beneath what oppression and wretchedness their native land had groaned, under foreign domination and alien rulers, last under that cruel tyrant, king Christian, whom God had punished, and driven out by his hands—a divine help and deliverance to be held in remembrance by all, old and young, high and low, lords and servants. For what manner of man was I," proceeded the king, "to set myself against him, who was so strong, the sovereign lord of three kingdoms, befriended by that mighty emperor, Charles V., and by the chief princes of Germany? But it was the doing of God, who had made him to be a sign of his power, and been his comfort and help in a government of forty years, the toils of which had brought him with grey hairs to his grave. He might compare himself, indeed, with king David (here the tears burst from his eyes), whom God had raised from a shepherd to be the lord and ruler over his people; for never could he have supposed that he could attain to this honour, when he was obliged to hide in forests and desert mountains from the bloodthirsty sword of his enemies. Grace and blessings had been richly dispensed to him and to them through the true knowledge of God's word (from which might they never depart!), and the seasonable abundance that lay everywhere before their eyes. Yet would he not shrink from acknowledging his faults. For the errors and weaknesses which might be imputed to him during the time of his government—these his true liegemen might overlook and forgive; he knew that in the opinion of many he had been a hard king, yet the time was at hand, when Sweden's children would gladly pluck him out of the earth if they could. He needed not to ask the stars of his end; by the signs in his own body he felt that he had not much more time to look for. There-

fore, while yet in health, he had caused his testament to be drawn up, and hoping that it rested on good reasons, he requested that they would give it confirmation." After the deed had been read, approved, and confirmed by oath, the king stood up and thanked them that they had willed him to be father of a dynasty of Swedish kings. He then committed the government to his son Eric, exhorted his children to harmony among themselves, stretched out his hands in benediction, and so took leave of his people.

The following day Eric made a speech to the estates in the high church, on the necessity of concluding in person the negotiation of the English match, from which great advantages were promised for Sweden. In this representation he was seconded by John, whom he named in return to be administrator of the kingdom during his absence. Gustavus himself was at length obliged to give way to the importunities of Eric, "after his dear son John had given him a far better answer⁹;" and the young king showed himself so eager for the journey, that not even his father's illness restrained him. Upon the 14th of August, the very day of Eric's departure, Gustavus lay on his death-bed, "ill of a burning fever and ague, with the malady called diarrhœa," says his confessor master Johannes, who, with the king's barber master Jacob, and the apothecary, master Lucas¹, acted likewise as his physician. When therefore the first-named person began a long discourse of devotion, the king bade him cut it short, and instead of that, bring him a medicine for a sick stomach and a brain that felt as it were burning². He was heard to exclaim that he had busied himself too much with the cares of this world, but with all his wealth he could not buy himself physicians. Such of his bailiffs as were incarcerated for debts owed to himself, he now restored to freedom. His mood was capricious and changeable; now harsh and morose, so that his children trembled in his presence; now soft even to tears; at other times merry and jesting, especially at the endeavours of those who wished to prolong his life. When one asked him if he needed aught, his reply was, "The kingdom of heaven, which thou canst not give me." He seemed not to place overmuch confidence even in his ghostly advisers; when the priest exhorted him to confess his sins, the king broke angrily out, "Shall I tell my sins to thee?" To the bystanders he declared that he forgave his enemies, and begged pardon of all for anything in which he had dealt unjustly with them, enjoining them to make known this to all. To his sons he said, "A man is not a man; when the play is out, we are all alike;" and enjoined them to unity and steadfastness in their religion. The consort of the dying king never quitted his side. During the first three weeks of his illness he spoke often, sometimes with wonderful energy, on temporal and spiritual

⁸ June 9, 1559.

⁹ Short Relation of the gracious end of the most high and mighty Lord and Prince Gustavus Ericson, King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals. Manuscript by the king's confessor.

¹ This person was not, as Dalin says, the first apothecary in Stockholm. In the minute-book of the town is the following entry: "In 1496, a new *apotecarius* was sent by the council of state for the public behoof, to do good and be

righteous in his office, and to take no other step than what the doctor shall order, or his prescriptions point out."

² He gave the king violet-syrup and pomegranates, endive-water and chicory, "with something purgative; but the disease was too obstinate." Yet the king said mostly no to "all confections, syrups, and draughts, and would by no means take any," nor "almond-milk, soft-boiled eggs, and health-fowl roasted and boiled." A few days before the king's death arrived doctor Mathias Paludanus, and somewhat earlier doctor Wilhelm, both sent by Eric.

affairs. The three following he passed chiefly in silence, and as it seemed, with no great pain; he was often seen to raise his hands as in prayer. Having received the sacrament, made confession of his faith, and sworn to his son to adhere firmly to it; he beckoned for writing materials, and inscribed these words, "Once confessed, so persist, or a hundred times repeated,"—but his trembling hand had not power to finish the sentence. The confessor continued his exhortations, till, as life was flying, Steno Ericson Lejonhufvud interrupted him by saying, "All that you talk is in vain, for our lord heareth no more." Thereupon the priest bent down to the ear of the dying man and said, "If thou believe in Jesus Christ, and hear my voice, give us some sign thereof." To the amazement of all, the king answered with a loud voice, "Yes!" This was his last breath, at eight of the clock in the morning, the 29th of September, 1560.

Gustavus in his best days is thus depicted by his sister's son, Peter Brahe³. "His stature was that of a man of middle height, something more than six feet⁴. He had a round head, fair hair, a comely, large, long beard, quick eyes, small straight nose, a well-shaped mouth, ruddy lips, blooming cheeks, his body of a reddish brown, so goodly that not a spot was to be found on him whereupon a needle's point could be set, strong arms, a full person, neatly shaped hands and feet; in a word, so well-formed and justly proportioned, as a skilful limner at his best might paint a mau. He took pleasure in wearing stout raiment, proper for a man and a king, and however his clothes were cut, they fitted him perfectly well. His complexion was choleric sanguine; he was of a cheerful, gay, and jovial turn, untroubled and free from scorn; and how many guests soever were found in his halls, he knew how to fit himself to each in converse and discourse as their place required. He kept an honourable and royal court, as well of native as foreign lords and gentlemen, and a decorously ordered drawing-room⁵. Daily in the afternoon an hour was appointed, when all the nobles behoved to come to the ball-room. There was the mistress of the household⁶ with the ladies, and the king's musicians played to them. Every second or third day the king rode out with his lords and ladies, either to the chase or to take the air, and in pleasure (then yet an innocent word) to pass away the time. Every week he had a fencing-school free to all comers, and kept the young nobles at practice as well in this art as in every other knightly exercise, wherein he himself took great contentment. And whoso in this excelled the others, was requited with an honourable present, whether it were a gold ring or a pearl garland, or to lead the dance with some young lady of the court. To hear music the king took great

pleasure, as well with men's voices, as with sweet and delightful instruments; and he had not only good judgment to give an opinion thereon, but he was himself an artist both to sing and to play. Among all instruments he held the lute most dear, and there was no evening when he was alone that he did not solace himself with it. Although he was not so deeply versed in bookish studies and the like, for that in early youth he was taken from them to court-service, yet his judgment was by nature so sharp-sighted, upon the handiwork of artists of all kinds, images and paintings, portraits, landscapes, buildings, also of the natures of birds, beasts, trees, and roots, that herein he excelled those who had made such things their study. Set he once eyes upon a man fairly, then would he have assurance of knowing him well again, after ten or twenty years' time, and he could judge of his nature and character by his aspect. He had a supernaturally good memory; what he had heard once or twice he never forgot; where he had once passed by, he never needed again to inquire of the way; and he knew not only the names of the villages, but also those of the peasants, if he had stayed there in his youth. Much good luck he had in his days before other men, not only at cards or dice, when he sat down to play, which happened not often, but also in victories and successes in his warlike enterprises, with tillage and breeding of cattle, finding of treasure in the earth, mines, and fisheries of all sorts. His royal castles and manors overflowed with plenteousness. He had likewise the fear of God before his eyes, serving him with gladness, both at morn and even-tide; and though he rejoiced in the society of fair and engaging dames, yet was he so chaste that he was never brought into scandal for any, nor was it ever said that children were born to him out of wedlock, but he kept himself true to his nuptial vow. In the sum; God had endowed him above his fellows with great ability, high understanding, and many princely virtues, so that he was well worthy to bear the kingly sceptre and the crown. For it was not only that he was sagacious and versatile; he was also manly and virtuous, in judgment sharp-sighted and fair, and in many matters tender of heart."

Such was his portraiture, drawn in the bloom of life. With years came seriousness; and in a form more worthy of honour than his age has been rarely seen. We have described him by his actions and the testimony of his contemporaries. Nothing remains to be added, unless to say that in our generation he would have excited wonder still⁷ more by his virtues than his failings. In both he belongs to another race than the present; but his life was for many races and ages.

one-third of an inch shorter than the English; Gustavus therefore was probably about 5 feet 11 inches. T.

³ In his chronicle, under the year 1532.

⁴ "Three ells;" of two feet. The Swedish foot is nearly

⁵ *Frauntimmer*, ladies' chamber.

⁶ *Hofwästerinnan*.

CHAPTER XI.

ERIC AND HIS BROTHERS.

ACCESSION OF ERIC. HIS CHARACTER. POWER OF THE ROYAL DUKES, JOHN AND CHARLES. THEIR DIFFERENCES WITH THE KING. CREATION OF COUNTS AND BARONS. STATE OF THE JUDICATORY. THE KING'S OVERTURES OF MARRIAGE. HIS EXTRAVAGANCE. SWEDISH DOMINION IN ESTLAND. IMPRISONMENT OF DUKE JOHN. TYRANNY OF ERIC AND HIS MINISTER, GEORGE PERSON. WAR WITH DENMARK. UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT ON NORWAY. PERSECUTION OF THE HOUSE OF STURÉ. TRIAL OF SIX MAGNATES FOR HIGH TREASON BEFORE THE ESTATES. FRENZY OF ERIC. REVOLT OF THE DUKES. THE KING DEPOSED BY THE ESTATES; INCARCERATED; AND POISONED. HIS SON GUSTAVUS.

A. D. 1560—1569.

Eric inherited from his father peace with his neighbours, abundance throughout the land, a well replenished treasury, and that good will of the people with which new reigns and young princes are for the most part hailed. He was in his twenty-seventh year, well formed, like all the sons of Gustavus, of person rather agreeable than tall. Expert in bodily exercises, he was also held to be versed in the business of war; showed himself in speech and answer mild and friendly; is extolled too for his sharp-sightedness and gift of expression in the treatment of affairs. Of languages he knew several, and left after him writings in the Swedish and Latin; was an astrologer, poet, musician, and painter⁷; and withal other features might be culled for a brilliant epitaph on a life so unfortunate. If we compare with these rich endowments his own conduct, we perceive that it is not manifold parts and accomplishments which make the man. Here bloomed fertility over subterranean fire.

Eric had quitted the death-bed of his father to repair to England; "but secretly," it is said, "he had other practices in his mind, in the concealment whereof he was masterly." His inmost view appears to have been to collect round himself, under this pretext, a considerable force. He drew slowly towards Elfsborg, where the fleet lay upon his account. Many of the principal men in the country joined his numerous train; he collected much money by voluntary contributions, especially in Gothland, "many thousand marks of silver, enough wherewith to wage a middling war⁸." Thus furnished he received the tidings of his father's death; took homage from the provinces on his return to the capital; made his entry there on November the 30th, 1560; and on the 21st December following buried his father in the cathedral of Upsala.

7 *Præter insignem artium liberalium et præsertim mathe-
seos ac linguarum exoticarum cognitionem, in omni disci-
plinæ militaris fuit genere versatissimus; ingenio admodum
perspicaci, verum suspicaci; blandus sermone; comis allo-
quio; statura corporis magis grata quam elata; equitandi,
natandi, saltandi peritia tantopere præditus, ut spectantium
animos in summam plerumque admirationem raperet.*
Messenius, Scandia, vi. Several of his compositions still
remain, chiefly upon matters personal to himself. Yet he
wrote also a book on judicial astrology (*Liber Astronomicus
Judiciarius*), and a short treatise on military art and disci-
pline. He translated into Swedish the History of Joannes
Magnus, under the title of Chronicle of the Swedes and
Goths, (*Svea och Göta Crönika*), annexing Latin verses
upon each of the kings, composed by himself. We have still
portraits by his hand; he is also the author of two hymns
for four voices, and of two penitential psalms admitted into
the Swedish psalm-book. Love-songs by him to Catharine,
Magnus' daughter, are also preserved, and Eric Sparr re-
lates that the king himself sang well. *Dionysius Beurres,*

The old king had by his testament bestowed hereditary dukedoms upon his remaining sons, to be held under Eric as their lord superior. "For seeing that he had suffered much in his own life-time from envy,"—says the great Gustavus Adolphus⁹,—"so did he intend (even as we men are wont to call to mind chiefly that which has most vexed ourselves) by his testament to make his children so high and mighty that they should be free from the fear of envy. Therefore made he Eric, the eldest, to be king, John to be duke of Finland, Magnus to be duke of East-Gothland, Charles to be duke of Sutherland, and counselled them to harmony and brotherly unity among one another, in the opinion that, like as common dangers and enemies use to link men, the brothers would all the more hold together. But herein alone did king Gustavus err; brotherly harmony is but rare to find, and seldom are power and unity met in one place. These lords were too powerful subjects." It is the noblest of the race of Gustavus who has pronounced this reproach, in which posterity agree. If we may believe a saying which has come down to us, the founder of the race foresaw this and declared his feelings thereupon. Once in his sorrow, it is related, king Eric leant his head upon his hand and said to George Person:—"My father of happy memory prepared for me heavy days when he gave the dukedoms to my brothers." George replied:—"Yea, but the departed king alleged in his excuse, that it would be worse if they were not more powerful than the nobles¹." This story contains nothing which did not agree with the known opinions of Gustavus, and confirms the words of his grandchild. The apology contains more than it expresses. For if it were replied

who infused into him a liking for Calvinism, was also his instructor in astrology, to which Eric zealously applied himself, and "was thereby so perplexed and disturbed in his head, that he became an ungentle and mistrustful prince." *Rasmus Ludvikson's Chronicle of King Eric. Scand. Memoirs, xii. 248.* The French minister Dantzel writes regarding him to his king: "*J'ai souvent conféré avec lui de plusieurs affaires. Je vous promets, sire, qu'il étoit d'un très-bon jugement; il comprenoit facilement ce qu'on lui proposoit, et s'expliquoit fort disertement et promptement, et il avoit plusieurs autres grandes vertus; vrai est qu'il étoit fort soupçonneux.*" (I have often conferred with him upon many affairs. I promise you, sire, that he was of a very good judgment; he comprehended easily what was proposed to him, and explained himself very eloquently and promptly, and he had several other great virtues; true it is that he was very suspicious.)

⁸ Peter Brahe, in his Chronicle of King Gustavus I.

⁹ In the history which he commenced, printed along with the Rhyme Chronicle of Charles IX: Stockholm, 1759.

¹ Scand. Mem. iii. 41.

that he thereby weakened, because he divided, the power which he wished to found, we must yet reflect that his heir was Eric, and that the father doubted, regarding him, between a throne and a dungeon, in order fully to discern the whole magnitude of the dangers between which he had here to choose. If we may likewise give credit to the following statement regarding king Gustavus in the dialogue cited—"He preferred dissension between a sovereign and powerful princes, his brothers, to the expulsion of the royal house and the return of foreign domination over the realm, well knowing that the throne would still remain even if strife arose in his family, but would fall if the strength of the barons were to be put forth, which a powerful duke placed in authority over these would certainly prevent,"—then did the old monarch foresee the history of his country for fifty years to come.

John, now twenty-three years old, had entered on possession of his fief during his father's lifetime; he is styled "prince hereditary of Sweden and duke of Finland." Magnus in his nineteenth year received his after the death of his father, and is called "duke hereditary of Sweden, duke of Westanstang, count of Dal and Vassbo². Charles, the youngest child of Gustavus, now ten years old, had received Sudermania, Nerike, and Vermeland for his dukedom, but did not come into possession of it during the reign of Eric. John, of fair and tall person, had an expression of benignity of nature³, yet gave signs of ambition, more of a craving than of a true energy. Among the testimonies of his contemporaries is one which says that "he had the gestures and demeanour of a high-hearted man, although his heart was timid⁴." In this fearfulness of heart he resembled Eric, and the two brothers persecuted each other from mutual apprehensions. Daring courage no son of Gustavus possessed except Charles, who already at the age of fifteen displayed it under the walls of Warberg. Magnus, like the whole family, was of violent temper⁵, and at length became deranged in mind; his lunacy first broke out upon Eric compelling him to subscribe the sentence condemning John to death. A saying was moreover current that mental disease was hereditary in the house of Vasa; on which account the French minister Dantzai, when there was ques-

tion of a marriage between king Henry III. of France and the beautiful and well educated Swedish princess Elizabeth⁶, shows himself anxious to contradict this rumour. He frees Eric from the imputation, (although the estates declared upon his deposition that he had been sometimes completely frantic and out of his mind,) and observes, that he knows of no other example of this calamity in the family besides duke Magnus, for as to what concerned the father of king Gustavus, lord Eric Johanson, he might indeed have been a puny and very simple man, but not mad⁷.

Courteous words disguised at first the animosities of the brothers. The first letter which Eric received from John, written on the second day after his father's death, contained already complaints regarding the provisions of the will. "It had been sufficiently known how assiduous and industrious their departed father had been in gathering substance for his children; yet was there in his last will nothing determined, either in respect to the wealth he had left in cash and moveables, or his many desirable estates, which now were their rightful heritage, although the deceased king had allowed these rents to flow into the treasury of the realm;" John hoped that all this would now turn out to their common advantage⁸. But Eric had himself far more important overtures to make in relation to the will, and evaded for a time the visits of his brothers⁹. A proposition, drawn up by himself, which more precisely defined the king's right over the dukes, and restricted their powers, was proposed to the estates at the diet of Arboga, on the 15th April, 1561, and received their sanction without difficulty. In general the people showed themselves favourable to Eric; he had also, at least in the beginning, not to complain of any want of compliance in the magnates. In the negotiation with the dukes, the chief and most powerful men of the nation appeared on his side; Suanto Sturé, Peter Brahe, even Steno Ericson Lejonhufvud, although maternal uncle to John. In consequence, the dukes were obliged to submit to the conditions proposed, although they complained that under them were hid many traps and snares by which the king might entangle them how and when he pleased. For such, doubtless, they reckoned the

² So the brothers of Eric are entitled in his letter of March 19. Registry for 1561. The king here applies the title of count to his brother Magnus, before he had introduced this rank into Sweden, which was shortly afterwards done, at his coronation.

³ "Prince fort humain et débonnaire." Correspondance de Dantzai.

⁴ Sven Elofson.

⁵ His father admonishes him of this fault.

⁶ He terms her one of the most accomplished princesses in Europe. "On m'assure de son excellente beauté; elle est de fort bon esprit, de bonne grace, de belle taille, le corps fort beau; et n'ai point entendu qu'elle y aye aucun défaut, ni chose, qu'on y puisse reprendre. Un chacun loue sa grande modestie, et pour vrai, sire, elle est recommandée et fort estimée pour ses vertus, de tous ceux qui l'ont fréquentée. Elle prend plaisir à l'espinnette et en joue mieux que médiocrement. Elle joue aussi de luth. Elle est fort benigne et charitable. J'espère que le sieur Pinart vous rendra de brief certain de toutes les autres parties/ariétés." (I am assured of her excellent beauty; she is of passing good wit, good grace, fair figure, the person very fine; and I have not heard that she has any defect, or point which is to be reprehended. Every one praises her great modesty, and in

truth, sire, she is recommended and highly esteemed for her virtues by all who have sought her society. She takes pleasure in the spinnet, and plays on it better than moderately well; she plays also on the lute: she is very kind and charitable. I hope that the sieur Pinart will acquaint you by letter with all her other qualities.) The last named person was sent to Sweden in 1574 upon this negotiation, which was broken off on account of the discontent created by it among the Catholics.

⁷ "N'étoit de grand jugement, ainsi d'un fort simple esprit"—and elsewhere; "J'ai quelque fois oui dire à des gentils hommes de Danemark, tant en public que particulier, que le dit sieur Eric, père du roi Gustavus, étoit de fort petite stature et ne l'estimoit personne de grand sens, ni esprit, ni jugement; mais je n'entendis onques, qu'il eut le cerveau corrompu, ni l'esprit troublé." (I have sometimes heard say by gentlemen of Denmark, as well in public as private, that the said sieur Eric, father of king Gustavus, was of very little stature, and was thought by no one to be of great sense, or spirit, or judgment; but I never understood that his brain was diseased, or his mind deranged.)

⁸ Letter of October 1; Registry for 1560.

⁹ "We pray that your love will for this time with brotherly goodness excuse us and leave us to ourselves." To John and Magnus, March 19. Registry for 1561.

stipulation, that if the dukes, without the king's consent, by purchase, hypothec, exchange, or otherwise, acquired for themselves and heirs any estates, they should forfeit, therefore, to the crown double the value out of their own patrimonial properties. We might thus be led to suppose that a partition of the royal heritage had actually been made; but this was not the case. All of the church, crown, or assessable estates, which king Gustavus had appropriated in fee to himself and heirs beyond the Recess of Westeras, was to revert to the crown. That which concerned the nobility in this ordinance was the addition, that the noble families should resume all such of their estates as had been sequestered and annexed to the royal heritage, in reference to which this proceeding could not legally be defended. King Eric's new supreme court supplies us, in the first years of his reign, with several instances of this restitution of property. Howbeit, Eric in 1563 turned this principle against the nobility themselves, by the new inquisition relative to those estates which they had illegally usurped from the church; and we find that on this occasion he caused the estates of Gustavus to be re-entered as hereditary in the ground-rent books of the crown¹. The ordinance of revocation was an act of justice; and its benefits were extended in part, owing to John's poverty, to the people which had suffered in the same fashion,—since in 1532 he gave permission to all peasants upon crown, church, and hereditary estates to re-purchase their right of property in those tenements upon which they could establish a claim².

In general king Eric sought, at the outset of his reign, to link the nobility to his interests. At his coronation, which was celebrated in Upsala upon the 29th June, 1561, with a pomp never heretofore seen in Sweden, he nominated, after the dukes had taken their oath of homage to him, counts and free barons³, as if he were resolved to diminish the distance between the princes and the nobility, and because "in a hereditary kingdom dignities descending to the heirs are also in order." Therewith counties and free baronies were erected, hereditary in the eldest son, and consisting in infeudations of entire hundreds, parishes, or determinate estates, with special jurisdiction annexed, and the right to levy the rents of the crown within the barony. Suanto Sturé, Peter Brahe, and Gustave Johanson Roos were elevated to the dignity of counts. The king himself set coronets upon their heads, touched their left shoulders with the sword of state, and repeated the words, "Fight manfully for your king and fatherland." The rank of free barons was conferred on nine lords, and first among them on Steno Ericson Lejonhufvud, to whom when he had bent the knee the king said, "Stand up, lord Steno, free baron," setting a smaller coronet upon his head. In the proclamation of the herald was remarked this sentence: "One is the king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals⁴, and albeit many are the crowns which glitter before your eyes, let no one so take it as were there more than one royal diadem." The allusion aimed really at the dukes was too clear to

be misunderstood. Thereupon the king dubbed twenty knights, saying as he imparted the stroke, "First wast thou a heathen, then a Christian, now art thou become a knight." In the following year the horse-service of the nobility was determined, and the rate lowered. In the valuation a count was allowed to except therefrom three manors, a baron two, and a nobleman the one which he himself inhabited. The free estates of the nobility were thereby ascertained; as by the regulation that a nobleman might except, together with his seat, the tenement of his nearest soeman, was laid the ground for the privileges of the farms, or *ladugårdar* (barnyards), as they are called.

To the confusion in which Sweden emerged out of the times of the Union, so far as relates to all the forms of law, it is almost impossible to find a parallel, and this lasted for a longer time than one would be apt to imagine, especially as the letter of the law seems to attest the contrary. The history of Sweden is not to be written from edicts. Perhaps in no country has there been a greater amount of legislation on the surface, while nature and manners have made its actual internal condition at all times well-nigh alike. A high degree of individual freedom is the leading feature of this condition; but this, which has sufficed commonly to avert oppression, arose but slowly out of the primary elements of civic liberty. If any great source of discord sprang up, shaking the pillars of this freedom, such as a government tyrannical or grossly unintelligent, or what Gustavus Vasa calls the heavy domination of the nobles, a violent breach opens a path for the disturbing force, and turns away the most imminent calamity. If, perchance, we are prompted to imagine that some great change has been effected, experience soon shows that ancient things and principles have not yet lost vitality and sway. The reign of Gustavus Vasa, in many respects arbitrary, did little for the development of legal procedure, if we except the so-called form of government for West-Gothland by his German chancellor, of which however no grain struck root in Swedish soil. We find only that in his time the "king's inquest" (*räfst*) was sometimes held in the provinces, chiefly where some exorbitant abuse had called for remedy, or occasionally also for political objects; since the visit of Gustavus to the Dales, with an armed force, in order to chastise the revolt, is also called a king's inquest. Eric made the first attempt to found a perpetual supreme court. This is styled the king's *næmnd*, an appellation which shows that the notions of jury and court had already become intermixed. The ordinary number of the members appears to have been twelve, though all of them were not in permanent office. The nobles were in a minority, yet on the more weighty occasions we find the court strengthened with noblemen, military commanders, burgesses, and sometimes even with priests. The trusted men of the royal court were at certain periods every third year to make circuits to the principal towns, especially to the great fairs, and there pronounce the king's judgment⁵, "in order

the lawman," it is said in the royal instruction of November 1, 1563, whence we nevertheless should not conclude that such causes only were tried there. The greatest number, both in the first and last instance, were there disposed of. The court was held in several towns, as Upsala, Strengness, Westeras, Örebro, Vadstena, and chiefly Stockholm.

¹ Örnhielm, Relation of the Church Estates.

² "Bördsrätt," *jus retractus* (the right of re-purchase reserved to the nearest relation; also birth-right).

³ Hertigar; Grefvar; Friherarar.

⁴ Sveriges, Götes, och Vendes Konung.

⁵ "To hear all causes which could not be adjusted before

that justice may be the better dispensed to every man, as it is not possible that the king's majesty should hear all complaints and declare every sentence." The governors are enjoined, so to deal with the people that it might assist in maintaining the court, which was erected for the behoof of every man; the king would not allow the judges to be paid by fees on suits which gave occasion to abuse, and yet the revenues of the kingdom were not adequate to the support of such offices. This court was one of the first institutions founded by Eric; for although its short and incomplete record, preserved in the public archives, begins with the 11th February, 1562, it was nevertheless in operation during the previous year⁶, and is already mentioned in king Eric's court regulations of the 19th November, 1560. Its doom-book even appeals oftener to these articles than to the law of Sweden. Gustavus I. had before ordained that all processes, not only betwixt the royal commanders and officers, but between these and other subjects, priests, burgesses, and peasants, should be adjudicated according to the law of the royal household. And doubtless it is in reference to such decree that we find this injunction to the judge (preserved in a collection of statutes and court ordinances in the library of Upsala); "Sometimes we must use the ordinances and sometimes lay them aside, and if a portion of them have their ground and reason in the Land's Law, yet the law is sharpened by the ordinances; another hath not so especially any express ground, but is profitable according to the circumstances of the time; and another is somewhat burdensome to the people, and appears to be the cause why so many gaudy foreign fashions come into the realm, and some one must pay for it, as the proverb says, 'who binds his shoes with bast must pay the cobler's wage.' A just-minded judge or officer must know and take heedful note when he is to apply the ordinances and when to pass them by."

In general, the onset of Eric's reign was distinguished by beneficial enactments. In order to deliver the people from the extortions of travellers⁷, the erection of taverns or guest-houses on the high roads was enjoined; superfluous fast-days, and divers Catholic ceremonies still preserved in the service of the altar were abolished, and the king proclaimed that he had thrown open his kingdom as an asylum for all oppressed Protestants. Of this refuge many availed themselves, especially French, who were invited by their countryman Dionysius Beurreus. The Calvinists hoped and expected much from the known inclination of the Swedish monarch to their creed, and Calvin himself congratulated him by letter upon the news of his suit to Elizabeth⁸.

But in his overtures of marriage Eric soon displayed his unstable temper. On the 29th July, 1561, he writes to his new envoy in London, the high chancellor Nicholas Gyllenstierna, that, upon the comfortable assurances which the queen had

conveyed to him through Beurreus, who was now recalled home, he had again resolved to repair to England, and therefore had forwarded his people, namely, "pearl-broderers, tailors, and others." Not long afterwards arrived eighteen piebald horses, with several chests of uncoined gold and silver, as presents to Elizabeth; and in the month of September, the English court was thrown into the greatest perplexity by the intelligence, that he had set out upon his journey. Eric had in fact embarked at Elfsborg, in a fleet thereto equipped with his two brothers Magnus and Charles, but was compelled by a storm to put back. He then resolved to make a land journey across Denmark, Germany, and the Netherlands; his ministers received orders to negotiate respecting safeconduct and warranty for the security of his person, and the nobility of the realm were enjoined to meet in Jenköping and convey him to the border. At this very time he inquires of the council whether it might not be expedient also to open negotiations of marriage in some other quarter;—to Scotland he sends a confidant to inquire whether queen Mary "were so beautiful as every man said," and shortly after Peter Brahe to solicit her hand; but he renews nevertheless his wooing of Elizabeth, commanding Gyllenstierna to bribe the English council with money, and to procure the death of the queen's favourite, the earl of Leicester, if it should even cost the king 10,000 dollars⁹. Meanwhile, he likewise offers to wed the princess Renata of Lorraine, grand-daughter of Christian II., and heirress to his claims on the northern kingdoms, but breaks off this negotiation to conclude a contract of marriage with Christina of Hesse. An embassy was sent for her reception and a fleet equipped; but a letter to queen Elizabeth, intercepted during the war with Denmark, in which he excuses himself and declares that he was not in earnest with the Hessian marriage, likewise annulled this overture. Yet the king in 1565 enjoins his envoy in Germany to make further inquiry in Hesse, and at the same time to send him a more exact description of the person of the Lorrainer princess; whether she were fresh, fair, and well-grown, not too lean and thin-limbed, of whitely and undisguised complexion; if her hair shaded somewhat into black, it would not matter so much, if she could please only in the beforenamed points, were of good manners and decorous behaviour, not a scoffer but cheerful. He espied already treason and murder in every place. If the princess were really adorned with these qualities, and would cross over to Sweden, the ambassadors were to employ all precautions, lest poisons should be administered to her by evil men¹. In the year 1566 this princess sent troth and ring to Eric, by the hands of the unfortunate Nicholas Sturc.

These matrimonial affairs cost sums almost incredible. One of the grievances of the dukes was

⁶ "Sentences of the year 1561 are left out, although the originals of some in that year are still found in the hands of private persons." Örnhielm's Relation.

⁷ To be exempted from the oppressive burden of furnishing free carriage and entertainment, the commons at Arboga in 1561 charged themselves with the payment of post-money (skjutsfardspenningar); but the king soon complained that this was not sufficient to replace the cost of despatching his messengers and letter-carriers, and we find him on the 22nd

June, 1562, soliciting an increase of the tavern-money, or the restoration of the old system of conveyance.

⁸ Messenius, Scandia, v. 116.

⁹ Letter to Nils Gyllenstierna, March 28 and 29. Registry for 1562. In the previous year, on June 12, he commands Gyllenstierna to inform the earl that the king proffered him a public duel by his own royal person, either in Scotland or France.

¹ Instruction for the ambassadors; Arboga, July 14. Registry for 1565.

that Eric did not, according to the promise he had given, deduct from his portion of the inheritance the amount expended upon his English courtship before his father's death. His greed of pomp knew in general no bounds. For his English journey he caused more than a hundred suits of the costliest raiment to be prepared. We are astonished by all the appliances ordered for his coronation from Antwerp and London; new regals, the most sumptuous robes, arms, vessels, ornaments, caskets full of pearls, jewels, and trinkets, besides "various rare animals for the spectacle, lions, ure-oxen, camels, 200 rabbits, and whatever else could be thought still strange in Sweden²." So early as 1561 the king requests John to borrow, "because no more would be in hand" until the silver yet remaining were coined.

It was amidst war and revolt that Eric thus disposed of his father's treasures and his affairs of the heart. We have mentioned the events which prepared the interference of Sweden in the quarrels of Livonia, and already in the lifetime of Gustavus provoked the ambition of his sons. It was in respect to this very matter that they were first to become open enemies. Immediately after his father's death, John reminds his brother of his promise to win "a piece of land in Livonia," for which reason he was inclined to offer the town of Revel his protection against the dreaded advance of the Russians³. But Eric, when solicited for assistance after his elevation to the throne, himself assumed the direction of the affair, and sent over Clas Christerson Horn towards the end of April, 1561, with an army which was received into the town⁴. In June, the nobles of Esthonia and Revel submitted to Swedish rule, and upon the coronation of king Eric, their deputies obtained the royal sanction to their privileges. From this time Eric wrote himself "king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, with their several dependencies, lord of the Livonian territory and of Reffe." This was Sweden's first step beyond the Baltic, and the beginning of a war of one hundred and sixty years.

A rupture with Russia was with difficulty averted, yet peace was for the moment preserved through the common interest of both kingdoms against Poland, after the sword-knights had dissolved their order, and their last grand-master, Gotthard Kettler, had placed all Livonia under Polish supremacy, reserving Courland as a fief for himself. On the other hand John linked himself closely to the Poles, and advised Eric to an alliance against Russia, as also to cede to Poland all that Sweden already possessed in Livonia⁵. The king's answer was an order to Horn to attack Pernau and Wittenstein, which, as well as several other places, were reduced. He informs John that Christopher duke of Mecklenburg, coadjutor of the now deceased archbishop of Riga, had submitted himself and the archbishopric to the crown of Sweden, but that the Poles had seized on the district. Yet

Eric gives his consent that John should in Poland urge his suit personally to Catherine Jagellonica, sister of king Sigismund II. In the views upon the crown of Poland which were opened by this alliance, he wishes the duke success, although, he adds, the Polish envoy in Stockholm⁶ offered, upon the throne falling vacant, to use his best diligence for the king himself. He soon repented this approval, and recalled John from Dantzic, albeit this did not prevent the latter from seeking his bride in Wilna. The conditions of the nuptial contract were kept secret. What is related, that John gave a promise thenceforward to act as a free and independent prince, is probable; that he brought along with him a large quantity of his father's silver bars which he bestowed for the furtherance of his brother-in-law's projects, upon the security of seven castles in Livonia, as also that war between Sweden and Poland shortly after broke out, is certain. New causes of dissension between the brothers had also previously revealed themselves. In the autumn of 1561, John requested that the tithes of all Finland, though the northern division did not belong to his dukedom, might be conceded to him; this was refused:—that he might not be obliged to furnish the full number of soldiers for the public service: denied, although subsequently a diminution was in effect acceded to:—that the ships with which he had reinforced Eric's fleet at Elfsborg might be restored; rejoinder, that he should have them when he gave back those which had been lent to him during his father's lifetime for the Livonian business. The king added: "With us here in Sweden there is but too close shearing and paring, so that we have not much left of that which appertains to the crown⁷." Returned to Finland with his consort, John was greeted by Eric's reproaches that he had formed connexions with the enemies of the realm. This was soon followed by the king's order to the Finnish nobles to commence their march towards Livonia for hostilities against Poland, and by a summons to John to appear before the court of Stockholm; whereupon he made prisoners the royal commissioners, and called the Finns to his defence, requiring from them a separate oath of fidelity and seeking for help in Poland and Russia. On the accusation of Eric, the estates of the realm convoked in Stockholm, but attending only in small numbers, adjudged him to death for rebellion, unless the king should be pleased to overrule the law by a pardon. Shut up in the castle of Abo, which, as all foreign assistance was withheld, capitulated after an investment of two months, John was obliged, on the 12th August, 1563, to render himself a prisoner. Transported to Sweden, he was received with an exprobatory address by George Person, who, at the command of Eric, now absent on the Danish frontier, proffered to John's wife a royal castle and a princely maintenance if

² Inventory of articles needed for the coronation, and letter to Dionysius Beurreus, Feb. 17, 1561. Eric had a great fondness for animals. April 21, 1563, he orders his architect, master Pafel (Pope), "to set an aviary of copper wire on the western bastion of the castle of Upsala," the building of which he continued.

³ Letter of October 9. Registry for 1560.

⁴ The castle, whose garrison was true to the grand-master, was surrendered after a siege of six weeks.

⁵ Feb. 14, 1562. "Because the Poles give us no good answer." John's designs are clear from Eric's letter to him of the 5th January preceding, though this is still in a friendly tone. The first unfriendly letter from Eric to John is of June 16, in which the king reproaches him with taking so ardent and unlimited a part in favour of the Poles, just as if he were right and Eric wrong in every thing. Reg. for 1562.

⁶ The count Teezin, who was himself a suitor to the princess Cecilia.

⁷ Letter to John of November 11. Reg. for 1561.

she would part from her husband. Instead of answer, she pointed to her wedding ring with its Latin inscription "Nought but death," and followed her husband into his appointed prison at Gripsholm.

The duke was conveyed in a yacht through the South Channel at Stockholm under the gaze of the whole populace⁸. Compelled to sit upon its deck, he turned his eyes with horror from stake and wheel to the gibbets on the surrounding hillocks, which bore the corpses of many of his servants. The chamber in which John was kept with his true helpmate during the greater portion of a captivity lasting more than four years, is still shown unchanged at the castle of Gripsholm. It is light-some, of a cheerful aspect, and with neat arrangements, according to the fashion of that time, such as may yet be seen in the rooms of woful yeomen, but in the olden day not unworthy of a house of condition. Higher up in the same tower we see the dreary apartment in which Eric himself was afterwards confined. Against the advice of George Person he spared his brother's life, and wavered ever between fear and pity. That he purposed never to restore his liberty we see by a letter of assurance from duke Magnus in relation to the sentence passed upon John, in which it is said :—"Whereas your majesty hath showed us honour before others of our dear brethren, and conferred upon us the hereditary right which duke John before possessed to the crown and government, and given us thereon your written confirmation, we promise on the other hand to be true to your royal majesty and the heirs of your body, and to hold your foes for our foes⁹." Some further proceeding against John was nevertheless in question between Eric and Magnus; if Magnus would consent, Eric promised to obtain for him from the estates the confirmation of the hereditary right; "for albeit John forfeits his right," he says, "yet your affection will perceive of a truth how great a strife as to the succession would be kindled among the subjects and estates of the realm in ease aught were to befall us; and beyond doubt many would be found who would gladly see him (duke John) remaining therein." In what this "further assurance" against John consisted we are not told; though we find that Magnus would not give his consent to it, wherefore the matter was postponed, he still continuing in the king's

favour¹. It was after this correspondence that the intellect of Magnus became disordered. For the rest, John was generally well treated in his captivity. The fact, that the royal court on the 27th February, 1564, condemned the bailiff of Gripsholm to be kept on bread and water during pleasure, because he had allowed the duke and the princess to want necessary sustenance, so that they must drink of the water stoup, shows at least that acts of negligence were punished. Eric also sent books to his brother, among which, besides spiritual works, Ovid, Plutarch, and Boecacio in the German translation, are named. The princess was allowed to walk in the garden, though under watch. After the imprisonment of John, Eric felt that he had broken with all the powerful maternal family² of the former, and with the nobles generally, whose discontent with the hereditary settlement was unknown to none of the sons of Gustavus. Thenceforth we find him sometimes omitting to call the nobility to his diets³, surrounding himself only with low-born favourites, who from his youth upwards had flattered his passions, and of whom no one possessed the ability of George Person, although many had hearts equally replete with hate. And now too it came to pass that the distrustfulness in which he had been nurtured, darkened his whole soul, made him cruel, and robbed him of understanding⁴.

Already in 1562, we find in the records a letter upon slanders and calumnies against the king's person; whosoever detected such, or gave information of faithlessness in any of his officers, was to be requited with especial favour, or with an honourable present. In the following year the denouncer of treason is promised half the property of the offender, upon proof of the matter before the court. At the same time the magistrates are commanded to procure themselves spies among all ranks in the towns and country. The head of this espialage was George Person, and the power of the accuser had previously, through the royal court, received great extension, since in all quarters functionaries called provosts (profosser) were now ordinarily retained in pay, to make search for offenders both high and low.

Celsius⁵, who for more than fifty years has been

⁸ The original town is built on an island connected with the main land by bridges on each side leading to Norrmalm and Södermalm, the north and south suburbs.—TRANS.

⁹ Given at Jenköping, October 1. Reg. for 1563.

¹ Letter to Magnus, Halmstad, October 16, 1563.

² That of Lejonhufvud.—TRANS.

³ To the diet of 1566 the king summoned, by his bailiffs over the whole kingdom, only two of the principal priests and two discreet yeomen from each government (fogderi), as in the preceding year to the congress of Calmar; and these were to have with them the seals of their hundreds, in order to seal what might be assented to and determined at the said diet by the estates general (menige ständer). Letter of Feb. 1. Reg. for 1566.

⁴ "Eric eut pour ses vertus justement pu être mis au nombre des plus magnanimes princes s'il n'eut été corrompu par les ministres auxquels il se fiait par trop. Aussi il a été nourri en perpétuelle crainte et quasi en dedain par les menées de sa belle-mère, qui lui était fort contraire. Peut-être que de son naturel il était un peu soupçonneux, qui a grandement été augmenté dès son enfance par l'artifice de ses dits familiers ministres, qui étaient des plus méchants et pervers qui se pouvaient trouver. Il connaissait bien la

malignité des dits ministres, et s'en est souvent plaint au chancelier de Suède qui est à présent, au feu sieur de Varennes, et à d'autres qui me l'ont dit, dont je pourrais faire de fort étranges recits." Correspondance de Dantzaï. (Eric might for his virtues justly have been placed among the most magnanimous princes, if he had not been corrupted by the ministers, in whom he confided too much. He was reared also in perpetual fear, and as it were in disgrace, by the wiles of his mother-in-law, who was very adverse to him. Perhaps by nature he was somewhat suspicious, the which was greatly enhanced from his childhood by the artifice of his said familiar ministers, who were the most wicked and pernicious that could be found. He knew well the malignity of the said ministers, and often complained of them to the present chancellor of Sweden, to the late sieur de Varennes, and others who have told it me, of which I might narrate very strange stories.) He relates thereupon that Eric had beaten one of them with his own hand. In his opinion John would have lost his life, had not Mornay interceded: "Le dit sieur de Varennes seul l'empêcha par ses prières et remontrances." According to Holberg, Mornay was a kinsman of Dantzaï.

⁵ Olaus Celsius, author of the History of Gustavus I. and the History of Eric XIV. T.

regarded as a main source for the history of Eric XIV. as well as Gustavus I., although he cast but a hasty glance at the records of both these reigns, alleges that king Eric, being himself present on the 10th February, 1563, in his new supreme court, delivered his sentiments on those cases which concerned life and honour; that in such no judgment should be passed upon written testimonies, if those who gave such evidence were still alive, but the witnesses should themselves appear; that he exhorted the honourable and trusted men of his royal court not to proceed with such levity in capital cases, as many had ordinarily used to act. The fact itself is correctly stated; but how far the conclusion which has thence been drawn in respect to the king's real conduct and the proceedings of the court has any truth, the following remarks may show. The judgment-book of the royal court for the year 1562 contains but one sentence of death; for the year 1563 not less than fifty-seven, of which thirty-two related to the business of John's defection⁶. Down to October 1567, when the records cease, this court condemned to execution two hundred and thirty-two persons in all, with few exceptions either for crimes against the state, or offences which not the Swedish law, but the court-articles of king Eric, or even the king's good pleasure alone visited with capital punishment⁷. This number, which yet does not embrace all the victims of the scaffold, is sufficiently great, even if the sentence was in some instances not carried into effect. Most of the parties were of the lower classes. The capital sentences upon the *grandees*, as in 1564 upon Olave Gustavson Stenbock, and in 1566 upon Nicholas Sturé, the king did not venture to execute. It was first in 1567 that he dipped his hand into the blood of the higher nobility, and thereby also overthrew himself. George Person, who is styled "procurator and secretary of the king's majesty," was accused in the royal court; and although, despite the vehemence of his charges, there are examples of acquittal by the tribunal, yet these are but few. Sometimes he was more successful on bringing the same accusation a second time. Question by torture was employed; and words, even signs, were held to involve the guilt of treason. February 11, 1566, the equerry Eric Person was condemned to death for having painted the arms of his majesty and of Sweden, three crowns, upside down upon a door in the north suburb, and thereby assailed the dignity, rank, and royal government of his majesty. November 26, 1566, a like doom was passed on two guards of the king's tent, for having laid in a secret room three sticks crosswise, a cap, a grate, and other things for magic practice, as the king thought; and notwithstanding they knew that wherever he went he could suffer neither twig, nor straw, nor splint, or the like, but had forbidden it under penalty of death.

With Denmark the peace had been renewed in

⁶ "It was a mournful spectacle, to see the heading and hacking on the wheel, which was executed upon duke John's servants in the town and suburbs. I and many with me could not look upon it without tears." Swen Elofson.

⁷ Among them were seventy-two tax-gatherers. Jan. 30, 1567, the court sentenced to death seven bailiffs in Salberg at once, for neglect in procuring timber for the mine. Besides the whole garrison of Elfsborg for surrendering the fortress, how many persons are there mentioned, along with the Sturés and their connexions in the year 1567, whose sentence does not appear in the protocols!

1562. Nevertheless war broke out the following year, and accelerated the fate of John. "For king Eric was fully possessed with the opinion regarding his brother duke John, that if the king should find the bulk of his forces necessary against the Danes, duke John would not be quiet, but would attempt some disturbance either in Finland or Livonia⁸." The causes of the war were partly conflicting interests in Livonia, where a Danish prince possessed a portion of the country, partly subjects of old grudge and personal hostility. The king of Denmark had assumed the three crowns on his arms; Eric took the crowns both of Denmark and Norway. Swedish envoys, sent to Hesse to prosecute Eric's love-suit, were detained in Copenhagen. A fleet equipped, as was said, to carry off the bride, encountered the Danish fleet at Bornholm. A quarrel regarding salutes led to an engagement, in which the Swedish admiral Jacob Bagge took the Danish admiral's ship with two others, an exploit rewarded by Eric with a triumphal procession, in which the Danish captives were seen bound and with heads shaven, conducted by the king's court-fool Hercules. Thereupon ensued a declaration of war by Denmark and Lubeck, whose trade to Narva Eric had forbidden, because he wished to confine the Russian commerce to Reval. In this war, which lasted seven years, the Swedish navy, which had never been stronger, gained great honour, first under Jacob Bagge, then, after his miscarriage and imprisonment in Oeland, under Clas Christerson Horn, who was recalled from Livonia, and put to sea in 1566 with sixty-eight ships of war besides smaller vessels. Sweden, which Gustavus I. wished to erect into a maritime power, afterwards exhausted its energies in land wars.

It is with other feelings that the view of Eric's own actions inspires us. In military affairs, as generally, he is especially liberal of instructions. More copious, more dangerous for those to whom they were directed⁹, or bearing clearer witness to the unhappy disposition of their author, no man ever wrote. Thus in one of the first with relation to the Danish war, appears the injunction, that care should be taken to procure such persons as understand how to deal with poisoning; yet it should be inquired whether their art were certain, and they should give heed not to injure therewith their own people. Upon the side of Denmark the war was opened by the investment of Elfsborg, which, badly defended, was soon taken; upon the side of Sweden by an inroad of Eric into Halland and the siege of Holmstad. This however he broke up on the news of the approach of Frederic II., abandoning besides his camp¹, in such a fashion that his own army looked upon his departure as a flight, and dispersing, was routed upon its retreat by the Danes. In a letter of apology to the collective people of the realm², the king however

⁸ Swen Elofson.

⁹ January 30, 1567, Wolmar Wykman, clerk of the treasury, was condemned to death in the royal court, because he had said that the king drew up such instructions as it was impossible for any one to execute.

¹ He allowed a council of war previously to present a remonstrance, in which it is said among other things that, as the king of Denmark was expected with a strong force it would be unlucky that the king himself should be present, in case they should be obliged to take to flight.

² Dated at Orreholm in West-Gothland, November 23. Reg. for 1563.

announces, that this retreat had concluded with a victory gained through the valour of a regiment "which he had himself taught and disciplined;" herein true to the maxim which we find in his instructions, that, when the king's army has sustained any defeat, the rumour thereof should be hushed up and extinguished, but that victories over the enemy should be forthwith made known, as also that which men would gladly see befall, "yet so, as it might seem somewhat like."

At the same time Jemteland and Herjedale were occupied and preparations made for an incursion into Norway, where Canute Haraldson Soop was presently named lieutenant, with orders³, when the Norwegians should have sworn fidelity to the king, to seize some of the principal men as hostages and send them to Sweden, to fortify some places in the country, to take order regarding religion, to administer justice according to the law of Sweden, and to drive "the Jute-party" out of the territory. The lieutenant chosen fell into disgrace, and the attack on Upper Norway was entrusted to a young Frenchman, Claude Collart, a favourite of the king, who actually made himself master of Trondhem. "Thereupon almost the whole diocese of Trondhem joined him in the behoof of king Eric," says a contemporary account; "but when he had gained this victory, he began to be puffed up, and to addict himself to a dissolute life, taking a comely married dame who dwelt in the town of Trondhem from her lawful husband, bringing her into the castle and keeping her as his concubine. He had often feasts and revels, and gave the Swedish folk leave to travel to Sweden, hardening himself thus in his arrogance until the king of Denmark sent a body of troops which took him captive⁴." To avenge this loss, king Eric sent Matthew Törne to Norway in the autumn of 1564, who there ravaged and wasted with fire forty parishes. In the ensuing year Maurice Stake adopted a like course in the diocese of Aggerhus. When in 1567 a Norwegian deserter assured the king, that Norway might easily be reduced to obedience, the invasion was renewed. Eric drew up proclamations, of which one that remains is addressed to the inhabitants of Iceland. A great portion of Norway was devastated, the towns of Hammer and Opslo were burned; whoever paid homage to the crown of Sweden, might purchase a letter of protection from the military commander John Siggeson, and there were many who took advantage of this step, but their fidelity was accordingly⁵. By the sieges of Bohus and Elfsborg nothing was effected; and the king so often changed the leaders who managed them, that at last no one dared to undertake the commission, especially as it was his custom to address to the soldiery complaints of their officers.

But for him who would learn the whole character of Eric in war, there is yet one leaf of his history to be turned over. We borrow its purport from his own words in a letter to the collective people of Sweden upon the success and victory of his majesty⁶, dated Calmar, September 15th, 1564. He begins by mentioning the exaggerated reports which had been in circulation respecting the attack

of the Danes; how they were said to have opened for themselves a way over the frontiers of Sweden, broad enough for fifteen men abreast. Therefore the king had himself gone down thither, but had found sickness and dissension in the fleet, and Oeland harried by the Danes. After the change of commander (Clas Christerson Horn was made admiral), a fortunate sea-action had been fought, in which three ships of the enemy were taken, and six sunk. Thereupon the king had sent forward Aco Bennetson Färila, and himself followed with his whole force towards Bleking, where the peasants had shown themselves so incensed, that they had hanged upon the trees, in their harness and arms, the Swedish soldiers and horsemen who straggled behind; wherefore the king had given orders that all between Lyckeby and Rotneby should be wasted with fire and sword; therewith God had caused him to have such good fortune, that about a thousand men were cut down in the roads and forests. Then had the peasants prayed for pardon, promised fidelity and assistance, and given hostages. After the castle of Lyckeby was surrendered, Charles Holgerson Gere was appointed captain there; but the king with the rest of his generals had come before the town of Rotneby, where the garrison and burghers being summoned, had replied by insults and mockery, and bidden him march to Halmstad, where he had shown his bravery before; on which account he had afterwards not been willing to accept their conditions, but had summoned them to surrender at his mercy. The soldiery had offered to storm the town, and the companies which were to lead were fixed by lot. In the outset matters had gone unprosperously, how much soever the king had exhorted and called; until at length Gudmund Olson with his band climbed the wall, and the others followed after. Then fell out "a terrible massacre, so that the water in the stream was red like blood." The foes were so dispirited, that they were cut down like a drove of wild swine. Not one had been spared; and in the town more than two thousand men had perished, without counting the heaps of women and children whom the Finns, entering last, had slaughtered. Thus had the crew of Rotneby received their reward for all the treason which they had practised against the realm of Sweden since the Dacke feud. Larger booty had never been captured in the king's days, and much too had been burned with the town. Thereupon the king had marched as far as Sölwitsborg, which the enemy themselves had set in flames, while lord Charles Mornay had burned down all between the frontier and Sölwitsborg, so that all the land betwixt was now wasted with fire, harried, and desolate, and we ourselves on our retreat—thus the king closes his narration—despatched divers troops of soldiers on both sides, where we marched through, to burn and plunder. For the commanders whom he left behind the king drew up the following instructions: "Concerning the common people who are still left alive in Bleking, it is his majesty's will that all, as well of the islands as of the mainland, from the Swedish border to Sölwitsborg, shall be convened, under the pretext that they are to swear the oath of fidelity, and

³ Instruction of May 4. Reg. for 1564.

⁴ Actions of king Eric, by his chaplain D. Magnus Stig-tomtenensis. Palmköld MSS.

⁵ "The Swedish general in this incursion was the first in the north who gave letters of safety." Suhm.

⁶ Registry of the Archives of State for this year.

so soon as both men and women and children are collected in mass to some two or three thousand, they shall be sent all together by land to Calmar, and thence in barges and boats to Stockholm; but if all do not present themselves with their wives and children and housemates, then shall all be wasted, burned, and slaughtered at every foot throughout all Bleking, seeing that it is better to have a desert than an enemy's country⁷. Whether these cruel orders were executed in their full extent is unknown; but what was the appearance of Bleking at the end of the year we may learn from the king's letter of Dec. 7th, which says, that only some few peasants are still remaining there, who had most humbly begged to be spared, but that he would rather have Swedes to be the inhabitants of that country; wherefore the Smalanders are invited to remove thither and take up their abode there, possessing the land for themselves and heirs. Eric made a triumphal entry on his return to the capital.

The war was waged at once in Sweden and Livonia, every fifth or third man being taken for military service. In the year 1561 the king granted to all the soldiers, so long as they were in the field, freedom for their property in land, which however did not overcome the repugnance felt to engage in the warfare of Livonia. Afterwards the rigour of the exactions was enhanced. In 1565 twenty nobles, some of the chief families of the land, were declared by the royal court to have forfeited their immunity, as not having performed their due service. In 1566 a royal equerry was condemned to the gibbet and wheel, because in Sudermania he had enrolled women for military services, pretending that he had command thereto, as no more males were to be found. In 1568, partly from the incursions of the enemy, partly from the king's levies, the male population of one division of East-Gothland had been so nearly swept off, that Clas Hvit, who had filled the office of bishop of Linköping, being now dead as pastor of Söderköping, it was necessary that females should carry him to the grave from want of men⁸. Therewithal the plague raged; and among its victims was the heroic Clas Christerson Hörn. Perpetual complaints are made of the total absence of discipline, of desertion of the standards, mutiny and outrages of all kinds. All the wants of the soldiers, even in respect to clothing and arms, were supplied by requisitions in the country⁹, and the ill-will of the peasants, which in the border provinces at length broke out, was punished by the king with the desolation of several hundreds¹. In general the war was waged on both sides with great

cruelty. The ravages of the Danes in Smaland and West-Gothland had provoked Eric's devastation of Bleking and Scania. Of such inroads the land war indeed consisted to the exclusion of more important events, if we except the reduction of Warberg (Sept. 15, 1565) by the Swedes, and shortly afterwards (Oct. 25) a victory won by the Danes under Daniel Rantzau, against numbers doubly superior, at Svartera in Halland. This defeat, which Eric caused to be celebrated as a victory, was imputed by the commander, Jacob Hästesko, to the German horse and Nicholas Sturé, captain of the royal body-guard, although Hästesko himself says in a letter to Sturé, "What I have seen and heard of the brilliant deeds and gallantry of your excellency upon this day I will not conceal in its own time."

We come now to the outbreak of that persecution which had long threatened this family, the most distinguished in the realm after that of the king. Its present head, the old count Suanto Sturé, who under the former reign had given so many proofs of his fidelity, was recalled in 1564 from his lieutenantcy in Livonia. Of his five sons, Charles and Maurice were still children, and fated to survive the misfortunes of their kin; Eric had been in the service of duke John, and was thereafter wounded in the Danish war. Steno fell in the glorious action with the Danish fleet on the 7th July, 1565; Nicholas, the eldest, at first the king's favourite, was subsequently regarded by him with particular aversion. Astrological whims contributed to the same effect; Eric fancied himself to have read in the stars that a man with light hair would deprive him of the crown. This sign applied both to duke John and to Nicholas Sturé. It is certain that after the captivity of the former the latter was the principal object of the king's fear. Yet after the battle of Svartera young Sturé continued to be received, seemingly, with distinguished favour, and was despatched first to Warberg, and next to the investment of Bohus. He carried with him one of Eric's unhappy instructions, charging him rather to cut down the Germanic horsemen, who were summoned to answer for their conduct, than to allow one of them to escape, and then to ravage with fire and sword the hundreds of West-Gothland, which remained obstinate in their disobedience relative to the works upon the fortress of Warberg. These were among "the affairs entrusted to him by the king's majesty, which he left undischarged," although the purport of the instructions is mentioned only in softened expressions in the indictment thereupon preferred against him².

⁷ These devastations were inflicted under the command of a brand-master, as he was called, attached to the army, without whose sanction and that of the general neither fire-raising nor fire-contributions were allowed. April 12, 1567, a West-Gothic nobleman, Bennet Swenske, was condemned to death, because in Norway, instead of burning, he had levied contributions.

⁸ Rhyzelis Biskopströnika, i. 127.

⁹ Among these requisitions, in the year 1563, brandy is mentioned. In 1567, the king orders that sheep-skins should be procured for the soldiers against the winter, and as much brandy as could be had. That it was scarce in this day we learn from the fact, that during the Russian war Gustavus I. sent fourteen arms of Rhine wine instead of brandy to Wiborg for the soldiery. This liquor however was known before in Sweden. In the minute-book of the town of Stockholm for 1493, is entered a privilege for Cordt the flask-drawer to keep and retail brandy.

¹ The Smalanders were punished, according to the king's own remark, because in 1566 they had of their own impulse made peace with their neighbours the Scanians in the Hundred of Göttinge.

² The sentence is of June 13, 1566. The charges were: that he had not according to orders cut down the German cavalry, who instead had plundered the country and deserted to the enemy (thirty-four were afterwards condemned to death in Stockholm), and that he had not furthered the works at Warberg or supplied it with provisions. Several sentences were passed by the royal court for "neglectfulness," (Eric wished in 1566 to introduce into the Swedish law offences thus indefinitely entitled,) notwithstanding that the prosecutor George Person concealed entirely the purport of the instructions which the accused was said to have left unfulfilled. In this way was Jacob Brockenhusen accused December 24, 1566,—a nobleman of Jutland, who had been made prisoner, and returned to his captivity after failing in

He was cited by George Person for laches before the king's court, where "the poor men," as the judges are called, were precluded by the articles of the household from freeing his life, unless his majesty should be disposed to pardon him by his special grace. The king had left it in his option to appear before the tribunal, or to submit to a shameful entry into Stockholm. Now the punishment of death was remitted to him, but not the disgrace. Set on a wretched nag, and with a straw-wreath smeared with tar on his head, he was led through the streets of Stockholm, amidst shouts of "See here a traitor to the state." The soldiers loudly expressed their discontent, and called that he had borne himself against the enemy like a worthy Swede. In a fit of remorse the king again sent him his pardon, forbade on pain of death all further mention of what had happened, and despatched him in haste abroad, as envoy to the princess Renata of Lorraine. Upon the insult to which he had been subjected, Nicholas Sturé wrote to his parents, "I drank a draught in Stockholm which hath crushed sense, joy, and all my welfare in this world;" and upon the stain to his honour, "I hope one day to be able to defend myself with other than letter and seal."

With 1567 "arrived king Eric's most unhappy year," as he himself says in his journal³. That the king at this time believed a great conspiracy to have been formed against him, especially by the house of Sturé and its powerful connexions, is incontestable. He felt that he had injured this family in a manner which could not be forgiven. He lived in perpetual alarm, augmented his body-guard, and kept spies in the houses of his subjects⁴. Reports of examinations by torture and nightly executions spread terror among the people. February 4, 1567, a servant of count Suanto Sturé was condemned to death by the royal court, because he had met the king in the street with a musket in his hand. In how far such a conspiracy really existed opinions are divided. Many fell victims to suspicion, "and because there were many," says the great Gustavus Adolphus, "the world judged that they were all innocent." Eric himself afterwards wrote from prison to his brothers, that the conspirators had designed to overthrow the house of Vasa, and to change the kingdom into an elective monarchy. The dissatisfaction of the higher nobility with the hereditary settlement was afterwards sufficiently manifested. But even if the intention

existed, we discern neither plan nor means for its accomplishment. We believe in no separate conspiracy among the nobility, because John and Charles were the natural chiefs of such a league (the party against them was formed later and under other circumstances), and least of all do we believe in a conspiracy of the Sturés, who then united moderate ambition to a spotless reputation, but possessed none of the qualities of heads of dangerous undertakings; and this is confirmed by all the knowledge we have gathered from the records of that time. Expressions of discontent, grief, or revenge, such as those just quoted from the letters of Nicholas Sturé, and naturally exorted by the contumelies he had been made to endure, are all that is alleged in the investigation against the so-called conspirators, and the wretched subterfuges to which George Person was obliged to have recourse, in order to give these words some significance, prove at the most only the embarrassment of the prosecutor.

In the beginning of the year we find Eric occupied in negotiations with his brother Charles, who had now attained the age of eighteen, and asked to be invested with his dukedom. The king proposed an exchange of certain other provinces for those mentioned in their father's will. This discussion had no result. Both he and his favourite secretly occupied themselves in collecting proofs of the conspiracy above-mentioned, which were to be disclosed to the estates at the diet convoked in Stockholm for the 1st of May. It was necessary to summon the nobles also, and those lords whose life was involved, the foremost of the whole kingdom received gracious letters to present themselves before the king himself, who was residing at Swartsioe. Most of them appeared; Eric Sturé first, then Abraham Gustaveson Stenbock, Steno Axelsson Baner, Ivar Ivarsson of Stromstad, Steno Ericson Leyonhufvnd, and last of all old Suanto Sturé, who took the sacrament in Telje, when he heard that the barons above-named, with his own wife, who had hastened to see her son, had been arrested. Meanwhile the king had caused it to be proclaimed throughout Stockholm by beat of drum, that in consequence of the discovery of treasonable complots the diet should be removed to Upsala, and postponed to the 18th of May, whereby probably the rest of the lords who were suspected and had been summoned were dissuaded from appearing⁵. The trial at Swartsioe is veiled in obscurity, and although

Copenhagen to effect the release of the Swedish admiral Bagge. He is said to have bound himself at the same time "to lay some plot against the king of Denmark, which it was not needful to reveal at this time, but which must have been of no light importance, since during his interview with king Eric all persons had been excluded." He indeed protested that he had not subscribed or promised any thing of the kind, but was nevertheless condemned "to be held as a dishonoured, pledge-breaking, and faithless man." And on occasion of this sentence the court is said to have been augmented by the council of state, several nobles and burghesses, German officers and Danish prisoners!

³ Infelicissimus annus Erici regis. This journal had a singular fate, and is in more than one respect an evidence of the misfortunes of Eric's family. It was pawned by his exiled son Gustavus Ericson to an innkeeper of Wilna, again redeemed by Gregory Larson, a Swede in the service of king Sigismund, in the year 1603, and saved by Aco Rahamb (Nov. 22, 1673) from destruction in a grocer's booth at Paris,

where it had been sold with many other Swedish records by the dwarf of king John Cassimir, who had followed his master to France. The library of Upsala possesses a copy of the journal of the year 1567, but has the original of that for the preceding year, with the title: *Commentaria historica regis Erici XIV. cum directionibus et protectionibus planetarum pro anno 1566*. It is written in a very neat hand. From the astrological observations we find that the king often read in the stars of "brothers' envy." On the last leaf he wrote,

Quem non formosæ delectant casta puellæ

Oscula, non homo, sed truncus habetur iners.

⁴ July 22: Ordinavi exploratores domesticos Holmiæ. King Eric's Journal for 1566.

⁵ These were Peter Brahe, Gustave Olafsson Stenbock, the aged father of the queen dowager, his son Eric Gustafsson, brother of Abraham, Thuré Bielke, his brother's son Hogenskill Bielke, Clas Fleming, and Clas Akeson Tott. Messenius.

heard before the king's court, yet no mention of it is made in the records of that tribunal⁶. We must draw our knowledge of the charges and their proofs from the judgment which George Person afterwards laid before the estates for their subscription. The witnesses were the following:—Peter Sastorp, a German trader's clerk, who deposed that at the time when Nicholas Sturé was despatched from Stockholm, Clas Akeson Tott, Abraham Gustaveson Stenbock, Ivar Ivarson, and Joshua Genewitz, a German noble, previously employed by Eric in raising men, and then travelling for the same object, had assembled in Sturé's ship, and there concerted to deprive the king of his crown and life⁷; this Sastorp had heard afterwards from Joshua Genewitz in Germany. Alexander, the king's organist, had heard the same in the German town of Rykold; Paulus Smith swore, that as soon as Nicholas Sturé and Joshua Genewitz had come to Stralsund, they had set on foot intrigues against the king's majesty and the realm of Sweden, which report was current over all Germany; Hans Wolf and Christopher, servants of Abraham Gustaveson and Ivar Ivarson, had heard Hans Eller, servant of count Suanto, express his joy that the insult to Nicholas Sturé would be avenged, whereupon the count was said to have talked with the two lords mentioned with closed doors. Magnus, duke of Saxony⁸, related that Steno Ericson Leyonhufvud, Abraham Gustaveson, and Ivar Ivarson, had in his own presence openly declared their resentment at the treatment of Nicholas Sturé, which should not be left unavenged. As he was the only witness who spoke to what he had himself heard from the accused, additional proofs appear to have been necessary. Well-nigh all the accounts of this event agree in the circumstance that Abraham Gustaveson Stenbock was forced at Swartsioe to subscribe a letter to Joshua Genewitz, in which he is prayed to hasten the levy of troops, and is promised a sum of money, with the addition, "when chains and harness are ready, what is to be done on our side will soon be ready; more must not be trusted to the pen"⁹. Stenbock, albeit threatened with the rack, yet refused to subscribe this letter, till he received from George Person a written document, stating that this was done only by the king's order; which was found in his clothes after the execution in Upsala. The letter itself was afterwards read by the king to the estates, but is not mentioned in the sentence. This on the other hand refers to another writing of Eric Sturé; "and although no name"—it is said—"was found in the said letter, which was directed to an ensign, yet we may assume from the circumstances and the purport, that it is written from the party of traitors to Nicholas Sturé." The letter is still preserved¹, and was written by Eric Sturé and some young men to a damsel whom they called "dear ensign," because at the marriage of Siward Krusé (which was celebrated on the 9th February in the castle of Stockholm) she had for diversion caught up a standard and carried it round

the room. With respect to the words which duke Magnus had heard, the accused replied, that their vengeance was to be exercised on George Person, Jacob Teit, a member of the royal court, and their adherents, but not on the king. Abraham Stenbock and Ivar Ivarson were already condemned to death at Swartsioe², although the execution of the sentence was deferred. The court was prepared to condemn count Suanto also, when the king gave command that the investigation should be continued in Upsala³, whither all the prisoners were conveyed. He himself followed them, already an object of detestation. He complains that upon the way from Flotsund to the town all his servants had deserted him, so that he had arrived alone and on foot, received by no one but the archbishop Lawrence Peterson and the high chancellor Nicholas Gyllenstierna. Upon Whit-Monday, the 19th May, he had appointed to meet the estates. On the previous day he had drunk an unusual quantity, could not find the speech he had written for the occasion, and complains that he must appear unprepared. In the course of his address he enlarged especially upon the treason of Nicholas Sturé and his accomplices, appealed to the testimony of the witnesses examined, and read the letters above-mentioned. The reception of the oration was dubious. Some, especially the priests, murmured. Seditious exclamations were heard, while one and another remarked that the lords had defended themselves well. The din waxed loud, so that the king hastily dissolved the assembly. He committed to George Person and Dionysius Beureus the discussion of the matter with the estates, wavering himself between the most conflicting emotions. His fears were augmented when, on the 21st May, Nicholas Sturé returned, bringing from Lorraine plight, ring, and the portrait of the princess. The visit of this nobleman on his homeward journey to Stralsund, where under the emperor's mediation a congress was held for the restoration of peace in the North, had supplied new fuel to the king's suspicions. He received orders to place himself in confinement. Yet Eric heard a statement of the issue of his embassy, and wrote upon the 22d of May to count Suanto Sturé, that how inveterately soever he and his sons might be pursued by the charges of malignants, neither he nor they should sustain any detriment to their honour or life.

It was on the evening of the 24th May—at noon of the same day the king is said to have prayed forgiveness of Steno Leyonhufvud and Suanto Sturé, and to have promised them their freedom—that Eric, after a walk with Peter Carlson, ordinary of Calmar, was seen returning into the castle in high excitement. He had been informed that duke John was escaped, and that revolt had begun. He rushed with drawn dagger in hand into the prison chamber of Nicholas Sturé and stabbed him in the arm; the murder was completed by his guardsman, Peter Welanson, nephew of George Person. Scarcely had the deed been done when the door of the unhappy father's dungeon was thrown open,

⁶ This sentence is printed by Nettelblad. Swedish Library (Schwedische Bibliothek) 4, p. 150.

⁷ It was a visit of leave-taking in which several took part, and among them duke Charles.

⁸ Magnus III. of Saxe-Lauenburg, now in the Swedish service, was married in 1568 to the royal princess Sophia.

⁹ See the letter in Faut; Examen causæ Sturianæ. Ups. 1784, p. 17.

¹ Printed, l. c.

² Fuerunt in judicio dominus Abrahamus et Iwarus, et condemnati sunt ad mortem, ut retulit mihi Georgius Petri; hoc undecima Mail contigit. King Eric's Journal for 1567.

³ 14 Mail comparuit coram judicio comes Svanto in mea præsentia; et cum omnes judices, ut apparebat, facile eum condemnassent, mandavi ut causa penitus audiretur. Ibid.

and he saw the king fall at his feet, ejaculating, "For God's sake pardon me the evil which I have done to you." "All of it," was the answer; "but if aught be practised against my son's life, that shall you answer to me before God." "See now," the king exclaimed, "that will ye never forgive to me; therefore must the same lot be yours"—and he ran forth in frenzy on the road to Flotsund, accompanied only by some guardsmen. One of them soon returned with an order that all the prisoners in the castle, except lord Steno, should be put to death. There were two who bore this name; Steno Leyonhufvud and Steno Baner. The provost Peter Gadd, who descended from the castle into the town to ask advice hereupon of George Person, whom he found at the play-table, received for answer that he must take his own counsel. The ambiguity of the order saved the lives of the two noblemen. The rest, Suanto Sturé, his second son Eric, Abraham Stenbock, and Ivar Ivarson were all slaughtered. The castle gates remained barred for several days. The food which the connexions of the prisoners continued to send them was taken in as usual at the door by Peter Gadd and his men. George Person, who had drawn up a judgment in the name of the estates, meanwhile sought to obtain signatures to it before the homicide became known, and—one proof of the equity of popular assemblies!—actually succeeded. The sentence of the estates is dated the 19th May, 1567, the same day on which the king had propounded the matter to them. It is said to have been subscribed in the church upon the 26th May, consequently two days after the murders, under constraint and without having been read⁴. The clergy subjoined to the doom a separate declaration, purporting: That although George Person had brought forward the subject in the king's name, with a request that they would give their opinion thereupon, they yet did not regard this as consonant to their office, but remitted the judgment to the good men of the king's court; howbeit, if such designs as those imputed to the accused had of a truth been entertained, then they could say no otherwise than that the aforesaid were in so far untrue, faithless, and perjured men, and deserving the punishment of traitors, in case the king, in respect to all or some of them, would not allow his grace to go for law.

Eric had taken flight to the woods. Dionysius Beurres, the first who overtook him, was cut down at the command of the frantic prince by Peter Welamson, who with some guardsmen still followed him. From them too he soon parted, and wandered up and down beyond their ken. On the third day after the murders, he came clad in a peasant's dress to a hamlet in the parish of Odensal, where he was recognized⁵; and at the tidings many of his former attendants again gathered round him. He called out that he was not king, that like Nero he had slain his tutors, and that Nicholas Sturé was administrator. No one was able to induce him to eat any thing or to sleep, until his mistress,

Catharine Magnus' daughter, persuaded him to take refreshment, on which he became more tranquil, and permitted himself to be reconducted to Upsala. Thence he was removed for some days to Swartsioe, and on the 3d of June, came to Stockholm, which he entered praying with eyes and hands uplifted to Heaven.

What had come to pass was manifestly an outbreak of frenzy; and this, though milder in kind after the first violence, is stated to have lasted for several months afterward. During these the king is said to have been unable to occupy himself with the government, which in the mean time was managed by the council, especially Steno Ericson Leyonhufvud and Peter Brahe. This period began with a confession of his deep remorse,—a declaration of the innocence of the murdered lords,—the distribution of great sums of money to their relatives, and presents to the members of the estates,—the delivery of George Person to justice. The king himself calls this his time of infirmity.

It must then awaken astonishment, that the public records during this period show an activity on the king's part by no means diminished, but rather augmented. Eric, in general a great penman, never wrote more assiduously. We find often several letters in one day upon business of administration, with neither more nor less method than was usual with him. They cannot have been issued by the council in the king's name; for it did not remain near his person; they relate in part to his own affairs, and some are directed to the council. If this be repugnant to the general opinion of his condition of mind at that time, on the other side he is not less at variance with himself; for during a portion of this time, he seems to have believed himself a captive. If we compare all this with his previous conduct; if we reflect that it belongs to the deep mysteries of madness, that it may be conjoined not only with a certain clearness, but even with acuteness, cunning, and great power of dissimulation, that wily, dangerous, and cruel passions and fears respecting life are not seldom its attendants,—we shall find ourselves warranted in ascribing to madness a more extended influence upon Eric's whole character than is ordinarily allowed. This agrees well with the circumstance, that his behaviour after the murder of the Sturés sprang at least as much from fright as from repentance. An eye-witness who belonged to his train says, "he would not renounce the government, feigning as if he had not reason, until he could first appease the nearest kinsmen of the deceased lords⁶." It is also worthy of remark, that his so-called amendment by no means embraces any change in his state of mind, but only courage again to show his real condition. He defends what he had done, recalls what he had admitted, and is the same man he was before.—One remark further may be here in place. We have

sistency in the dates, which are left as they stand in the original. TRANS.)

⁵ The king's next letter after the murder is dated Upsala, May 27, and contains an order for distributing half a tun of salt to every member of the diet. He gave moreover to the principal men of the estates all the gold and silver he had brought with him.

⁶ Upon the transactions of king Eric, by D. Magnus Stig-tomteus.

⁴ Nec Georgius Petri (Göran Persson) hactenus fuerat otiosus, qui antequam flagitii fama inter ordines emanaret, sententiam mortis in casus impetraturus, haeque scelus postea defensurus, illam nomine Statuum concinuit, quam postridie cadis, videlicet xxiv Maii cogit ordinis sacris in ecclesia operam dantes, non perlectam subsignare. Messenius, Scandia VI. 45. (There is here a trifling incon-

mentioned the so called conspiracy of the Sturés⁷. If such a plot really existed among the higher nobility against the king, when would a better opportunity of usurping the supreme power, in defiance of him and his brothers, have presented itself, than during the anarchical state which followed the murders at Upsala, when Eric was frenzied, John a captive, and Charles not yet in possession of power? Several of its suspected heads still remained, and the cause of vengeance would have been common to the principal families. Yet no one stirred during a period of a year. Disaffection waited for the dukes, and it was their conspiracy which after the liberation of John overthrew Eric.

Charles, along with duke Magnus of Saxony, followed the king upon the 12th of August, 1567, to Swartsioe, where he resided during all the rest of the year. He had received a commission to negotiate with John on conditions of his release, whereupon he sent a letter to the king requesting a personal interview. Eric, who sometimes seemed to entertain a notion that John already really reigned, did not dare to refuse; but his anguish was heightened the more near the moment approached, and when they at length actually met at Venholm on the 8th October, Eric threw himself at his brother's feet and saluted him as king.

His mind's distemper seems now to have again broken out in an aggravated form, for from the 1st to the 18th October no letter from the king is to be found, and the contemporary remarks in his Journal⁸ show, that he looked upon himself as a prisoner and dependant of his brother, who mean time was set at liberty, after having subscribed the conditions demanded from him. These, as Eric himself set them down, discover great confusion of mind. Sometimes he speaks as king, sometimes as captive, solicits among other things liberty to dispute with John upon religion, to write his own history according to the truth, to erect a triumphal arch of marble, and the like. The most important condition was that which was soon to put an end, as well to his overtures of marriage as to his reign; namely, an engagement on the part of John, that if the king should have sons by Catharine Magnus' daughter, they should inherit the crown. With this woman, the best-loved of his mistresses, Eric had at length resolved to share both his throne and bed. Such a design was already traceable during the previous year, when he solicited and obtained the consent of the estates to choose for himself a consort within the kingdom, at his pleasure, and without regard to birth. Having towards Christmas returned to the capital, he on new-year's eve laid his marriage contract before the council for their subscription⁹. Thence-

forward he styles Catharine queen, although their marriage had not yet taken place; but her claim thereto was strengthened, as upon the 28th February, 1568, she bore the king a son after his departure to the army.

We may imagine how under such circumstances the war was waged. In Livonia, Pernau was lost. At the commencement of 1567, the Swedes sustained an important defeat from the Poles¹. That all was not lost here, indeed, is to be ascribed partly to the amity which Eric had maintained with Russia, partly to those hopes which the inhabitants themselves cherished in favour of the Swedish government, which from the outset had born a good reputation in these countries². In the Baltic, the Swedish fleet was this year without a single rival. But the land-war was all the more badly carried on, and during the internal troubles the Danes had already been enabled to attempt what Daniel Rantzou in the autumn of 1567 accomplished, an attack on the heart of the kingdom. "At this time, it was first in the month of November,"—says the secretary Sven Elofson,—“tidings came in that the foes of the Swedish monarchy, the Danes, had taken fresh and free courage, and done what they had not ventured earlier in this war, namely, to cross the Holwed with their whole army, and their invasion was made so quickly and quietly, that ere a single word had been spoken of it, they had begun to plunder and rob far and wide in East-Gotland, and had pitched their leaguer and intrenched themselves in the town of Skenninge, where was the fattest of the land for corn and plenty.” While Rantzou, or the flying burghers themselves burned the towns of East-Gotland, and Peter Brahe and Hogenskild Bielké³, who were sent against the enemy, allowed themselves to be surprised in their camp, a considerable force had been collected in the rear of the enemy, and the pass in the forest of Holwed so occupied with troops and fortified with retrenchments, sconces, and other provisions of defence, that it was held for a settled matter that the enemy could not escape. But, continues the author, “when such expectations of the overthrow of the foe were on the stretch, what befell? King Eric took courage and broke up from Swartsioe, on the 8th January, 1568, minded, as he gave out, to seek the enemy; but in this his march, and with his evil and perverse counsels, he spoiled every good opportunity; for, contrary to all advice, he gave order that the troops should come to himself, alleging that he was completely resolved in his own person to deliver battle to the foe. But at the very time when the forces, in order to meet the king, removed from the Holwed, the enemy came upon it,

⁷ The treatise cited, *Examen Caussæ Sturianæ*, by Fant, is a defence of the reality of the conspiracy.

⁸ These are few, although his daily astrological observations on the position of planets seldom fail. We quote the following: “Oct. 8 et 9. Ivi ad Venholmem et colloctus sum cum meo fratre quam humillime orans, ut veritatem fateretur si rex esset, quod nullo modo nisi obscuris ambagibus potui intelligere. Condonavit mihi autem ipse et conjunx principissa inimicitias ex corde, manibus me palpantes. Polliciti etiam me liberiorem vitam habiturum absque quotidianis vexationibus.” The brothers afterwards met on the 19th and 21st October.

⁹ December 31. *Sigillarent consilarii contractum matri-*

monalem inter me et uxorem meam, et pro regina vera et legitima illam habituros sponderunt, filiosque ex matrimonio proximos veros et legitimos regni Suetiæ se agnituos polliciti sunt. King Eric's Journal, 1567.

¹ Polackarna, the Polacks of our old writers. TRANS.

² Compare Jannau, History of Livonia and Esthonia (Liefland and Estland), in Hupe's Northern Miscellanies, Riga, 1797; xv. and xvi. p. 55. One of the first acts of the Swedish government was the prohibition of “the beating with rods and lashing, with which the nobles of Livonia maltreat their peasants;” and among the complaints of Eric against Suanto Sturé during his administration in the province was this, that he had not enforced this prohibition.

³ They were afterwards taken in the Holwed.

drew off and escaped, yet not wholly scatheless. But king Eric acted as if that troubled him not, but followed with his army, and in his company were the three princes, duke John, duke Charles, and duke Magnus of Saxony; yet he effected nothing else by his foray but some damage in the enemy's country, namely in the Hundred of Gœinge and in Halland, and so returned again hither in spring, when the roads were thawed." It was clear that the king paid more attention to the dukes than the enemy.—Eric's passion for the external show of warfare shows itself to the last. He was ever as diligent a master of exercise as he was an incompetent leader, and while yet the gift of fancy was not employed in devising uniforms, his own was chiefly displayed in badges. To this purpose we find him requiring linen red, green, and yellow, as well as red-coloured goose-feathers, as many "squirrel and fox-tails" as can be procured, and many thousand "tree-cones"⁴ from Finland, which are expressly mentioned as having been intended for field-tokens. For the rest, he seems now to have been in good spirits, and gives orders to send from Stockholm to the camp in Smaland, for his own use, "wines and spices, some good Malvoisie, Muscatel unadulterate, Rhine and other wines pleasant to drink, sugar-loaves, cinnamon, preserved ginger, some baskets of raisins, and the like."⁵ Returned to Swartsioe, the king amused himself with the tendance of his garden and the care of his grafts.⁶ George Person, on whom the sentence of death passed in the council-chamber of Stockholm (October 19, 1567,) was not executed, soon recovered his former influence, and for a word against his favourite, Eric stabbed his secretary Martin Helsing with a fire-prong, so that he died. To Person he gives authority to call in "the great sums of silver and gold which we in our weakness have disbursed to certain parties for the harm that was wrought in Upsala through hastiness,"⁷ and celebrates his marriage splendidly on the 4th of July with Catharine Magnus' daughter. On the following day the new queen was crowned; but with this no one seemed to be well-pleased. Calamities were predicted from surer foretokens than the falling of the crown on this occasion out of the chancellor's hands, and it was with difficulty that the barons, who were to be honoured therewith, were induced to receive the stroke of knighthood.—Thereafter Eric issued a singular proclamation upon the events which the year had brought forth.⁸ He alleges that he had, in the fear of an outbreak of revolt, put to death Nicholas Sturé, who had been rightfully condemned for his treason; that he thought to remove in him the new king out of his way; but his servants had on that occasion cut off against his own will as well the innocent as the guilty; himself had fled to the wilds, deserted by all, reckoning himself at last a deposed captive, and despairing in this condition not only of his throne, but even of his eternal salvation. Meanwhile the government had been neglected and the kingdom ruined; but now God had restored him

to his health, faculties, and the exercise of his regal authority, wherefore he ordained a universal thanksgiving over all Sweden. Shortly after he enjoins the nobility to fulfil more strictly the conditions of the equestrian tenure; "for ye and your forefathers," he says, "were not raised to the class of nobles in intent and act, merely that ye should lead merry days, and do no good in return to the realm of Sweden."⁹

The king's brothers had proffered him thanks for his invitation to the nuptials, but had not attended. John afterwards declared that it would have cost them their lives if they had come. It aroused misgivings that Eric should have secretly promised in 1566, to deliver John's consort to the Russian tyrant Ivan Wasiliewitz¹, who had formerly sought her hand, but had received from Poland a contumelious refusal. It may afford an idea of a man who in these and the ensuing times maintained himself by serving all masters, that it was the high chancellor Nicholas Gyllenstierna, who in February, 1567, subscribed a convention at Moscow, by which Eric engaged to deliver up his sister-in-law, and the czar to desist from his claims on Estland, and to assist Eric against the Poles. With the liberation of John and his consort from prison, it was no longer in Eric's power to fulfil his promise. But a Russian embassy in Stockholm, which demanded its completion, and a letter from Eric to Ivan of the 18th April, 1568, show that the negotiations on the subject were not broken off.² George Person afterwards denied upon the rack, that the king had been in earnest in this business, but confessed that assassins were sent out against John and Charles, on the news of the outbreak of the revolt.

Intelligence thereof arrived a few days after the marriage. It was first said that both the dukes had quitted Eskilstuna in haste, whither to proceed was unknown. The king believed them to be quitting the kingdom, and wrote therefore to several places that they should be prevented from passing over to the enemy. Tidings were soon brought that they had made themselves masters of Vadstena, and were in arms with many of the chief nobles. The plan was doubtless not merely the work of the moment, and the expressions of John in a letter to his sisters³,—"We caused deal with horsemen and foot, both inborn and foreigners, and with others the estates of West and East-Gotland, Smaland, Sutherland, Nerike, and other districts, who all joined hands with us against the tyrannical government of king Eric and George Person,"—relate probably not only to the consequences of the outbreak, but also to the preparations. The story goes that the first conference between the brothers took place at Knappforsen, in the parish of Bjurkärn, in Vermeland, under an oak which is still called the king's oak, and if it be true it refers already to the autumn of 1567, when John after his release passed some time at Arboga. At Vadstena they fastened, in memory of this, oak-leaves in their hats, which now became

⁴ *Trübägare*, tree or wood-cups. T.

⁵ To the lieutenant in Stockholm; Nydala, February 16. Reg. for 1568.

⁶ To his gardener (*tree-gardmaster*), April 10, 1568.

⁷ April 14. Reg. for 1568.

⁸ Stockholm, July 8, 1568.

⁹ "Sveriges Rike." Stockholm, July 12.

¹ April 24, 1566, Eric remarks in his Journal, that his envoys sent to Russia had written that the grand duke would in no wise keep the peace without this condition. On the treaty which had been concluded, compare Karamsin, viii. 98, German Translation.

² Reg. for that year. The letter is in vague terms.

³ To Catharine and Cecilia, Oct. 13. Reg. for 1568.

the badge of their followers. The first intelligence of the revolt affected the king so violently, that he wished to kill himself by opening his veins⁴. Thereupon he attempted to negotiate with his brothers, and when this was refused, challenged duke Charles to single combat, placed himself finally at the head of those forces which remained faithful to him, and himself fought in these last battles with desperate bravery. After a check which the dukes suffered at Botkirk, they took another way, by Westeras and Upsala, to the capital. The queen dowager and the princesses repaired to them; Ivar Magnusson Stiernkors, the royal governor despatched to Finland, declared in their favour. On the 17th September, Charles and John pitched their camp before Stockholm on the meadow of Rörstrand⁵. When Eric and George Person observed their banners from the castle, the latter said; "If you, gracious lord, had followed my counsel and laid, according to the judgment, duke John's head at his feet, this would have been undone." That detested counsellor was seized by the king's own people and delivered to the dukes⁶. He was subjected to the question, and suffered on the 18th September the tortures of a most cruel death without complaining. On the ensuing day the followers of the dukes were admitted by a secret understanding with the burghers and garrison into the town. Eric, who meanwhile was at church, hastened to the castle. Stene Ericsson Leyonhufvud, who attempted to prevent his flight, was cut down by a guardsman. Shortly afterwards Eric was seen to mount the castle-wall, and surrendered himself to duke Charles.

In the opening of the year 1569 Eric was brought to trial before the assembled estates. He himself conducted his defence, and inveighed with much vehemence against the nobility. When John interrupted him with the exclamation that he was out of his senses, he answered, "Once only was I out of my senses, when I let thee slip from prison." His deposition was confirmed by the estates; it was vindicated in a diffuse memorial, filled with true and untrue inculpations; his children were excluded from the succession on the ground of their mean and illegitimate extraction; he himself was adjudged to be kept in perpetual, yet princely, imprisonment. But John allowed his hate free course against him whom he styled "his brother and bitterest foe⁷." His life indeed was spared, as he himself writes, at the entreaty of the widowed queen, duke Charles and his sisters; but he was obliged to endure the horrors of the most rigorous captivity, even to corporal maltreatment from his wardens, often from persons whom he had irritated to revenge during his government. Olave Gustavesson, one of the ferocious brothers Stenbock⁸,

after a brawl with the captive prince wounded his arm by a shot, and left him lying in his blood. God knew, he complained in a letter to John of March 1, 1569, how inhumanly he was tortured with hunger, cold, stench, and darkness, stroke and blow; he could not believe that it was done with his brother's knowledge; he conjured him to grant release from his misery; he would submit to banishment; "the world was large enough to allow fraternal hate to be stilled by distance from place and land⁹." But there are dumb memorials of his sufferings which speak louder than words. His menaces, his outbursts of frenzy, the repeated attempts of his adherents for his liberation, were regarded as justifications of this cruelty. In his more tranquil moments he occupied himself with reading, music, and writing, when he was permitted. He wrote long treatises in his own defence upon the margin of books with coal water instead of ink. At first he was allowed to see his wife and children; but in the last years of his confinement he was deprived of even this consolation.

In the summer of 1569 a conspiracy for his release was detected. "On Friday last, at eight o'clock in the evening,"—John writes on the 21st August to Charles—"we discovered a deep treason against ourselves, whereby a company of king Eric's faction concerted to surprise the castle when we were absent, to set free king Eric and assist him again to the throne, as the traitors arrested did straightway acknowledge without constraint." As head of this conspiracy one Thomas Jacobson is named, who, with several of his accomplices¹, of names otherwise unknown, was condemned to death. The latter appear to have belonged previously to Eric's body-guard, which was not dissolved, because there was an intention of employing it against the enemy, although Charles had warned John of the dangers which might be feared therefrom. It consisted mostly of young men, whom Eric used to take from the schools and employ in different affairs. That they were not deficient in ability we learn from the circumstance that duke Charles, a good judge of this quality, took several of them into his service. Of participating in the conspiracy Nicholas Peterson (Silversparre²) of Holma in Smaland, and Jacob Baggé, a son of the famous admiral, were suspected. They were incarcerated, but again released; both Jacob Baggé and his brother John were afterwards advanced to important posts. Peter Lewers, one of Eric's admirals, who had likewise shared in the plot, escaped to Denmark³. From some writings of Eric to the conspirators, who never disclosed their names to him, it appears that hopes of Danish assistance had been held out to him, and in a minute dated July 11, 1569, he

21, is proved by two letters of the widowed queen to Catharine Stenbock, interceding for his pardon, in the Registry for 1574.) Another brother, Charles Gustavesson, murdered a jeweller. See Duke Charles' letter of Dec. 24, 1596. (The surname Stenbock is literally stone-buck or mountain-goat. TRANS.)

¹ Nam mundus satis est amplus, ut odia inter fratres distantia locorum et regionum bene possint sedari.

² Letter from John to the lieutenant of the castle of Stockholm, Dec. 8, 1569, not to postpone the punishment of the traitors adjudged to death, and of Thomas Jacobson, "who first engaged in this treasonable business."

³ Lit. silverspar or beam. TRANS.

⁴ Svenska Fathuren, v. 15.

⁴ Palmsköld MSS. He inquired of Dr. William Lemnius what veins should be opened in order to die the most easy death, and attempted to throttle the doctor when the latter answered that it was his duty not to shorten life, but to prolong it.

⁵ Rörstrandsängen; ang, which so often occurs in Swedish names of places, is probably the same word with *inch*, used in this sense. TRANS.

⁶ Rhyme Chronicle of Charles IX. Stockholm, 1759, p. 50. See Memoirs of king Eric by Magnus Stigtmontensis.

⁷ Letter to the lieutenant of Calmar, Oct. 2, 1568.

⁸ His brother Arvid Gustavesson killed colonel Ivar Magnusson Stiernkors in Abo. (That this report was not false, as Stiernman says in his Remarks on Werwing's History, p.

offers to the king of Denmark Elfsborg and Warberg, if he should be replaced on the throne before Michaelmas⁴. From fear of his native supporters Eric was next removed to the castle of Åbo, where he remained two years. Upon alarms from Russia he was carried in 1571 to Castleholm in Åland; and afterwards in the autumn of the same year to the castle of Gripsholm, with the approbation of Charles, but under a condition for which John stipulated, that his own men should guard the prisoner, for the castle was situated in the dukedom of Charles. On the 7th January, 1571, John writes to Charles that many treasonable reports were current in the country, partly of disunion betwixt the twain, partly of Eric's liberation, for which the Russ was also clamouring among other insufferable demands; how would things go if internal sedition should be combined with external hostility? "Therefore we beseech the counsel of your affection, how we shall demean ourselves in the matter of king Eric, where we found such treason, seeing we have sufficiently learned that we shall never possess a tranquil government in this realm so long as he shall live." Charles answered that he had heard nothing of such discourses, but if the people of some provinces were bent on revolt it would by God's help come to nothing, provided Gripsholm were garrisoned with good and true men, so that it might sustain a siege of several months; this was his brotherly advice. In fact, although several of the council of state superintended continually by turns the custody of Eric, the soldiers to whom it was entrusted were so ill-treated, even in matters of food and raiment, that they in the end became mutinous. This negligence, not less than the vehemence wherewith John received information thereof, is characteristic of him and his government. In one day (May 15) he writes no fewer than seven letters for keeping a more vigilant guard upon Eric, with an injunction to Eric Gyllenstierna, Christopher Torstenson, Peter Ribbing, Eric's keepers, and to Clas Fleming and Henry Matson, with whom their number was now augmented, upon the slightest danger which might arise, "to abridge king Eric's life in the manner which their warrant pointed out." Upon the method itself we have no more exact information than is afforded by the answer of the wardens, who say in their answer, that they could not effect what was commanded them, "because master Anders, the barber, was not present;" wherefore John orders the barber without delay to repair to Gripsholm. The execution was however deferred, either because the danger was not so pressing, or from fear of Charles, so long as the captive was still lodged within the duchy. Doubtless this fear was one of the motives from which Eric was removed in June, 1573, from Gripsholm to the castle of Westeras⁵. In the

autumn of 1574 he was carried thence to the castle of Orby in Upland.

We have quoted the first proof which the registers of the kingdom contain upon the design of shortening Eric's life, but of this other records preserve later testimonies. Already, after the discovery of the first conspiracy, the councillors of state, with the exception of John Axelsson Bielke, had agreed upon this step, and so early as the 13th of September, 1569, the old archbishop Laurence Peterson, with the bishops John of Westeras⁶ and Nicholas of Strengness, had subscribed a special minute, to the effect "that they, with the good lords of the council of state and other true inhabitants of the realm of Sweden, completely free and unconstrained, had taken counsel and agreed that if any revolt and disorder should be begun and carried on within the realm for king Eric's sake, then the life of the aforesaid king Eric should not be spared, but he should be punished according to his due and desert." Here no secret execution is specified, but that such nevertheless was the intent is clear, both from the circumstance that this resolve was concealed, and also from the words with which John exhorts Eric's wardens to his execution, for it was in consequence of this resolve that the warrant referred to had been issued to them.

Several subsequent conspiracies, for the most part enveloped in obscurity, are mentioned. In 1573, under pretext of Eric's liberation, an insurrection broke out in Småland⁷. The same year Charles de Mornay returned into the kingdom with 5000 Scots, whom he had had a commission to levy. He is said to have intended to murder John during a sword-dance, exhibited by some of these in the castle of Stockholm. One of the Scots who denounced him, was himself punished by death for a false accusation. After the disaster which befell the Scots in Livonia, this charge was repeated by several of them, and Mornay, who at first sought and received the protection of duke Charles, was at length delivered up, with an acknowledgment that he had offered the crown to the duke. In a Latin letter to John, Mornay confesses his offence in general terms, and solicits pardon. He was adjudged to death, August 21, 1574, and executed. Next year a like fate overtook Gilbert Balfour, accused as his accomplice. Shortly after, when Eric had been brought to Orby, a design was discovered among the peasants in the neighbourhood to set him at liberty⁸. The resolution to put him to death was now renewed. "The unanimous deliberation and decision of the council of state," is dated the 10th of March, 1575. In this public letter so called, although kept secret, it is declared that in case he could not be kept in prison, where he continued to behave like a mischievous and rude man, he should be taken off by one of the methods which might be employed thereto, seeing that such

⁴ Palmsköld MSS.

⁵ John's order of August 10, 1572, that without his written permission, no one, whosoever he might be, should be admitted to the castle of Gripsholm, is also plainly directed against Charles himself. Register.

⁶ Not Erasmus Nicolai, as Stiernman says in his Annotations to Tegel's Chronicle of Eric, p. 303; for he was not bishop until after John Ofeg, who died in 1574. We have followed copies of original documents in the Palmsköld Collections.

⁷ Peter Berg, its instigator, fled with his chief followers to Denmark.

⁸ Letter of John to Jacob Baggé of Nov. 18, that some traitors had drawn together round Upsala and Orby, in order to free Eric. Nov. 23, to Peter Larson, bailiff of the castle of Upsala, to send to the king one named Charles Marcusson of Sätuna in the parish of Waxala, with others of his accomplices. Jan. 3, 1575, to Eric's keepers, that the traitors had confessed they had been in the mind to invite the former to a revel, in order thereat to slay them and release king Eric, or to make use of the occasion of the delivery of the corn-rent at Orby, to possess themselves of the castle. Register for 1574 and 1575.

might be done by laws divine and human ; in that his life had been so long spared on account of his rank, it was to be feared they had acted more against than according to God's good pleasure ; also it were better and more Christianlike, that one should suffer than that many should come to perdition.—Compare the spiritual unction of these words with their purport !—The document is signed and sealed by Peter Brahe, Thure Bielké, Nils Gyllenstierna, George Geré, Eric Gustavson (Stenbock), Hogenskild Bielké, Eric Gyllenstierna, Gustave Baner, with Laurentius Petri Gothus (the new archbishop), Martin, bishop of Linköping, James of Skara, Nicholas of Strengness, Erasmus of Westeras, Olave Peterson⁹, pastor of Stockholm, Swen Bennetson, provost of the chapter of Skara, Reynold Ragwaldson, pastor of Strengness¹. John Axelsson Bielke now also intimated his assent by a separate opinion. The accomplishment of the resolve was delayed for two years more, perhaps by the repugnance of the barons to whom Eric's custody was confided. For Maurice Göransson of Diula, one of the number, was in the ensuing year fruitlessly reminded, as well of the written warrant as of the "oral" directions which he had received². Ultimately John's own servants were obliged to perpetrate the murder, and the purport of the oft-cited warrant is repeated in the king's own letter of January 19, 1577, to his comptroller, Eric Anderson of Biurum, then governor of Orby. With the assent of the council, he there declares, it had been determined that if any danger were impending, "a draught of opium or mercury should be given to king Eric, so strong that he could not live more than a few hours. And in case he refuse in any wise to take such draught, then shall the persons thereto commissioned by us place him on a chair, and open the veins both of his hands and feet, so that the blood may run from him, till he die. If he will not permit such opening of his veins, then shall they either hold him by force, or bind him with towels until it is over ; or lay him upon his bed by violence, and strangle him with bolsters or great cushions, yet so that he shall first have a priest and the blessed sacrament." It is not known that any particular dan-

ger was apprehended upon this occasion ; the warrant consequently was followed by fresh orders. Their performance was entrusted to John Henrysson, the king's clerk, who brought with him a poison prepared by one of the royal chamberlains and Philip Kern, a surgeon of the army³. Eric received it mixed with pea-soup, and died of it at two o'clock in the night of the 26th Feb. 1577, in the forty-fourth year of his age and the ninth of his incarceration.

At Westeras in 1574 he for the last time saw his wife and children, for whom he had invariably expressed the greatest tenderness. His ardent love for Catharine Magnus' daughter, the people could not explain without witchcraft, and Catharine herself accuses George Person's wife as a spreader of this rumour⁴. This love, which raised the serving wench to the throne, remained in misfortune and imprisonment the same, as lively and jealous as at the first ; and although not seldom received with reproaches, quarrels, and railing⁵, it inspired Eric with the tenderest letters. After his death his widow besought John's favour for herself and her children. "We have received your memorial, lady Karin,"—ran his answer of August 29, 1577,— "wherein you submissively request that we will receive you and those who belong to you into our kindly shelter and protection, as also that we will guard your son's welfare, for whom you have asked that he may be sent out of the kingdom.—We have furnished you with lands and houses, which we will better upon occasion if you will conduct yourself as is due towards us and our dear housewife, and the heirs of our body. For what you write regarding your children, we will so order it that they shall suffer no want wheresoever they may be, within or without the realm⁶."

Of these children two still lived ; the daughter Sigrid, born, according to Eric's own note⁷, at Swartsioe, October 15, 1566, and the son Gustave, born at Stockholm, February 28, 1568, both before marriage ; on which account, when the nuptial benediction was pronounced over their parents in the high church of Stockholm, they were held by two counsellors of state at the side of king Eric. The daughter was by her first marriage⁸ ancestress of

Registers of Duke Charles for this year. Several of John's letters contain directions respecting Eric's secure custody at Orby ; for gratings before the windows, the erection of a high paling on the outside round the wall of the castle court, and of breast-works, the mounting of cannon, &c. The two prison-chambers receive a scanty light through small windows in walls eight feet thick. In the interior, where Eric's murder was done, we see upon a marble table an inscription ending with these words, "Propter facinoræ regis indigna indigne sublati est consultu clandestino senatus et episcoporum Suetici."

⁴ This was before the council, when George Person, in Oct. 1567, was adjudged to death the first time ; and according to Messenius (Scandia, vi. 46), his wife also was then condemned on this charge.

⁵ What Ægidius Girs relates hereupon, in his Chronicle of king Eric XIV., is supported by the king's journal.

⁶ Reg. for 1577.

⁷ The statement in Rosenhane's Catalogue of the kings of Sweden, p. 52, may be corrected after this. The sons, Henry and Arnold, died early. By a damsel named Agda, Peter's daughter (afterwards married to Joachim Fleming), the king had three daughters before. By one of his first letters as king he grants to Agda a manor during her lifetime, "for the support of our children." Register for 1560.

⁸ With Henry Classon Tott. The family became extinct with the grandchild Clas Åkeson Tott in 1674.

⁹ Not to be confounded with the reformer of the same name, who died April 19, 1552.

¹ The document is printed in Stiernman's Resolutions of the Diets ; the original, with the autograph signatures, is in the State Archives. (Deliberations in king John's time, from 1569 to 1591.) Of the subscriptions of the clergymen one is wanting, which was never added ; in its place is only the impression of the seal with the letters N. K., and under them a heart.

² Letter of John, Aug. 27. Reg. for 1576.

³ Cum ferali Johannes Secretarius ferecllo, quod Philippus Chernius, regis chirurgus, miscuisset, ad Græyensem missus arcem Domini mandate procuravit, ut Ericus Christianæ moriturus 22 Februarii die, qui et Dominicus fuit, sacram, impetrata peccatorum absolute, accederet synaxis. Sequens deinde biduum citra vite periculum merito transegit, et postea funestus illuxit dies 25 Februarii, quo toxicum ingens in pisonum, ut fertur, juscule prebitum absorpsit, indeque miseram efflavit animam. Messenius, Scandia, vii. 48. Philip Kern was afterwards commander of the castle of Upsala, where he practised great cruelties with impunity. Of his own authority he threw into prison the son of the old archbishop, Laurence Peterson, "for nothing else than that he had taken his sisters to himself, and wished to tend their heritage and his own," so that Duke Charles was obliged to liberate the prisoner. He arrested the peasants of duke Charles, and broke open his barns. See the letters to Philip Kern, of April 1, 1587, Feb. 2 and April 2, 1589, in the

the family of the counts Tott, which queen Christina wished to elevate to the ducal rank. Of the son a manuscript account relates, that while yet not a year old, immediately after Eric's imprisonment, he was inclosed by John's command in a sack, and delivered to one of his servants to be drowned; but that Eric Sparre, afterwards chancellor, saved him, and had him conveyed to Olmutz. Various points of this narrative, it is demonstrable, are at variance with truth. The young Gustave Ericson was still, in 1574, at Gripsholm⁹. Not until after this time, therefore, and when in his seventh year, could he have been the object of such an attempt at murder. In Olmutz and Prague he spent several years, not of his childhood but of his youth, under the emperor Rudolph's protection. Messenius, who mentions nothing of the attempted murder, asserts that he was sent out of the country to Prussia, and went to school, first with the Jesuits of Braunsberg and Thorn, afterwards in Wilna, in so great poverty that he used to earn his sustenance in the evening by brushing the shoes of the travellers in the inns and tending their horses. It is added, that he was present in beggar's clothes at Sigismund's entry into Cracow in 1587, saw his sister Sigrid in the court-train of the princess Anna, and discovered himself to her. At this time he refused an ecclesiastical office proffered to him by Sigismund, and repaired to the emperor Rudolph, under whose protection he studied zealously, especially alchymy. Spies from Sweden surrounded him, who carried his contemptuous expressions regarding John to the king's knowledge. Hence the latter wrote to his son Sigismund, that it would be most expedient so to arrange that "the bird's feathers might not be too long;" he should be arrested and placed in confinement; especially as the discontented lords in Sweden sought intercourse with him, as a servant of lord John Sparre had admitted¹. It is certain that in 1583 Swedish fugitives solicited from king Henry III. of France assistance to avenge Eric's murder, and set on the throne his rightful heir, who in return should acknowledge the superiority of France. This proposal², made probably by foreigners formerly in the service of Eric, had no results, but its authors declared themselves to be, and were in fact (as is plain from the loans they made to several French lords, which led in the sequel to law-suits) in possession of sums as large as if they had really in their hands king Eric's secret treasure, whose discovery John wished to purchase from Catharine Magnus' daughter³.

⁹ According to Eric's letter to Catharine Magnus' daughter, Jan. 11, 1574. Palmisköld Collections.

¹ Messenius, Scandia, vii. 10.

² Remonstrances et offres des conjurés et relegués du royaume de Suède au roy Henry III. pour avoir justice de l'assassinat commis en la personne d' Eric roy de Suède. Ex codice manuscr. Biblioth. Reg. Paris, No. 340, fol. 121. Copied in the Palmisköld Collections, and printed in the Nova Acta Reg. Soc. Scient. Upsal. v. 23.

³ When Catharine requested the life-tenure of Liuxala manor in Finland, where she afterwards lived unmolested and respected till 1612, John replied that he could give her

This son never permitted himself to be employed as the tool of foreigners against his country, which he never revisited. From Prague he took his way to the Netherlands, but turned back at Cologne on the news of Alexander Farnese's death, came to Vienna, wished to take service against the Turks, for which the emperor denied him permission, and resided for some time with a Silesian abbot, of whose tender care during a malady which seized him he ever afterwards spoke with the greatest thankfulness. Intending thereafter to seek his mother in Finland, he was prevented by a prohibition from the government, but obtained leave to hold an interview with her at Reval, where he saw her for the last time. About this period his poverty was alleviated by the revenues of a Polish abbey, which Sigismund conferred on him, and he spent two years in Thorn. Being invited thence to Russia, and received in a splendid fashion, he declined to become the son-in-law of the Czar Boris Godunow at the price of changing his religion. "Instead of this," says a Swedish chronicle, "he watched through whole nights in studying bookish arts and alchymy, whereby his head was much weakened, so that sometimes when he wished to strengthen himself by a good draught, he spoke roundly out that which lay at his heart⁴." He was soon found to be unserviceable for the political projects of the Czar. To abundance and grace now succeeded supervision and banishment. Prince Gustave Ericson died in 1607 in the little town of Kaschin. Afterwards during his Russian campaign, Jacob de la Gardie saw his lonely grave in a grove of birches on the banks of the Kaschenka.

We cast one more glance backwards on the death of the unhappy Eric. John wrote to Charles, that this had occurred after a short illness, of which the king had not been informed till too late. Charles intimated plainly enough his opinion on the real circumstances, and expressed great disgust at the manner of Eric's interment, wishing that it should be performed anew. "He was still," were his words, "an anointed and crowned king of Sweden, who with the evil (God pardon it him!) into which he fell, did also many good and manly actions during his government⁵."

Eric's body was deposited in an unostentatious grave in the cathedral of Westeras. The Latin inscription was taken from the second chapter of the First Book of Kings:—"The kingdom is turned about, and is become my brother's, for it was his from the Lord⁶."

no decisive answer thereupon; "but if you will point out the treasure which our deceased brother king Eric, before he quitted the government, caused to be buried, then will we concede to your children some estates for an inheritance." Reg. for 1578.

⁴ Petri Petreji Muscovitische Krönika. Stockholm, 1615, p. 121.

⁵ Letter to John, April 1, 1577.

⁶ King Gustavus III. caused the crown and sceptre to be taken from the tomb of John III. in the cathedral of Upsala, and therewith adorned the monument which he erected to Eric in that of Westeras.

CHAPTER XII.

JOHN AND CHARLES.

JOHN ACKNOWLEDGED KING. HIS CHARTER OF PRIVILEGES TO THE NOBILITY. CESSATION OF THE WAR WITH DENMARK. WAR WITH THE RUSSIANS IN LIEFLAND AND FINLAND. THE CROWN-PRINCE SIGISMUND ELECTED KING OF POLAND. DESIGN OF JOHN FOR THE RESTORATION OF POPEERY. HIS ECCLESIASTICAL MEASURES. EMBASSY TO ROME. INTRIGUES OF THE JESUITS IN SWEDEN. DISAGREEMENTS OF THE KING AND DUKE CHARLES. STATUTES OF CALMAR. CONTRAST BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KING AND THE DUKE. CONFERENCE OF JOHN AND HIS SON SIGISMUND IN REVAL. HIS DEATH.

A. D. 1569—1592.

THE two princes had laboured conjointly to overthrow their brother; and during the revolt they required homage to be paid to themselves conjointly⁷. Hence it is credible that, as is expressly related of them, they had concerted a common government. Meanwhile John, upon his arrival in Stockholm, was received by the council as king, and wrote to his sisters⁸ that "he had now come into the government of the kingdom of Sweden." The estates assembled in the beginning of the year 1569, and confirmed the choice of the council. Charles did not conceal his dissatisfaction, and a renoucement of his claims was considered on this occasion necessary. On the 24th January the noble and well-born lords of the council of state demanded of duke Charles whether he would consent to lodge the hereditary right to the crown in the son of his majesty, duke Sigismund, whereto his princely grace completely agreed. That very day all the estates acknowledged John, "to whom they had formerly done homage, and whom they had elected to be now, according to the next succession, their rightful king⁹."

Thus the name of king remained undivided; not so the power. As well by his position as his qualities, Charles (in these his father's sole heir) henceforward in fact governed not only his duchy, but also in great part the kingdom. Such is the impression which the public records leave upon every man who has himself consulted their contents. His counsels, requested or not, (he begs "that John will, out of fraternal love, take them in good part,") pervade them all. Even his disputes with the king made him only more powerful; and he who follows this influence, naturally during so many years augmenting, wonders at last less to see Charles upon the Swedish throne, than that a throne could have been maintained near him.

John's first care was to link to himself the families whom he had to thank for his crown. The judgment against the Swedish lords put to death in Eric's time was reversed. As among these Steno Ericson Leyonhufvud, at the arrest of Eric, had been the last victim, the king raised the widow and children of his maternal uncle to the rank of counts. The counties of the houses of Sturé and Brahe were confirmed and augmented. To the families (Stenbock, Oxenstierna, Fleming, Horn, and others) who had already received the dignity of counts from king Eric, were now added those

of Gyllenstierna, Biëlke, de la Gardie. The office of high-steward was revived and confided to count Peter Brahe. The councillors of state, who were mostly related to one another and to the king, were increased to four-and-twenty.

The council, in their assurance of fidelity, refer to the king's promise to grant to the nobility "such privileges," they say, "as we have long wished for and solicited." In consequence was issued, two days before the coronation, on the 8th of July, 1569, king John's charter of nobility, which, by the confirmation of old and the bestowal of new rights, makes an epoch in the history of the Swedish nobility.

Among those anciently possessed stands foremost the right of the nobility to levy the king's fines from the peasants on their estates. In the language of the period of the union this is called, to be king over one's own tenantry. In the confirmation by king Gustavus of the privileges of the councillors and nobles of 1526, the council receive "all and every the king's rents and fines from their peasants to the full amount, as had been anciently granted to them by former kings." To the rest of the nobility the same assurance is given; yet in general not without an addition of "after the king's pleasure," and excepting those fines which according to the law fall to the king alone. This is all that is embraced in the privileges granted to the nobles by Gustavus I. The right thus appears to have been regarded as one of the highest importance, yet the enjoyment of it was hardly general, and we have seen that the king reserved to himself the right of taking it away upon trial. The high amount of the old fines, according to the value of money in those times, made them, especially in cases which concerned life and limb, yield a considerable income. In default of money, pieces of ground were not seldom given as fines. We know how greedy of acquisition Gustavus was; it formed part of his scheme of policy to become the largest landed proprietor in Sweden, and we may assume it as certain that he let slip none of the revenues of the crown of any importance. John even once declared that in his father's time the nobility did not receive the fines accruing within their fiefs, which, as he says, amounted well-nigh to a higher sum than the taxes themselves¹. Eric, in the outset of his reign, did much for the nobility. The

⁷ In John's own letters to Charles at this time, it is said of all the places which had come over, "they have done homage to your affection, to us, and to the crown of Sweden."

⁸ Catharine and Cecilia, October 5, 1568.

⁹ Register for 1569. In the February of this year John still entitled himself king elect, in a letter to Elizabeth of England. He afterwards laid aside this style.

¹ King John's reply to the Council. Werwing, History of king Sigismund and king Charles IX. Appendix ii. 53.

right of again resuming the estates arbitrarily usurped by that king's father, the reduction by one-half of the requirements of the horse-service tenure, the first hereditary fiefs in counties and free baronies, and the exemption from public burdens of the seats of the gentry (*säteri-frihiten*), were advantages for which they had to thank this king. Subsequently he is styled "a peasant-king," "a right foe to gentry," during whose time Sweden's nobles were "so contemned and oppressed, that he had left them in the enjoyment of no noble jurisdiction or lordship."

By king John's charter of privileges, counts, free barons, knights, and councillors of state are to receive all crown fines payable by their peasants, with the exception of those for treasonous offences and grave crimes; yet even in such matters, when the king's grace commutes the capital punishment for a mulct, it may accrue to the noble proprietor. Other classes of gentry again obtain the right of levying from their dependents the legal portion of the judge of the hundred. Yet we find by the king's prohibition of the year 1578, that he had reserved to himself the share of the crown, as we learn from the same source that the nobles also took fines in capital cases without the royal permission. Such abuses were the more hard of prevention, as the same charter engages "that henceforth none but nobles shall be appointed to the hundred courts or other judicial offices." Certain judicial districts only in various provinces, and all in Norrland, "because in this territory there are no nobles," the king reserves to himself the right of filling with persons of the class of yeomanry. The counts are to have the right of appointing themselves the judges of the hundred within their domains. The supreme court erected by king Eric is abolished. In cases which affect life and honour a nobleman is to be tried by his peers only; nor is he to be placed in rigorous incarceration like other malefactors, without judicial conviction. The nobles shall have free traffic with the produce of their estates and fiefs; their tenants are exempted from all post-service except in the king's affairs, from all day-works on the royal estates, from liability to military service within one mile (the so-called free mile) of the manor houses, and share the public burdens only to one half the proportion of the taxed peasants. The obligations of the horse-service were yet further reduced; the horseman need not maintain himself longer than four months within the kingdom, and fourteen days beyond the frontiers. The annexed regulation, that the nobleman who was himself unable to keep horse and man completely should transfer his estates to his next relatives, but might nevertheless bear shield and arms, is the first express recognition at once of non-proprietary nobles in Sweden, and also of the hereditableness of nobility without knight-service². This charter of the Swedish nobility, king John says that he granted "especially on the ground, that they had wellwily agreed that Sweden should be and remain, as it now is, a hereditary monarchy³."

In the assurance of fidelity given by the clergy, it is stated that the king had promised to them better liberties and privileges than they could have

requested or wished for. As yet the whole meaning of this ready compliance was not perceived. King John used to say: "When it goes well with the clergy, it goes well with us and our subjects⁴."

On their revolt against Eric the dukes had opened negotiations with Denmark. The Swedish envoys, George Ericson Gyllenstierna and Thure Peterson Bielke, first concluded a truce for six months, and thereafter at Roskild agreed to conditions of peace, by which they consented to renounce all old claims on Danish and Norwegian provinces, to cede the Swedish possessions in Livonia, to restore all captured vessels, and to refund the expenses of the war. When king John at the diet of 1569 demanded of the estates whether they would concede such terms to the king of Denmark, "they answered in the whole shortly, No; but they would give him powder, balls, and pikes⁵." A new congress between Danish and Swedish plenipotentiaries passed off fruitlessly. The war was again kindled. The Danish fleet bombarded Reval; Warberg fell into the hands of the Danes; duke Charles ravaged Scania; and reciprocal invasions of West-Gothland and Norway were made. A congress of pacification was opened at Stettin on the 1st July, 1570, under the mediation of the emperor, the king of France, and the elector of Saxony. After negotiations of nearly six months the peace of Stettin was signed, by which Sweden redeemed Elfsborg for 150,000 rix-dollars, restored eight Danish ships of war, desisted from all claims on Gottland, Jemtland, and Herjedale, and left the dispute regarding the three crowns undetermined. The Swedish possessions in Livonia were to be purchased by the emperor, and placed under the feudal superiority of Denmark. Lubeck became a party to this treaty of peace, and obtained free navigation to Narva. Yet the prohibition to export military stores to the Russians occasioned new differences. The 750,000 rix-dollars, for which the Lubeckers had stipulated as a compensation of all demands on Sweden were never paid. Nor were the conditions relative to Livonia more punctually fulfilled.

The war which threatened from Russia induced John to submit to the peace of Stettin. On the accession of the new king Russian envoys were present at Stockholm. Their commission to obtain the delivery to the Czar of Catharine, the wife of John, had made them objects of such abhorrence, that on the taking of Stockholm they had well-nigh fallen victims to popular fury, but were saved by duke Charles, who defended them with his own hand. They had resided two years in Sweden before their return in 1569. A Swedish embassy followed them to Russia under assurance of safe-conduct. The envoys were, notwithstanding, barbarously treated, detained in a long and tedious captivity, and came back in 1572 with the answer, that the Czar demanded Livonia. There the war with the Russians had already begun. The Danish prince Magnus, who possessed a portion of the country, put himself under Russian protection, married the Czar's niece, and was declared by him king of Liffand. Russian negotiations and armies supported his pretensions.

² The same words are repeated in the confirmation of the new titles of count.

⁴ Sylvester Phrygius, *Oratio de vita Reg. Johan. III.*

⁵ Account of the discourse of king John and the council with the estates in 1569. Appendix to the Rhyme Chronicle of Charles IX.

³ This in fact subsisted previously. For when a poor gentleman served one of the councillors or knights, "he was spared the burden of horse-service," says count Brahe in his household-book, written in 1585

The Swedes indeed succeeded in maintaining their principal garrison of Reval, as well against attempts by treachery as open assault, and more than once the town bade defiance to the whole Russian power; but in 1576 it was the only place still left to them in the country, whilst the Russians overspread Finland, devastated Livonia up to Riga, and perpetrated the most appalling cruelties under the eye of the inhuman Ivan. Mutiny and quarrels among the Scots and Germans in the Swedish service (alternately they attacked one another, and fifteen hundred Scots were cut down) facilitated the success of the savage foe; until war breaking out afresh between Russia and the Poles with the Crim Tatars, who both sought alliances with Sweden, together with the military success of Pontus de la Gardie, changed the whole face of affairs. This officer, a French nobleman, who was at first in Eric's service, and afterwards contributed to his overthrow, was often employed by John in war and negotiation. He was raised to the rank of free baron, married to the king's natural daughter, Sophia Gyllenhielm, and in 1580 named for the second time general against the Russians. Supported by Henry Classon Horn and his son Charles, who earlier in the Livonian war had gained themselves an honourable name, he not only won back all that Sweden had lost in Lifland, but even carried his victorious arms across the Russian frontier. Narva was taken by storm; Ingermanland with its fortresses, Kexholm with its government were reduced. To the honour of John be it said, that he forbade his generals to take revenge on the Russians by a like barbarous system of warfare, and prayed to God that neither upon himself nor his kingdom might be visited the atrocities committed against his orders by Henry Horn in his incursion into Russia in 1578, when he spared neither women nor children⁶. At the same time Russow, the priest of Reval⁷, writes upon his unhappy country: "Of all the potentates who have occupied Livonia there is none who has done more for it than the king of Sweden. Had other kings and princes troubled themselves alike therewith, the Muscovite might well have wondered." Even as barbarians, and under a Czar who was a monster, the Russians began to display the qualities which established their power. "That the Russians are stout and hardy in a fortress,"—says a Swedish chronicle⁸, after having related how the Swedes in 1574 three times stormed in vain that of Wesenberg,—“comes hence, that they from their youth upward are inured to continuous labour and much fasting, and can make shift long enough with scant food, as with meal, salt, and water. They know also that when they give up a fortress they are butchered with the most contemptuous mockery, how great soever the need may have been that drove them thereto, and that they cannot remain in another country. There-

fore they choose rather to defend themselves to the last man. But they hold it, moreover, for a deadly and unpardonable sin to surrender a fortress; and prefer to die blissfully for their lord and father-land than to commit such a sin."

Let the motive be what it may, he is powerful who bargains not with his duty. It is that principle which guards the frontier of a state, and lends increase to dominion.—After more than a hundred years the Russ still acknowledged the superiority of the Swede in martial discipline. This was one of the causes why Ivan Wasilievitz II. at his death in 1584 advised his son Feodor to peace⁹. The latter offered to renounce the Russian claims on Estland and Narva. It was the same condition, on which Charles, when administrator eleven years afterwards, concluded peace. John, in the arrogance of good fortune, refused it. The Russian war, interrupted from 1583 by prolonged truces, was kindled afresh in 1590, and before it was ended the king died.

With Poland differences existed, respecting partly John's demands of money, partly the Swedish garrisons in Lifland. The common danger on the side of Russia did indeed for some time extinguish the discord, and even united in 1578 the Polish and Swedish arms; but the Poles had hardly concluded peace (on the 15th January, 1582) with Russia, when they demanded the cession of all that the Swedes possessed in Livonia. War with them appeared unavoidable, when king Stephen Bathor's death in 1586 procured for John's son, what he in 1572, after the death of his father-in-law, had sought for himself, namely, the Polish crown. Stephen's widowed queen Anne, and Catharine, the spouse of John, the last princesses of the house of Jagellon, were sisters. Anne employed all her influence to devolve the election on the Swedish crown-prince SIGISMUND. Notwithstanding that the opposition-party were loud in favour of the arch-duke Maximilian, the adherents of Sigismund obtained preponderance, principally from the circumstance, that the widowed queen with her whole property, and the two Swedish councillors who were present, Eric Sparre and Eric Brahe, with their pledge guaranteed, "that that portion of Livonia which the king of Sweden possessed, should be incorporated with the other, belonging to the kingdom of Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania." The councillors already named acted in this against their warrant, and sought afterwards an evasion in the ambiguity of the words employed¹; which the Poles however considered so clear, that when subsequently the condition was not fulfilled, the grand chancellor Zamoiskey requested the surrender of those Swedish envoys, in order to punish them as perjurers. Sigismund himself, arrived in Poland, refused to confirm the cession of Estland. Nevertheless, he

duke know what kind of death to lay upon us." This is a feature characteristic of the power of the knights, which in Livonia was overthrown.

⁹ Karamsin, ix. 176. German translation.

¹ Livoniae partem, quam serenissimus Suetia rex nunc possidet, ad reliquum corpus Livoniae regni Poloniae et magni ducatus Lithuaniae adjungere tenebitur, pro quo, ut serenissimi regis legati spondponderunt, ita Serenissima Anna, regina Poloniae, cavet casque omnibus bonis suis.—Eric Sparre began his speech on Livonia to the Poles with these words, "Vestra erit Livonia."

⁶ Egidius Girs, Chronicle of king John III. 70.

⁷ Chronicle of the Province of Livonia (Chronica der Provintz Lyfflandt, Rostock, 1578), towards the end.

⁸ Egidius Girs, who wrote in 1627. He relates also, "At the castle of Hapsal the youths were of such good cheer on the entry of the Russians into the castle, that they sat and played with their damsels, having each two upon their knees. The Russians wondered at the Germans as strange people, and said to one another, Had we Russians so lightly rendered up such a fortress, so could we never again lift up our eyes before an honest man, and scarcely would our grand

was crowned in Cracow on the 27th December, 1587, after he had issued a declaration that the question relative to the Swedish portion of Livonia should be postponed until he succeeded his father in the kingdom of Sweden, wherein the estates of Poland at length acquiesced.

But it was not enough for John's desire of honour to unite rival kingdoms; he wished also to reconcile contending religions. It is well known that the schism in the church produced several attempts at mediation. Such was the Interim of the emperor Charles V., which had been rejected in Sweden so early as 1549². Men of learning and piety had busied themselves with similar endeavours. In respect to the abuses of the ancient church, they all proceeded upon the principle, that the abuse does not take away the use, and sought to show how often the very points which might have been most strongly blamed, had had in their origin a wholesome and Christian meaning. It belongs not to the historian to judge theologically; but if he should even remove to the standing-point taken up by those men, it would be merely to make one remark, which properly belongs to his own department, that experience teaches just the contrary, and that the abuse in very deed takes away the use. If any thing be clear from history, it is this; that in its sphere the personal element is the most weighty. It is not a chain of propositions and truths, but of volitions and actions; not theoretical, but practical. Nothing does it show so plainly as this; that the best things are by vicious usage marred for centuries, and for ever; like as in this destruction, nothing is more wonderful than the inexhaustibleness of good, continually springing up again in new and unexpected forms.

John might be denominated a learned prince. He spoke German, English, Italian, Polish, understood French, was not ignorant of the Greek, and so well versed in Latin, that he often made without preparation long Latin speeches to his envoys. Theology was the science of that age, and he had abundant time during his captivity for the reading of theological works. He was occupied especially with the writings of George Cassander. These breathe a spirit of genuine meekness, and display much knowledge of the usages of the most ancient church, on the ground of which the author believed that he should be able to reconcile the disputants³; wherefore the well-meaning emperors Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II. employed him in their essays of mediation. But we should do John too much honour if we were to conclude that he had penetrated to the core of the question itself. He loved hierarchic like all other pomp, and imagined ceremonies for divine worship as he did arms for the provinces, decorations for his buildings, and additions for his title. Meanwhile he believed himself engaged in a serious investigation, as appears from the particular words of his instruction for his ambassadors of April 19th, 1573, when after the death of Sigismund II. he sought the crown of

Poland for himself; wherein the king, having promised his protection to the religion and freedom of the Poles, adds this condition:—"On the other hand we reserve to ourselves the right of practising whatsoever Christian religion it pleaseth us, the same to remain likewise to our heirs, seeing that we ourselves know not what religion these may elect when they come to mature years⁴."

From a hierarchical point of view new lights are hardly to be expected. Thus John was reconducted nearer and nearer to the old church; especially out of affection for his wife, who had faithfully shared with him the loneliness of his captivity. Eric during the last year of his reign already cried out upon him as a papist; an accusation which he vehemently repudiated, wishing that God might never procure either for him or his son the crown of Sweden if it were true⁵. "The queen of Sweden,"—writes cardinal Stanislaus Hosius in 1572 from Rome to Catharine Jagellonica,—"is here extolled to heaven on account of her care for the eternal salvation of her husband. He has already intimated his wish that some learned and pious Jesuits may be despatched to him. Hereof the whole town converses." In another letter the cardinal reproaches her with suffering herself to be persuaded by the king to take the holy supper under both forms, of bread and wine, instructing her how she may answer the objections of her spouse, and at the same time bring him back gradually into the bosom of the church. She must exhort him first to restore the office of priests and the sacrifice of the mass⁶. Might that be done, then would the church be so tender a mother that she could even permit the use of the cup to the laity. In the year 1574 the same promise is repeated with the addition, that some token of return must first be given in Sweden, particularly the restoration of the mass with its ceremonies; then might negotiations be opened regarding the cup⁷. In his letter to the king of the 7th January, 1576, the cardinal congratulates himself that the return to the ceremonies was being gradually effected; and in another, of October, 1577, he thanks God for the king's conversion. Two Jesuits from Louvain, Florentius Feyt and Laurentius Norvegus, (the latter was usually called in Sweden cloister-Laurence), came to Stockholm, and gave themselves out for evangelical preachers. From the labours of the latter especially the cardinal expects much⁸, because he, as a Norwegian, could easily make himself understood. "Seek before all," he writes to John Herbest, the queen's court-chaplain, "that he may obtain a church wherein to preach. Let him avoid offence; let him extol faith to heaven, and deprecate works without faith, preaching Christ as the only mediator, and his cross as the only means of salvation; thereupon let him show that nothing else has been preached in the papacy." The same cardinal accounts all methods against heretics to be lawful. When Henry of Valois in the year 1573 was elected

⁵ The secretary Swen Elofson, who heard the words.

⁶ Sacerdotium et sacrificium. Nihil est ecclesia matre benignius, si tantopere calix iste cordi est. Stanislaus Hosii Opera, Colon. 1584, ii. 338.

⁷ Ut missæ sacrificium cum suis cærimonis restitueretur, ac tum demum de calice deliberatio susciperetur. l. c. 379.

⁸ Divinitus id factum esse puto, quod venit ad vos Norvegii ille, quem esse virum prudentem ac bene doctum et non vulgari judicio præditum audio. l. c. 408.

² The opinion of the archbishop, Laurence Peterson, and others, upon the Interim of the emperor Charles V., Upsala, March 30, 1549, is printed in Celsius, Monumenta, p. 43.

³ His Consultatio de Articulis Relig. Inter Catholicos et Protestantes Controversis, was printed at Stockholm in 1577, on the king's instance, but without statement of the place or year.

⁴ Baazii Inventorium Eccl. Svio-Goth. p. 333.

king of Poland, the cardinal advises that the Protestants there abiding should be fed with hopes until after the coronation⁹; but if the king had even promised them on oath the freedom of their religion, he was not bound to its observance¹.

It is certain that the Swedish church at the accession of John was in the greatest disorder. In the articles stipulated with the clergy in the years 1569 and 1574 complaint is made that ignorant students were called to the priestly functions—that homicides, toppers, and adulterers exercised them with impunity—that many clergymen neglected their calling for the sake of trade and secular business—that they gave no thought to their sermon before they came into the church, and then read out of the Homily-book (Postillan) what might come to hand, whether it might suit or not the gospel of the day; that they went to the altar in torn and unclean vestments, and dispensed the sacrament with foul hands. Many churches had fallen into decay and ruin. The church plate had disappeared so entirely, that clay vessels were used in the dispensation of the sacrament, notwithstanding the clergy (as the king complains in 1577) had silver cups in their own houses. The nobility and possessors of fiefs held not only the crown's two-thirds of the tithes, to which the former considered themselves entitled by their privileges, but also often that portion which was intended for the maintenance of the churches and the clergy. The king issued repeated prohibitions against this abuse, and expended large sums on the erection and improvement of the churches, on the provision of befitting decorations, vessels, and the like. He used to re-clothe ragged priests who came in his way. That this care was extended also to the restoration of several convents aroused attention. That of Vadstena in particular received proofs of the king's as well as the queen's favour.

From all this it is manifest that the old order of things had been departed from, while the new was yet undigested. The greatest uncertainty prevailed. King Gustavus I. had constantly denied that he had introduced a new faith. In John's days, notwithstanding the changes introduced, a great portion of the people supposed nothing else than that they were still Catholics. The king himself insisted upon this to the pope, who demanded an unconditional restoration of the Latin mass, whereas John wished to preserve, at least partly, the Swedish liturgy. The contrary, he declares, would have been taken as an innovation in the Catholic religion, to which the people of this realm for the most part regard themselves as still addicted².

The Kirk's Ordinance (Kyrko-ordning), drawn up by Laurence Peterson, was first in 1571 promulgated and adopted. It appears therefrom that a call from the congregation, prior to the institution of a priest, was required. On the bishop devolved the duty of examining the candidate, and, if he were found qualified, of consecrating him, or, otherwise, of appointing another pastor. Chaplains (kapellaner) are mentioned as assistant priests in larger parishes which had the means of supporting them. In the examination of priests regard was to be had as to whether the probationer were toler-

ably conversant with the holy Scriptures. Yet it is declared to be a pernicious opinion that a preacher knew enough if he could only read Swedish, now that the service was mostly performed in the vernacular tongue. He must have attended a Latin school, that is, a school where Latin was spoken; yet no teacher was bound to read any other language than Swedish and Latin. Whosoever wished to learn another tongue, as the Greek or Hebrew, must provide masters for himself. No academical instruction is spoken of; but shortly after this time king John began the restoration of the seminary of Upsala. The school-lads were to be divided into three or four classes, according to their progress, and the elders to serve as assistants to the juniors; yet the schoolmasters were to take good heed that the younger were not neglected. Of those we find it remarked: "No one can be more worthy of good maintenance than a faithful and assiduous teacher; for like as his labour in the school is highly needful, even so is it hard and irksome." From the school ordinance we learn that the hour of meeting was five o'clock in the morning, and ten that of the midday meal; on Wednesdays and Saturdays were revisals, and every day written exercises. It was enjoined that the scholars should be practised in psalmody. The bishops were to take care that the people were instructed in the Catechism, and that no one was admitted to confession who did not know the Lord's Prayer, the Commandments, and the Creed. The minister was allowed in preaching to make use of a homily-book for his assistance, "seeing that many who should instruct the people are themselves very simple, yet not so that they should keep entirely to the homily-book, and never read the Scriptures or other edifying books." Pulpits, which were yet wanting in many of the churches, were to be erected. During the sermon itself a person excluded from communion for notorious transgressions might remain in the church, but must afterwards withdraw; if he resisted and would not go out, divine service was to close. The severest church penalty (preserved from former times) was, to stand naked before the church-door. In each of the seven cathedrals of the kingdom there was to be a bishop, an official or provost of the bishop, a minister, a schoolmaster, a reader of theology, a penitentiary (pœnitentiarius), and a churchwarden (sysselman). The bishop was to be elected by persons competent thereto, of the clergy and *others*, who possessed experience in the matter, under the sanction of an oath; and he was to be confirmed in his office by the civil magistrate. The episcopal title was again generally assumed under the reign of John, although the appellation of ordinary likewise appears in the kirk's ordinance.

The aged Laurence Peterson, Sweden's first Lutheran archbishop, expired in October, 1573, and thenceforth John more plainly discovered his intentions. In the place of the deceased the king caused his son-in-law Laurentius Petri Gothus to be chosen, a man of a compliant humour, and by the perusal of the Fathers (on whose works he afterwards as archbishop held prelections in Upsala) pointed out for the same middle way between

confirmasset. Stanislaus Rescio Secretario suo Epist. l. c. 353.

² Tum ne hæc regna, quæ aliquin putant magna ex parte esse in religione Catholica, animadvertant tam cito in religionem Catholicam ritus sibi novos introduci.

⁹ Verum ego, quod suspensos regia majestas animos hæreticorum teneat tantisper dum coronata fuerit, non impedit. Carolo, Cardinali Lotharingo Epistola, l. c. 350.

¹ Non teneri majestatem ut præstet, etiamsi jurejurando

Catholicism and Protestantism, which the king himself was bent on treading. The newly elected prelate subscribed seventeen articles, wherein the restoration of the convents, the veneration of saints, prayers for the dead, and the reception of the ceremonies of the old church, were approved. He was consecrated in 1575 with full hierarchical pomp. Then were again used for the first time the episcopal mantle, mitre, and crosier, which the Swedish bishops afterwards retained, although at that time with much opposition from the clergy. By the king's express order the oil of ointment was also employed on this occasion.—In the year 1576 both the Jesuits above-named came to Sweden. According to their own account³ they concealed their real persuasion by the royal command; and in Stockholm they were received as good Lutherans. They inspired respect by their learning, caused themselves to be presented by the priests as teachers in the new college, which the king had just founded in Stockholm, and were even admitted thereto⁴. All the ministers of Stockholm were enjoined to attend their prelections. In these they appealed to the writings of the Reformers, but so as to seek from their contents arguments against them. The king caused them to hold public disputations, in which he took part himself, and inveighed vehemently against the Pope, but allowed himself to be confuted. Meanwhile numerous conversions were secretly made. What unworthy means were sometimes employed, one example may show. The secretary John Henryson, although a man generally contemned, had yet for many years enjoyed the king's confidence, presided over the chancery, and was entrusted with the management of secret and weighty affairs. It was under his direction that the murder of Eric had been perpetrated. He lived notoriously with a woman whose husband he had killed. Both received from father Laurence absolution and permission to contract wedlock⁵; which so incensed the archbishop, that he, by a special letter to the Jesuit, then rector in the royal college of Stockholm, forbade him to exercise his functions, and declared him unworthy of the priestly office. Scarcely more creditable is the reservation which the king himself makes, in his conditions to Pope Gregory XIII., that the priests should for the present read inaudibly the invocations to saints and prayers for the dead in the Catholic mass⁶. Yet for the sake of truth it must be added, that the Pope disapproved of the hypocrisy of the Jesuits,

and exhorted the king to make public profession of the Catholic faith if he were in earnest therewith. Some years afterwards father Laurence was called to Rome to make answer before the general of his order⁷.

The Mass and Hand-book had already been published in Swedish by Olave Peterson, and were afterwards several times printed. They came by degrees into use; but it was not yet forbidden to celebrate mass in Latin. On the contrary, king Gustavus gave orders that the custom should be retained where its intermission gave scandal, until the people were better instructed. The Kirk's Ordinance of 1571 still permits Latin psalms and prayers; and the Liturgy of king John is in both languages. It was arranged by the king himself and his secretary Peter Fechten, after the Catholic Mass-book approved by the Council of Trent, with some omissions and alterations⁸, printed under the revision of the Jesuits, with remarks and explanations intended to pave the way for the re-acceptation of the mass in the sense of a sacrifice, and appeared in 1576 with a preface by the archbishop, who therein assumed its authorship. Of the remaining bishops, only Erasmus Nilson of Westera, formerly the king's court preacher, had sanctioned it; but even the opposition anticipated was employed in furtherance of the hierarchical plan. John seems at times to have meditated the erection of a Swedish patriarchate with extended authority. The courtiers openly declared, that it was obligatory on the Swedish bishops and clergy to obey the archbishop as their spiritual father; the others were styled subject-bishops (*Lyd-Biskopar*). Afterwards the king ordained that the election of the bishop should not depend only on the clergy of a diocese, but that the archbishop and archchapter of Upsala should be co-electors. Consent to the Liturgy was one condition of all ecclesiastical promotions. The sequel was, that at the diet of 1577, after the most turbulent among the clergy of Stockholm and two professors of Upsala had been removed, all the rest of this class, with the exception of the bishops of Linköping and Strengness, and some few others, adopted the Liturgy, to which the assent of the secular estates was easily obtained.

In the previous autumn the king had already despatched Pontus de la Gardie and Peter Fechten to Rome. They suffered shipwreck in the Baltic,

verit et alienos a patre fecit. Progreditur tamen pater, quotquot adiutores veniant, insinuat se in familiaritatem aliquorum, nunc hunc, nunc illum, dante Deo, ad fidem occulte reducit. *Ibid*.

⁵ The dispensation itself, dated Feb. 6, 1578, together with the letter of the archbishop of March 20, is printed from the archives in Baazius, *Invent. Eccl. Svis-Goth.* p. 418. "In the times of the late king John," says Eric Sparre (*Postulata Nobilium*), "all was confided in many years to John Hinderson. What kind of man he was, was not unknown." He died of ebriety.

⁶ Ut Catholicis sacerdotes modo abstineant ab illis orationibus alta voce recitandis, quæ pertinent ad sanctorum invocationem et ad orationes pro defunctis, eaque submissa voce dici possent, ne quis suspicetur præsentem doctrinam Lutheri esse tollendam; hinc enim magnus rumor et bellum posset excitari.

⁷ Messenius, *Scandia*, vii. 50, 75.

⁸ Circa hæc tempora (1576) rex cum prædicto secretario novam fabricaverat liturgiam. From the account of the Jesuits above quoted.

³ *Scriptum magistri Florentii Feyt reversi ex Suecia anno 1577 de statu religionis in regno. Ex archivo arcis S. Angeli. Copy in the Nordin Collections.*

⁴ Insinuat se Pater Laurentius in amicitiam Germanorum, hi enim faciles sunt. Pergit pater ad ministros, sermonem miscet de variis rebus. Ministri, homines illiterati, promittunt Latinis sermonibus et elegantiam mirantur, operam omnem promittunt; miseri laqueum, quo suspendantur postea, sibi contextunt. Adeunt regem, commendant virum. Rex gratam sibi esse commendationem significat; gaudet in sinu rem dextre confectam. Hanc opportunitatem nactus rex patrem Laurentium in theologie professorem cooptavit, statuens, ut quotquot Holmiæ ministri essent (erant autem plus minus 30) patris lectionibus interessent. Verum cum Sveci (ut vulgo fertur) danti sint, factum est, ut P. Laurentius non nisi Julio mense Stockholmensem lectiones suas auspicaretur. Porro cum salutis nostræ inimicus omnem animarum fructum semper impedire contendit, excitavit æmulum quendam P. Laurentio, Abrahamum (Angermanum) scholæ rectorem: is animos auditorum sub-

at which the latter perished; but his colleague discharged his commission. John requested from the Pope⁹ that his holiness would institute prayers throughout the whole world for the restoration of the Catholic religion in the north, yet without naming Sweden; that the mass should be said partly in Swedish; that in the sacrament the cup should be conceded to the laity; that the bishops should be judged by the king in capital cases and accusations of treason; that no claims should be made on the Church estates which had been confiscated; that the college erected in Stockholm, where already secret instructions in the Catholic doctrines were given, might receive the papal confirmation, and the teachers be for the present exempted from wearing monks' clothes; that king Gustavus, king Eric, and all of the nobility who had died out of the communion of the Church, might rest undisturbed in their graves; that priests' marriages might be allowed, while celibacy was encouraged; that the king might, without sin, participate in the worship of the heretics, until by-and-by the Catholic creed should become dominant in the land. This result was prepared, it is stated, by the restored dignity and splendour of divine service, by the reception of several abolished holidays, by the introduction of confession and fasts, by the restoration of the convents, which had been begun, by the education of several noble Swedish youths in Rome and Vienna, and the like.

The court of Rome was far from being disposed to consent to such conditions. Meanwhile it kept the negotiations open; and the Jesuit Anthony Possevin was, under the name of imperial legate, sent to Sweden, in order to work on the king's convictions. At Vadstena, in 1578, John is said to have been secretly reconciled to the Catholic Church in his presence¹. Martin Olaveson, the bishop of Linköping, was, for having called the Pope Anti-Christ, stripped of his episcopal robes publicly before the altar of his own cathedral. The see, with enlarged jurisdiction, fell to Peter Carlson, ordinary of Calmar, formerly Eric's flatterer, and generally charged with having counselled the murder of the Stures. All passages against the Pope were expunged from the Psalms. Luther's Catechism was abolished in schools; new silver shrines were provided for relics of saints; and an abridgment of the canon law was drawn up for the guidance of the Swedish Church². A Catholic was intended to fill the archiepiscopal chair, which fell vacant again in the year 1579³, and remained four years unoccupied. Jesuits, under manifold disguises, entered the kingdom. John designed to employ them in the new university, removed from Upsala to Stockholm. They became even

more coarse in their sermons, and Sigismund's own chaplains set them the example; so that the Council was obliged to moot a proposal, of forbidding the Polish priests 'from barking and banning in the Swedish tongue,' and of punishing the Jesuits, 'since among the people and the army discourses were current, that they themselves would remove such weeds out of the way, if it were not done by the authorities.' A multitude of Swedish youths⁴ were sent out of the country to be educated in the Jesuits' seminaries, and queen Catharine Jagellonica bequeathed for this purpose by will 10,000 rix-dollars to that of Braunsberg in Prussia. This princess, whose virtues even her foes could not deny, died in 1583. The new archbishop, in his funeral sermon, called her happy that she had lived and died in the bosom of the Church which alone gives salvation.

John's zeal for Catholicism afterwards cooled, and men already began to remark its abatement, whereto the failure of those political calculations connected with his conversion appears to have contributed. Among other things he had solicited, and by the mediation of the Pope hoped to obtain, the dukedoms of Bari and Rossau, on which his wife had claims from her mother Bona Sforza⁵. This hope was as far from being fulfilled as the promise of the Pope to labour for the advantage of Sweden in the peace between Poland and Russia. The peace was indeed concluded under the mediation of Possevin, but confirmed the Polish claims even to the Swedish possessions in Livonia. In no long time we see John seceding from Rome, and even persecuting the Catholics. Laurence Forss, minister of Stockholm, who had become a Catholic, was for that reason deposed with the same contumelious ceremonies which had been already applied to the bishop of Linköping for having reviled the Pope. The Jesuits were banished from the realm, their college in Stockholm abolished, and the chairs of instruction filled by their opponents. By public proclamation all converts to the Catholic Church were threatened with exile. The church ceded to the Catholics in Stockholm was closed (afterwards, however, they recovered it on the intercession of Sigismund); and when the crown-prince became king of Poland, his father warmly exhorted him not to bind himself to obedience (obedientia) towards the Pope. The king now turned his thoughts to a junction with the Greek Church, but he finally adhered to his own scheme of religion, of which he considered his new Liturgy the proper expression. The repugnancy of the public towards this had in the mean time increased. Already in 1576 the king complains that a clergyman in the diocese of Skara, Master Maurice of

⁹ Quæ rex Suetiæ cupit a Summo Domino nostro obtineantur, ut nix perturbatio Suetiæ restitatur religio Catholica. Ex codice manuscr. chartaceo in folio, bibliothecæ Vaticanæ. N. 6218. p. 204 ad 208. Copy in the Nordin Collections in the Library of Upsala.

¹ Messenius, vii. 41. xv. 137. iii. 60. He was enjoined to fast every Wednesday, because on this day he had murdered his brother.

² Id. vii. 65.

³ Magnus Laurentius, nephew of both the last Catholic archbishops, Joannes and Olaus Magnus, was destined thereto. Afterwards Andrew Laurencson (Björnram), formerly bishop of Vexjö, was made archbishop, whom the king found still more compliant to his views than his predecessor, who towards the end had retracted, and is said to have died of grief.

⁴ Catervatim. Messenius.

⁵ Cum autem ille (rex) per suas litteras vestræ beatitudinis negotia sua Neapolitana commendat, vix est, quod ego de ea re, quæ justissima est quæque admodum cordi est vestræ beatitudini, quidquam amplius scribam, cum præsertim non semel ad illustrissimum cardinalem Comensem de tota re scriperim. Possevin's letter to pope Gregory XIII. Stockholm, Oct. 9, 1579; copy in the Nordin Collections. For the carrying of Sigismund's election to the crown of Poland, the claims of John upon these Neapolitan garrisons are ceded to that kingdom, and those upon the payment of the dowry of Catharine Jagellonica renounced, as well as upon the 125,000 rix-dollars, which John upon his marriage with her had lent to the king of Poland. Ægidius Girs, Chronicle of king John III.

Böne, had endeavoured to raise a great tumult against it, the councillors of state, and the nobles. The priest was examined by the torture, and put to death with several of his followers. In the year 1580 an order was given that the revenues of those clergymen who did not observe the Liturgy should be withheld; in 1582 it was enforced under still heavier penalties, and adopted. Priests who refused to follow it were deposed, incarcerated, and driven into exile. All resistance in this point irritated the king to extreme anger. He was even seen to lay hands on an arrested clergyman, and trample him underfoot, exclaiming, "To the lions and snakes thou shalt go!" This person, Master Eric Scheffer, rector of Stockholm, had retracted the assent which he had given to the Liturgy; rupture was produced by the violence with which he was treated. The whole land was full of persecution, disquiet, and confusion.

During this time the discords between John and Charles grew more bitter. The first channel by which they found voice was a letter of the 16th October, 1571, from the king, who the year previously had depreciated the coinage⁶. By this measure Charles profited to buy up and exchange the old coins of better quality. John prohibited this traffic, the gain of which he wished to reserve for himself. Although the navigation to Narva was made free by the peace of Stettin, the king had placed it under supervision; and, in order to show his predominance in the Baltic, made his letters of authorization necessary thereto. Charles allowed his ships to go to Narva with papers issued by himself, whereupon the king ordered the ships to be seized, and did not release them until after a long correspondence. A more important topic of quarrel was the division of the heritage of their father, which Eric, after the incarceration of John, had deferred, under pretext of waiting for the minority of Charles. It has already been mentioned of what a disputable kind the hereditary estates partly were; on which account Eric had permitted the law to take its course with respect to them, and the nobles had profited by this permission. This was in the outset of Eric's reign. He soon changed, and preferred his claims against the nobility. The continuation of the inquiries instituted in the time of Gustavus respecting the right of resumption of church estates by the nobility was commanded. As ground-work a declaration was laid down, that all estates appropriated contrary to the letter of the Recess of Westeras should belong to the crown; on which account also king Eric in 1564 caused all such to be struck off the rent-books of the hereditary estates of Gustavus, and entered in the rent-books of the crown. Two years thereafter, as already remarked, the old foot-

ing was restored, and the estates are again found enrolled as part of the heritage. The change hence appears to have only been effected in semblance, in order meanwhile to ground upon it new claims against the nobility⁷. This advice would seem to have proceeded from Rasmus Ludvikson, procurator for the crown in questions of reduction under Eric as well as Gustavus. This man possessed an acquaintance the most extensive of his time with public records and genealogical registers, and by his manuscript chronicles of both the beforementioned kings has won lasting honours in the field of Swedish history; but in several reigns he was the unconscionable tool of the possessors of power, and under Eric, in the year 1567, was condemned to death for embezzlement and forgery⁸, although the judgment was not executed, and he found means to make himself useful in after-days. With his aid an allotment of the patrimonial estates among the brothers was effected at Borkholm, (June 27, 1572,) in which the share of the weak-minded duke Magnus was divided between John and Charles. The latter however was highly discontented, and was heard to complain that several thousand manors had been deducted from the amount by John, of which more than five hundred were already distributed among the nobility. John also insisted that all taxable lands which had been bought by Gustavus from peasants, if situated without the principality, should be reckoned crown property; and upon this maxim he proceeded. Thus we find the royal cattle-farms⁹, on which many unprofitable hands were employed, (and hence Eric desisted from keeping them up on his own account,) now let out as crown-lands, with the right of hereditary occupancy¹; and in 1582 John declared that since certain of his bailiffs and officers, from corrupt motives, turned peasants off their farms and placed others thereon, "to rot more than to bote," all peasants upon crown, church, and patrimonial estates might purchase the property of the lands, and hold them in perpetuity by paying a yearly rent². But this proffer hardly met with general acceptance. On the contrary, we find that the fears of the peasants were awakened, as well on account of the short term of payment, as of the insecurity which in this day attended all compacts with the crown. Herein they were not wrong; for Charles, when he succeeded to power, acknowledged in reference to the estates of the royal patrimony no other guide than the rent-books of his father, and claimed anew all the estates which had been alienated, even those recovered by the nobility from adjudication.

Concerning royal and princely rights, a contest was to be expected, and the earlier that this matter, in the time of John, became still more

the same holding to two persons. See the Doombok (Dombok) of king Eric's Nämnd, fol. 239.

⁹ *Avfvelsgårdar* (cattle-yards), so called because used as breeding farms for the king. Sometimes, too, the priests were required to keep the king's cattle; thus at John's coronation all the registered cattle were required from the clergy of Uppland.

¹ King John's Register, June, 1576. The example here appearing relates to Strömsrum in Smaland; but the principle is declared general.

² In 1581 the king reserves to himself the right, if he should so think fit, of redeeming the property which he was now obliged, from want of money, to sell. Deliberations in king John's time, in the Archives of State. (*Merröla än böta.*)

⁶ Coinage-warrant of April 30, 1570.

⁷ Rasmus Ludvikson's new complaints respecting the heritable estates which the nobles had resumed from the Church, are chiefly founded on the circumstance, that the nobility had in this exceeded the limit appointed in the Recess of Westeras, of 1454, or rather 1453, when king Charles Canute-son's inquisition began. (Örnhjelm's Relation.) The circumstances which induced Gustavus himself to exceed this limit, have been already stated.

⁸ On the 23d April, 1567, because he had made out false registers of the Danish estates in the kingdom, of which the king commanded the appropriation, and, when they were granted away in fiefs, often issued letters of enfeoffment for

intricate. He had publicly disapproved the limitations of the ducal power made in 1561, and the Articles of Arboga, as "hard and intolerable," were adduced among the grounds of Eric's deposition. In the confirmation of the dukedom of Charles, shortly afterwards granted, it is alleged that Eric had compelled his brothers to embrace conditions wholly repugnant to their father's testament; conformably to which, therefore, Charles was now invested with all his princely rights. Him, most of all, had John to thank for his crown. Under such circumstances it was difficult not to allow an interpretation of the testament favourable to his brother. The king sought to stave off his claims by single concessions. As compensation for his share of the treasure left by their father, Charles received 2500 ounces of silver. His principality was augmented with the hundreds of Wassbo and Walla in West-Gothland, to which John in 1571 added the government of the Swedish portion of Livonia. But Charles insisted on an indemnity for the whole period during which he had been deprived of the revenues of his principality; and when he subsequently abandoned this demand, he the more firmly pressed for a grant of Strömsholm and its fief, which, according to the oral disposition of king Gustavus, was held by the queen dowager, but by the testament appertained to the principality. Charles offered money in exchange, but maintained his right to the latter, threatened at last to assert it by force, and once went so far as to place under sequestration the rents of the hundreds annexed to Strömsholm³. For what concerned his Livonian commission, he cherished suspicion of a plan therein to devolve upon him the burden of the Russian war, and made no great haste. At last the king, whose poverty is evident in all these transactions, makes a proposal to him to purchase a portion of the country which was then in the hands of the enemy⁴. After the success of de la Gardie's operations he wished to hear no more of this; and when Charles, on the attempt of John to gain the crown of Poland, advanced a proposal, that for the adjustment of their disputes respecting Livonia the country might be transferred to him as a Polish fief⁵, the king took it so ill, that he had apprehensions for his personal safety, and believed his brother already prepared for war. Thus was Livonia the germ of discord between Charles and John, as formerly between John and Eric.

The testament of Gustavus I. was particularly ambiguous on the question as to the rights of the king and the princes. It is declared on one side, indeed, that the princes should have no right to sever themselves or their fiefs from the crown of Sweden, that they were bound to be true to the king,

and obliged to assist him with the largest force they could raise; they are even denominated subjects; but on the other side the king says, that the principalities are delivered up to them "with all their appurtenances and advantages, as we have possessed the same on behalf of the crown, without exception." When he adds,—"our dear sons, as well he who comes into the throne and government as the others with their heirs, shall, in relation to those affairs on which the general welfare of the realm depends, undertake, transact, or conclude nothing, be it war or peace, or alliances, compacts or other matters important to the state, unless it be done with the counsel and assent of all their estates and divers of the chief men of the realm;" it would be difficult to express a conjoint reign more distinctly, especially as each of the brothers is even allowed, in cases where any greater and more manifest advantage can be gained for the realm of Sweden, and time does not permit a common deliberation, to follow his own resolution. Finally, the old king exhorts, beseeches, enjoins every subject of the kingdom, from honest, truehearted purpose, and by the bitter death of God's Son, to maintain harmony among them. The princes are required to render an account of their conduct towards their country before the estates general and all Swedish men; and if differences shall arise, only persons who are natives and chosen on both sides out of the principal men of the country, may decide as arbitrators with whom right and reason lie. In a word, Gustavus Vasa, between fear and hope, but with a foreknowledge of the future which often distinguishes men of his class, committed the care of his work to all his sons; and the hour approached which was in fact to transfer the responsibility to the only one of them who was fitted to bear its load.

Charles acted throughout as if this conjoint responsibility were a matter of course. He sends back John's letter, as styling him "hereditary prince of our kingdom;" Sweden was no more John's peculiar possession than that of the other hereditary princes.

One of the most resultful points of contention was, whether knight-service within the principality was due to the king or the duke, since here the nobility intervened between both. The king had considerably lightened its burden, and besides scarce ever held an inspection⁶. He made the nobles an offer of ransoming themselves from the whole obligation, which had no effect, and complains that they besides appropriated the rents of those manors which were set apart for the support of the crown's own horsemen. Examples are found during his time of peasants acquiring their free-

³ Charles had accepted the hundreds of Wassbo and Walla as a compensation for Strömsholm. The contestation regarding Tynnelsoe, which he demanded back in virtue of the will, appears to have renewed that regarding Strömsholm.

⁴ To Charles upon Lifland, that after the disasters which had befallen there, the king could do nothing more. Stockholm, May 4, 1574. Still on the 26th May, 1581, he offers to the duke Narva, Lode, Leal, Pernau, Hapsal, "when they were obtained," as fiefs of the crown of Sweden, with the same jurisdiction as the principality. Shortly thereafter, and before the end of the year, Charles Henryson Horn and Pontus de la Gardie took Lode, Leal, Vickel, Hapsal, Wittenstein, and all Ingermanland with its fortresses. John advises Charles of this, and requests more troops from him, but no more is said of the offer above-mentioned.

⁵ Memorial of Swen Elofson (now secretary of Charles) to John. Register of duke Charles for 1574. That Charles herein did not look wholly to his own advantage, is clear from another of his propositions to John in 1582, for the adjustment of the disputes with the Poles respecting Lifland, to the effect that Sigismund should hold the Swedish possessions there as a hereditary fief under Polish superiority, yet so that it should never be taken by a king of Sweden as such, but as duke of Lifland. This result would be more beneficial than that Sweden should go to war with Poland for Livonia, as was then apprehended. Reg. for 1582. In respect to the Russian war, also, which John might more than once have ended advantageously, the counsels of Charles are marked by moderation, sagacity, and apparently also by uprightness.

⁶ *Vapensyn*, the wapenshaw. T.

hold by horse-service; but in general he laid so much stress upon the privileges of nobility, that estates gained by the un noble through marriage with nobles were declared to be forfeited. The relations of the nobility to the princes produced in Sweden the first inquiries regarding the mutual relations of the powers (as they were called) of the state; and Eric Sparre's treatise, "Pro Rege, Lege, et Grege⁷," is in this sense the first essay on the Swedish constitution. Its fundamental query, What are the king's legal rights admitted by the people? is as yet indeed in its cradle, but still is discernible in such a shape as was comprehensible by the most cultivated among the grandes of this period. The author, going through all the statutes passed in the time of king Gustavus respecting the succession, (of which the first passed at Örebro in 1540 is mentioned slightly, as not having the consent of the estates, and "devised by a frivolous busy-body, Conrad of Pyhy," with outlandish ceremonies,) seeks to show that neither in these nor in the duke's letters of investiture, nor in the king's testament, was any one of the rights of the crown called regalities given away, nor could they be given away, because this was against the law of Sweden. Herewith the nobility spoke the word for a struggle which, a hundred years after, under Charles XI., was to crush its power, and already under John received an unlooked-for application. In the outset these maxims were well liked by the king, even with their aristocratic appendages. The treatise was really a defence of his ordinance issued at the diet of 1582 in reference to the king's rights within the principality. Of this he caused the council of state and nobility to pronounce a special confirmation, thereby even sanctioning the conclusion of Eric Sparre, that although the hereditary settlement and the testament had diminished the lawful rights of the crown to the advantage of the princes, the explanation of the law belonged to the same authority which had made it, namely, to the king, but with the council of state and the nobility. Who else should adjust such disputes? Did not king Christian and king Charles appear before the council of state in Calmar?—The example was suspicious. It is worthy of remark likewise that the regalities of the crown in Sweden are further explained by the German feudal law, or, as it is here styled, the imperial law. The Swedish nobility of the principality are compared, in relation to the knight-service, with the immediate nobility of the German empire, which, although dwelling under reigning princes, was yet only bound to perform military service for its head. One evident object of this tract is to place the chief nobles, as far as possible, on an equal footing with the dukes. On the contrary, it was Eric's purpose to depress the latter, if possible, to the

level of the nobility, when he created in Sweden counts and barons with hereditary fiefs. We see that this measure may bear a double interpretation.

There exists another not less remarkable book, which sets before us the Swedish nobleman of those times, namely, "Count Peter Brahe, whilome Steward of Sweden, his (*Economia*, or Household-Book for young nobles, written anno 1585⁸." His view is thus stated by himself: "In what manner the children of nobles may be well reared in discipline and instruction, until they come to mature years, and how they afterwards should preside in house and hall, thereupon have many in divers ways written long and much in foreign tongues. But since of this kind no writings at all are to be found in our language, which natheless worked no little harm, for that in so long a time many young nobles were thereby sorely neglected and cast in the background, who else might well have arrived at authority and great consequence; therefore is this work simply and shortly set down, to the end that they who would know, and yet take not pleasure in much reading, may the sooner peruse it and the better remember. Amend it who will and can." He next follows the young nobleman in his education and upon journeys, to court, and into affairs of state and war, lastly to the bridal and the government of a household. His rules of morals he draws mostly from the Bible and the ancient Romans; his domestic counsels from proverbs and maxims which are still current in the mouths of the Swedish peasantry. We see the nobleman of that day in the midst of his household, his dependents, his fields and meadows, his various arrangements at different seasons of the year, even his daily occupations—from the Monday, when he himself holds inquest and court-leet in his hall, hearing suits and complaints, and giving orders for the labours of the week, to the Sabbath, when he hears mass and sermon, reads the Bible, and exhorts his inmates to order and good morals. It is an honour-worthy and well-principled book, full of patriarchal simplicity. The author was sister's son to Gustavus Vasa, the same who has described for posterity, with admiration and reverence, the personal appearance of the great king. And yet he cannot conceal his longing after the old times, the days of the union in Sweden. This happiness first vanished before the tyranny of Christian, and afterwards never returned. "What liberties," he complains, "the baronage and nobility of this realm beforetime enjoyed, thereof few now can tell; few are they who yet remember that time, when the spiritual and temporal lords had themselves full kingly rights over their own peasants; when every man did knight-service after his own will and con-

⁷ "This is reason and document, gathered from all the hereditary settlements of king Gustavus, that the rights of the king and the crown, which are termed regalities, must be preserved to them, over all Sweden." The tract is said to have been printed, but so far as is known to the present author, no one (not even Warmholtz) has seen it in any other form than manuscript. Eric Sparre, born in 1550, was son of the friend and comrade in arms of king Gustavus, the high marshal Lawrence Siggeson Sparre, and was councillor of state and vice-chancellor in 1582. He was beyond comparison the most learned man of his rank in Sweden. He kept up a correspondence with learned

foreigners, particularly with David Chytræus, who has made use of his statements in his own *Chronicon Saxoniae*. King James VI. of Scotland made Eric Sparre a baron, on account of his distinguished natural gifts and his connexion with the blood royal, and acquaints king John therewith by letter of the 23rd of June, 1583. When John in 1590 incarcerated Sparre, he tore up the Scottish patent of barony before his eyes.

⁸ Printed at Wisingsborg in 1687, under the care of his grandson the steward, count Peter Brahe the younger. The old count is styled in the letter transmitted to Rome by the Jesuits of Stockholm, "vir ad Catholicam religionem valde propensus," and letters from Cardinal Hosius to him exist.

venience, and they had good time and pleasant days to prepare for their out-march, which yet never went beyond the borders, while the crown made compensation for damage suffered by man and horse; when the Councillors of the realm and other chief men enjoyed plenteous maintenance in land and fiefs from the crown, besides free sway in the Lawmen's and Hundred-courts. For sixty years (he continues, and it is to be observed that this coincides with the beginning of the reign of Gustavus) we have lost those privileges, and the knight-service has been continually enhanced from time to time, until king John lightened it, and gave his royal word so to conduct his government that all, but the nobles in especial, should dwell under him with pleasure and good will." This king's charter of privileges was the more to be valued as the last remnant of former rights, and yet would these hardly avert the ruin of the order, since pomp and show, which had been brought into the land in the time of the tyrant king Eric, had made all court-service more costly. Accordingly, it is added, clothing for hand and foot shall be of silk and satin, the dames shall be bedecked more finely, and the table spread with foreign liquors, fruits, and many dainty meats, and withal shall there be servants with raiment and wage after the German fashion, albeit our Swedish ways and means are little fitting thereto; wherefore, especially as the estates are distributed among several heirs, it is impossible that the order should long retain its power.

We pass over the more trivial differences between the king and the duke,—as of the latter refusing to submit to "the king's intolerable tallages" in his towns, or to pay the aids assessed in his dukedom "without being heard thereupon,"—in order to advert to the chief of the remainder. Among these was a dispute regarding the judicatory. Of that, whether in spiritual or secular causes, Charles claimed the regulation in his own duchy; and here too we see the privileges of the nobility intervening. A count had the right of nominating the judge of the hundred in his county. The king refused the duke that of appointing the Lawman in his principality. The administration of the law was, in fact, in the hands of the nobles: they looked upon the judicial offices as their property; appropriated the fines to which their vassals were adjudged; and these old claims are for the most part confirmed by king John's privileges. The magnates lived like petty princes on their manors, and it was not merely the foreigner, duke Magnus of Saxe Lauenburg upon his fief in Upland, who treated the peasants almost like bondmen, and defied the king himself. What, for example, did not a man like

count Axel Leyonhufvud permit himself in these times against the crown, against his dependents, or even those who could not be so called?⁹ Charles was of another opinion than his brother, and the king gets to remind him, that the privileges of the nobles were also valid in the principality¹. Even if harmony could have been restored in reference to the secular jurisdiction, how was that possible with respect to the spiritual, or indeed generally, so long as the first of John's demands always was, that Charles should acknowledge his new model of religion and divine service, while he again had but one answer, that he would depart not a hair's breadth from that plan of doctrine and polity in the Swedish communion, which had been laid down after God's word by his father, who also by his testament made the kings of Sweden defenders of religion? All negotiations in this matter between the brothers, conducted through the council, remained entirely fruitless. The king ordered the use of his liturgy throughout his dominions; the duke forbade it within his principality, adhered to the kirk's ordinance of the year 1571, supported by his clergy, and gave shelter and office to the persecuted, "because," he writes to the king, "we profess ourselves of the religion by which they hold²." The bishop of Linköping, whom John had deprived, was nominated by Charles pastor of Nyköping. The theologians of Upsala, five of whom, at different times, had been removed and imprisoned on account of the liturgy, enjoyed his protection, and one of them, Peter Jonson, was raised by him to the bishopric of Strengness. To him fled, from John's wrath, the opponents of the liturgy among the preachers of Stockholm; and the most vehement of them, Abraham Angermannus, whom the king was once minded to wrest from the hands of Charles by force, was sent at his cost to Germany, where he published his controversial writings³. Many retracted the assent they had given to the changes in divine worship, since the king's conduct seemed to imperil the whole Protestant cause. Reports were circulated in the country, how the archbishop Laurentius Petri Gothus, and several promoters of the liturgy, had expired amidst agonies of conscience. There were instances of clergymen who fled with wife and children into the principality. In the year 1567 it came nigh the outbreak of a civil war, which was only averted by an accommodation with the king, effected the same year at Vadstena, through the compliance of Charles in almost every point, who yet referred the religious differences to his clergy. These condemned the liturgy in a synod at Strengness. In an objuratory letter the king styles the clergy of the duchy unlearned smatterers, ass-heads, Satanists, and declares them, as the devil's mates, outlaws throughout his dominions⁴.

proceed to Wittenberg, Leipsic, and Helmstadt, and request the opinion of the theologians regarding the liturgy. In a letter of April 13, 1581, the duke approves the good and Christian intent of the clergy of the diocese of Strengness, to send some pious and competent persons to Germany to study, in consideration of the want of learned divines in the kingdom, and the great oppression to which they were subjected for religion's sake. Duke Charles' Reg. 1581.

⁴ Patent against the clergy of the principality, Calmar, Feb. 12, 1588, printed in the Appendix to the Rhyme Chronicle of Charles IX. p. 203. In the articles upon church affairs, which the duke caused to be drawn up at Erebro in 1586, it is ordained that a share of the unappropriated tithes should be applied to the maintenance of students, and

⁹ Compare Fryxell, Stories from the Swedish Annals (Berättelser i Svenska Historien), iv. 71.

¹ Declaration of the king upon the reply of duke Charles to the articles presented to him by the council of state, August, 1586. King John's Registers. May 16, 1588, Charles writes to Hogenskild Bielke: "Although our dear brother privileged well the nobility of this realm, and we were the main helpers thereto, this is yet abused in manifold ways of you and others. Hereof is no word found in the charters of the nobility, that their peasants should contribute not the smallest share to the general weal."

² To John, for the pardon of master Peter Jonson, and master Abraham Angermannus, Oct. 4, 1581. Register of duke Charles for this year.

³ June 2, 1587, Charles writes to master Abraham, to

The Red Book (so John's liturgy was called) undoubtedly accelerated the unhappy fate of Eric; it likewise imparted the most perilous character to the misunderstandings between John and Charles. In the latter, men saw the upholder of the reformation, of the work of Gustavus Vasa; this he was, and his course was conformable. The quarrel that set the brothers at variance, was in truth the same which now tore the world asunder. That John vacillated, was prejudicial only to his own cause, not his brother's, who, as soon as the conflict was transferred to this field, found a basement of independence strong enough to bear that throne, which was destined in aftertime to be the stay of Protestantism in Europe. We now discern the foretokens of an eruption which extended far in all quarters, and determined the fate of Sweden in more than one respect. From one margin to the other this was to swallow up victims enough, yet most surely those who had built their house over the abyss that was now opening.

Notable and ever alike in history is the conduct of those who, without self-dependence, yet seek a point of support in a seeming equipoise between opposites; who, without conviction of their own, live in the practice of chaffering with convictions, take their principles from one side and their conclusions from another, and, as such procedure is devoid of all inner substance, fill up the gap with marvellous figments of their own personal importance. Withal has their conduct the inconsequence necessarily resulting from a false position, and may be described in few words: fair means with bad ends, or fair ends with bad means. Such are the tribe of those by whom revolutions are ripened, and who are stunned at their own handiwork.

What glittering plans did not John sketch out on the false ground he had laid! And not he alone; what did not his council at this time wish and hope for in another direction? Could the magnates abandon the notion of again seeing a Union in Sweden? Hope of the Polish crown had long lived in the breasts of John's family⁵, and was at length fulfilled. The nobles who assisted in its attainment were not so short-sighted as to overlook their own prospective advantages during the absence of a king who was also severed from his countrymen by religion. The old hierarchy was mustering its forces; the old aristocrats stood on the watch to establish, with or against these, their own power anew. Besides, was not Poland an elective monarchy? What if Sweden should become so again? The Poles actually called Sigismund king *nominated* and *elect* of Sweden.

John, changeful and selfish, at once hot-tempered and feeble, at all times allowed his courtiers great influence. Not a year had elapsed since Catharine Jagellonica was consigned to the tomb, when the king, as he himself says, to expel his deep-seated and oppressive sorrows, turned his eyes upon the daughters of his people. His choice ultimately fell upon Gunilla Bielké, a maiden of sixteen, daughter

of the councillor of state John Bielké; and the nuptial was celebrated with pomp (on the 21st February, 1585) at the castle of Westeras. The new consort brought a new influence to bear upon public affairs. The Catholics had lost their stay; the new queen favoured their adversaries⁶, while the king himself, with his accustomed violence, advanced in his own mid-way. Through this connexion he had offended all his kindred. His children by the former marriage, Sigismund and Ann, saw with no good-will the erewhile chamberwoman of their mother advanced to be their queen and step-dame; his sisters declared their annoyance in biting epistles, and received others still sharper in reply; Charles, who had dissuaded from the marriage, was not present at the bridal. The new influence fell in reality to the council and the old families, with whom John now found himself more closely allied.

We observe traces of this influence in the complaints made by Charles relative to "interlopers," and in the suspicious fomented between the brothers, which went so far that John, travelling in 1585 through the principality, made such haste as if he had feared the seizure of his person⁷, and at the instance of the council precluded his son from taking the diversion of the chase, lest Charles might lay an ambush for him⁸. Meanwhile the duke refused to present himself at the congress of Vadstena, in February, 1587, without safe-conduct given, having already declared, that such caution on his part was not to be wondered at, since he was accused of having attempted infringements of the majesty and regalities of the king; an offence with respect to which "history shows, that neither brothers have spared one another, nor parents their children⁹." It was by the strengthening of his connexion with the magnates that John became powerful enough for the moment to dictate laws to his brother, at the congress above-mentioned, in all save religion.

Not less recognizable is this influence in the question touching the election to the Polish crown. The first account of the now favourable prospects, brought by a messenger from the Polish queen dowager, was joyfully received at the court of John, and a Swedish embassy set out to complete the election. In this business the estates of Sweden were never consulted. Duke Charles gave, as requested of him, a renewed engagement, that he would remain true in all cases to Sigismund as the heir of the Swedish throne, and only made reservation for himself, that Estland should not be ceded. The demand of the Poles in relation to this point, the counter-election of the arch-duke Maximilian, whose party it was afterward found necessary to suppress by arms, the fear of committing his only son into the hands of a foreign and turbulent people, all this nevertheless produced so keen an effect at the last moment upon John's susceptibilities, that the Polish envoy, who had come with tidings of the issue of the election, was met by a

choice may fall on the king's majesty's own royal person." Deliberations in king John's time, in the Archives.

⁶ Adversarii Gunilam habuere patronam, ut Catholici prius Cathariam. Messenius, vii. 73.

⁷ Charles complains, in a letter to Sigismund, of this distrustfulness.

⁸ Werwing, i. 55. Charles used to send hunting-dogs to Sigismund.

⁹ Reply to John, Sept. 10, 1575. Registry of Duke Charles.

that the ministers' wives should enjoy the benefices one year after their husbands' death.

⁵ When John himself sought the Polish throne, it is stated in an opinion of the council thereupon, dated Väby, April 14, 1573; "The good lords have thought it advisable not only not to let slip this opportunity, but contrariwise, as far as may be done conveniently, to watch and practise that the

rejection of the proffered crown, to which Sigismund willingly agreed¹. John himself subsequently complained that the council had employed the agency of monks and priests to overcome his reluctance. Eric Sparre's return from Poland at length fully determined his resolves. This nobleman's co-operation decided the matter, in Poland by his promise of Esthonia, in Sweden by his representations that nothing had been promised. He is likewise the author of the "Statutes of Calmar anent the government of both kingdoms²," which on Sigismund's departure were laid before the kings for their subscription, and on the 7th September, 1587, were signed.

This was in truth a new Union of Calmar, under changed circumstances, but not less favourable to the grandees. The spirit of the old northern nobility of princes breaks forth again, and not in the most circumspect phrase. Here it is laid down that to the nobility of Sweden belongs high reverence and honour, seeing that from of old they have possessed the chief rank after kings and princes, of whom they are mostly descended, like as such leaders too have sprung from them;—a reminiscence doubtless intended as a reply to the reproaches of the king's kindred, that John had married beneath his dignity;—wherefore it was to be understood, that many kinds of court-service might be below the rank of nobility, as for instance being employed as guards, lackeys, and the like, which should be interdicted to a Swedish nobleman, even if he offered himself thereto. The object of the Calmar statutes is declared to be the defence of the religion and freedom of the realm (in another sense, certainly, from that which they carried in Charles' blazon) under a Catholic sovereign, reigning likewise in Poland. In respect to the former, John's liturgy is made the rule, with the ulterior provisions which should be settled at a future assembly of the Swedish church. Sigismund was not allowed to effect any change therein, nor ever to come to Sweden with more than ten Catholic clergymen; yet the nuns of Vadstena might have their own Catholic priest, and this convent, in common with the others erected by John, was to be maintained. In other points the ordinary terms of unions appear; peace and alliance (conjointly against Russia both for offence and defence) between the two kingdoms, law and liberty unimpaired in each, and government by natives only. This, after Sigismund should have mounted the Swedish throne, was to be conducted in his absence, and under him when he was present, which was to be at least every third year, by "certain of the chief men," to the number of seven; and it was to be changed every second or third year. One of these duke Charles might name, yet without precedence or other place than that which the person selected had by birth the right of occupying among the others. The duke's rights otherwise remained as they had been lately determined by the ordinance of Vadstena, and the king confirms to him as well as to the counts and free-barons, in consideration

of their taking an oath of fidelity, their hereditary fiefs. The great offices of the realm, as steward, marshal, chancellor, and admiral, as also chiefs of provinces or lieutenants, were to be filled up by the king from lists proposed by the council. The public treasures, jewels, artillery, military stores, were not to be removed out of the country, and as little any portion of the revenue, excepting what might be required for the marriage festivities of the sovereign and his children, according to the Land's Law. No new tax could be imposed in the king's absence. Upon war, peace, and alliances the estates of Sweden were to be heard, and without their approval no injunction or prohibition issued in Poland was to be valid. No Swede could be condemned except in Sweden, and conformably to the Swedish law, and after the matter had been tried before his peers. From Livonia an appeal was to lie to the Swedish council. Of the conquered provinces no part was to be ceded, nor any portion of the territory of the kingdom, and all were placed only under Swedish rule and authority. Revolt in one kingdom might be quieted by aid from the other, with reimbursement of costs. Sigismund was to be crowned in Upsala by a Swedish archbishop, professing the religion of Sweden, not by any Papist. His eldest son succeeded in Sweden according to hereditary right, in Poland when he should be elected; the second son was to have a duchy in Sweden, yet not all Finland, nor Lifland; for other sons the Poles might provide, as for the king's daughters born in Poland. If king John should have children by his second marriage, Sigismund was to confirm those advantages which their father should settle upon them by will. Such are the principal contents of those articles; we may add, that the king is also bound to watch over the purity of the Swedish language. In documents which concern both kingdoms the Latin was to be employed; wherefore the king is also bound to cause to be educated in classical studies, at his own cost, some noble youths of the kingdom, and others who are to be appointed to chanceries and high offices of the church. It is declared that all the foregoing had been accorded, subscribed, and sealed by John, Sigismund, and Charles, with the principal nobles of Sweden; the signatures of the two first-named only are found. In how far Charles was aware of this form of government will soon be seen. The council writes to Sigismund in Poland, February the 8th, 1588, and exhorts him to maintain irrefragably what he had promised and sworn in "the latest constitution" which had been arranged between both kings.

This was the "Sevenmen's Government, after the example of the electors of Germany," which the great Gustavus Adolphus mentions, as devised by certain lords of the council, "who would have been right well content," he says, "if the king had been a spear, and thrust through the body of the duke, whereby they might have been quit of both;" adding, "these fellows too were they, who counselled king John to educate his son for both kingdoms (that was, in the Catholic religion), which made

¹ Ipsemet princeps Sigismundus a Polonica totus abhorruit profectioe, parentique factus aliquoties supplex, illam deprecari conatur. Messenius, vii. 84.

² Statuta Calmariensis de regimine utriusque regni. The Latin original the author has not seen. Charles entitles it, "a form of government, which the Lord Eric Sparre had

drawn up;" (Speech to the Council after John's death, Werwing, 1, 107,) and adds, "our brother and lord the king, who had imagined to himself the creation of a new monarchy, so soon as he could procure for his son the kingdom of Poland along with Sweden, assented to all the plans tending towards this object." Ibid.

him unfit for the government of Sweden³. At this time the family of Gustavus Vasa was both lessened in number and divided within itself. Eric's house was desolate, Magnus deranged, John had yet no children by his second marriage, Sigismund had removed to a foreign dominion. Charles had, in 1579, personally sought a bride for himself in Mary of the Palatinate⁴, whose lovesome memory he highly extols in his Rhyme-Chronicle, as he also named after her the royal manor⁵ where he so often resided with her, and one of his new towns. She resembled in virtues Catharine Jagellonica, and was, like her, a mediatrix in the disputes of the brothers. But of six children whom she bore to him, all died at a tender age, except the daughter Catharine, ancestress of the Palatine house on the Swedish throne. It was amidst such prospects that Charles in 1583 wrote to Sigismund in Poland, enjoining him to marry⁶; there were so few of the Vasa family remaining, not more than three on the sword-side; they ought to keep together; there was a party which of late years had instigated much evil between brothers and kinsmen. He says likewise, that he had heard of a written document, which perhaps somewhat concerned him, as it had been accepted and sealed at the time when Sigismund left Sweden, and he wondered why it should be so concealed from him.

At the same time we see John's disposition undergo a remarkable change. In the beginning of the same year he writes himself to his son, that treasonable plots were rife; that there were some whose secret aim was that the royal line should expire, and the realm be without a king, in order that they might attain possession of the government; that these persons were heard to observe that their forefathers had not acted rightly and wisely with the hereditary settlement. The suspected ringleaders were Hogenskild Bielké, Eric Sparré, Thuré Bielké, Gustave Baner, Claes Akesson Tott, and Count Axel Leyonhufvud, with some others of the nobles. "Of the same opinion respecting them is duke Charles, our dear brother, with whom we are now fully reconciled, which verily doth not well please the others⁷."—We perceive from whom these suspicions emanate. By John they were fostered more out of sorrow for his

separation from Sigismund, of which he now threw the blame upon the council, than out of confidence in Charles. For when the latter ventured to inquire after the purport of the testament which the king is said to have drawn out at this time, and likewise to sequester a portion of the rents of Strömsholm fief, he was met by the most violent reproaches. The king could himself well consider what was behoveful for the realm of Sweden as well in his time as after him, and would counsel his son thereupon at the conference now appointed between them in Reval; for he himself and Sigismund had, praise be to God, the first word in Sweden. "We understood," he continues, "to govern land and principality, when you were but a child, and you shall neither now nor after be our tutor⁸." In general, John's temper became with years intolerable. Already in 1585 the council prays through Sigismund, that his majesty would hear their opinions, without being so prone to anger, desist from the violence wherewith he was carried away, and also from his violent epistles to the duke. The king replies, that he would be glad to yield to their requests, but conceives himself to be "of a choleric complexion and martialist nature, that cannot therefore well endure what is repugnant to him⁹."

It has already been remarked above, that the first theoretical attempts to determine the regalities of the crown in Sweden, proceeding from the magnates and directed against the duke, were still to receive, in John's time, a for them unexpected application. The question was notoriously made use of by others as a means to court-favour, and produced also undoubtedly the so-called statute of Helgeand's Holm, which, pretended to be drawn up by king Magnus Ladulas in common with the council and estates of the realm in 1282, was unknown until the 30th June, 1587, when the bailiff of East-Gothland, Palne Ericson (Rosestrale), gave in not the statute itself, but a memoir thereupon, to the royal chancery¹. According to a manuscript note referred to by Lagerbring, this memoir is said to have been shown to George Person, who had written upon it that it was of no value². Another superscription, said to be by Eric

³ See the fore-cited "History by king Gustavus Adolphus, written with his own hand, upon the reign of Charles IX." (Konung Gustaf Adolfs egenhändig uppsatta historia, angående Caroli IX.'s regementstid.) Bennet Bergius, who published it, together with the Rhyme Chronicle of Charles IX., appended the following testimony: "This foregoing historical relation did the copyist M. Falck, who was afterwards burgomaster in Kexholm, transcribe by command from king Gustavus Adolphus' own manuscript, some years before the unhappy castle-burning (1676)." S. Lejonmark Secret. Archiv.

⁴ Daughter of Ludovic VI. Elector Palatine, and his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Philip the Magnanimous landgrave of Hesse. The duke in person wooed and affianced himself during his first journey to Germany in 1578; the second he undertook in 1579, when he celebrated his marriage on the 11th May in Heidelberg. He repaired thither once more with his spouse in 1583.

⁵ Marieholm:

"After our Lady was the pious princess called;
The Wiener not a better haven walled."

There Charles in 1583 founded Mariestad, the seat of the superintendent or bishop, whom in 1580 he named over Vermeland and the hundreds of Wadsbo and Walla.

⁶ To Sigismund with Maurice Stenson Lejonhufvud. Örebro, July 9, 1588. Registry of duke Charles.

⁷ To Sigismund upon the treason of the council. Calmar, Jan. 30, 1588. King John's Registry.

⁸ To duke Charles, "upon the government after us in Sweden, and upon the sequestration of a portion of the rents of the hundreds of Tuhundra and Svafringe." Svartsioe, June 12, 1589. Registry of king John.

⁹ Deliberations in king John's time, in the Archives.

¹ The statement as to the time when the memoir was composed, is taken from an inscription on the document, running thus: "Palne Ericson's imagined information, which he delivered in upon the last day of June, 1587, to the royal chancery and chamber of accounts at Norköping." Diplomatarium Suec. i. 106.

² Dissert de decreto comitali, vulgo Helgeandsholms Beslut. Lond. Goth. (Lund) 1753. Compare his Svea Rikes Historia ii. 587. Probably, however, this note (which, if I recollect right, is said to have been in the hand of Hogenskild Bielké,) is a mistake, as it purports that Palne Ericson (of whom mention is first made in king John's time) is said to have beforehand shown the memoir upon the statute of Helgeandsholm to George Person, wherefore also Lagerbring doubts whether the allusion here was to the well-known George Person of the days of Eric XIV.

Sparre, purports that it had been presented with falsities by one who was the chief of liars³. If these judgments be really theirs, then in the very outset we have two men of opposite parties, both competent judges, agreeing in that conclusion to which we have been led upon historical grounds. We refer to what has been already remarked in the narrative of that reign to which this statute is ascribed⁴. According to some, Rasmus Ludvicsen was the inventor of this discovery⁵. If the intention was to consecrate by antiquity the new maxims asserted in the time of Gustavus I., this object, notwithstanding the suspected source, was obtained; for in this sense the statute of Helgeands Holm was often enough appealed to in after-days. But he who brought it to light, had likewise private views of his own. In an appendix to his memoir, the author inveighs very zealously against the construction by the nobility of mills and fish-weirs in the great streams of the country, which, according to this alleged statute, should escheat to the crown⁶; and a saying was current, that a suit brought by Palme Ericson relative to a fishery in the Bra bay, had been the proximate inducement to this discovery in the history of the kingdom⁷.

King John had before upheld the pretensions advanced by his father to mines and forests. In the year 1584 the council refers it to him to pronounce whether, when there were more veins of ore than his majesty could work, the same, as also the woods, might not be let out to foreigners, in consideration of a payment of tithe to the crown. The king rejoins, that he would himself make available all the veins of ore already found; those which should be further opened, might be let upon tithe, until he found it convenient again to enter upon his rights⁸. These rights the king exercised, as for instance in 1575, in reference to Bitsberg, "anciently the principal" iron-mountain in the kingdom, where the miners are forbidden to break up the ore in the lesser pits which should be opened there; on the other hand, the works were to be carried on in the greater mine, and the unlicensed forges to be suppressed. Duke Charles complains in 1581 that John had forbidden him to work a mine at Nora, which he had bought⁹; and he forms an alliance

with the industry of private persons in his duchy. In the above year he wrote to the commoners of Vermeland: "Seeing that the bounty of God Almighty has replenished the mountains of Vermeland with all sorts of ores, such as have never hitherto been brought to light, but rather peradventure kept hidden there by our subjects, in the fear never to be allowed to make profit of such ore, and to be loaded with burdensome taxes; therefore, and to take away such apprehensions, be it known to all, that whosoever discovers ore, may freely bring it to light for a payment of tithe¹." The same maxims he followed in respect to woods, as is plain from his patent to those who wish to settle in the wastes of Vermeland, to hold their settlements descendible to their heirs, but subject to land-tax². For the profitable cultivation of this province, Charles, after that king whom the saga makes first here to lay the axe to the root, merits the highest praise, and especially he is the real creator of its mines. The Finns of Vermeland were called in by him as colonists. The lathe of Carlskoga (Charles' forest), formerly a waste, where on the strand of Lake Möckeln scattered cattle-steading were the only places of refuge, still bears his name. Carlstad³, the first town in Vermeland, was built by him, and a hundred years after his death, the old people of the country still named him the great Charles. He early showed that care for general education, which he afterwards as king was to restore on the ground of Protestantism. What John in this respect intended and partly accomplished, was all united with the hierarchical plans peculiar to himself, and fell with them to ruin. Of the liberal arts this king was the first protector in Sweden. Several foreign artists, especially architects, were at his court; he built incessantly, and, as his subjects complained, at far too great a cost.

Of the progress of industry, on the other hand, not much in his time is to be told. The produce of the silver mines fell off, and first began again to rise towards the end of his reign. The king complains of the extensive frauds in the preparation of copper, bar-iron, and raw-iron, which hence was little esteemed by foreigners⁴. He complains still oftener of the depreciation of the coinage, while he

⁸ Deliberations in king John's time. Archives.

⁹ Registry for this year.

³ Lagerbring l. c. Diplomat. Succ. i. 607.

⁴ Compare c. iv.

⁵ Palme Ericson, or Rasmus Ludvicsen, says Peringsköld. See Lillegren's Diplomat. l. c. Peringsköld otherwise defends the authenticity of the statute, but relies upon another letter which bears all the marks of forgery.

⁶ "But since the alien sovereigns came in, the baronage and nobles began to found mills and fisheries on the before-mentioned three streams, and then to arrogate to themselves the same rights which the crown should possess. . . . And the crown was hereby endamaged, and its rents impaired up to this day, inasmuch as the Swedish rulers would take no step hereupon." Diplomat. l. c. The Swedish text shows that Palme Ericson could never write his mother-tongue as a man of education at that day wrote it.

⁷ The inducement to Palme Ericson's discovery, with the memoir upon the statute of Helgeands Holm, was that he, as a man of office in East-Gothland, laid down a fish-weir in the Bra bay, whereupon, complaint being made, he put forward his fabricated memoir to the effect that forests, ore-pits, streams, as also the Bra bay, appertain to the crown. Observation by bishop Nordin in the Nordin Collections. Messenius, who wrote after the assertion had produced its effect, is the first historiographer who mentions the statute of Helgeands Holm, unknown to all his fore-runners.

¹ Nyköping, Jan. 23. Duke Charles' Reg. for 1581. (*Tionde*, tithe, *tiend*. T.)

² Tingvalla, Nov. 2, 1582. Reg.

³ Privileged on Tingvalla Island, March 5, 1584, with two great fairs for all the inhabitants, Petersmass in summer, and the "Fasting" on the second Sunday in Lent, with trade to the mines of Vermeland and lake Vener, which was to be carried on only in Varnums Port, afterwards Christinehamn. In 1589, the duke appointed Andrew Laurencson rector of the school of Carlstad, as he also devoted particular care to the schools of Strenghness, Nyköping, and Mariestad. As king, in 1611, he privileged the mining town of Philipstad. So early as 1581, Charles gives order that the people might assemble for traffic every other Saturday by the hill-church of Fernebo. Before the foundation of Carlstad, the duke intended to build a town in the parish of Bro in Vermeland, and assigned thereto (Jan. 14, 1582) fields and meadows, with the Isle of Wal in the Wener. Reg.

⁴ In Finspang there was already a manufactory, where spades, pick-axes, and other coarser implements were prepared: Sigismund obtained for his Polish journey 800 skip-punds of copper; a portion of the Danish cannon, which by the peace of Stettin were to be redeemed, was paid for with iron.

himself often altered the value of his gold and silver coins. He re-introduced the need-money notorious at the outset of the reign of Gustavus and under that of Eric, cut with the shears, and therefore called *klippings*, which were indeed called in during the year 1575, but in 1589 again brought into circulation. By repeated prohibitions against the land-trade it was thought to encourage the towns, the nobles having in fact possessed themselves of it by making great purchases of the country wares, often in the name of the crown, and sending them by the country people to the sea-coast, where they were bartered for cargoes of foreign goods afterwards distributed in the same way throughout the country. These practices, it was said, were common among councillors of state, prefects, lieutenants, justiciaries, and others, who had command among the rural population⁵. To this it gave little relief that the king sought to promote the welfare of the burgher class by ordinances against luxury, at last so stringent, that on the 27th May, 1589, he imposed on every burgher who indulged his female relatives with silk kirtles and satin gorgets, the obligation of maintaining one pikeman for every piece of such cloth⁶.

Generally there is observable as much disorder and want of economy throughout the kingdom, as industry, sagacity, and frugality in the duchy. In 1585 the council found itself obliged to make representations to the king. In his household and on his estates they declare there is intolerable excess of eating and drinking; for of pages, lackeys, out-riders, footmen, and other loose people, who with wife and children follow the court and lay a heavy burden on the land, there is no end; in the receipt of taxes is no order, in the accounts nothing is clear; in Finland no exact system of assessment is yet applied, and the admeasurement begun in the rest of the kingdom is not carried out⁷; the servants of the king, duke Charles, and also of the nobility, follow civic vocations, to the detriment of the towns; the king keeps too many architects, and at too great cost, although the crown already possesses stately mansions enow; in the distribution of fiefs great frauds are practised, and many unworthy holders thereof might be mentioned; withal, the council prays, that the disorders committed may have a remedy, and that the king may not himself annul his own commands⁸. John took these representations in no good part. According to his notion the rights of the crown must first be enforced, as he showed by the declaration, that he was compelled by the preparations requisite with a view to war, to revoke all grants of fiefs made to the nobility, whether in or out of the council. These menaces⁹, first uttered in 1584, were renewed in 1586 and 1588, and at length carried into effect

against the lords of the council, who fell into complete disgrace at the conference of the two sovereigns in Reval.

Longing for a sight of his son, disgust and impatience of the business of administration, embittered more and more the king's temper; yet he wished more than ever, out of displeasure against the council, that it should be said he alone governed. This desire was so engrossing that he carried about his person the key of the royal treasury, and not even a letter-carrier could be despatched unless the king disbursed the money thereto¹. Yet at this very time complaint was made, that what had been collected for the army was squandered on buildings and costly vessels of plate. The government fell really into the hands of subordinates and adventurers, and around the king rose up that government of secretaries which afterwards became notorious enough in Sweden under arbitrarily disposed rulers. George Person may be named the father of this tribe; and his son Eric Göranson Tegel², with all the merits to which he may lay claim for his services to Swedish history, was not very different in character. Men like John Henrysson and Olave Swerkerson³ afterwards acquired, in these times of bloody and tedious discord in the royal family, a mournful influence and a shameful notoriety.

Towards the autumn of 1588 the rumour went of a conference fixed between John and Sigismund for the following summer at Reval. Trusty messengers passed to and fro between the princes; of the councillors none were admitted into the secret save Clas Flenning, who had gained John's good graces once for all by giving advice against the journey of Sigismund to Poland. The others named him therefore an untrue broker, and in vain sought from the royal secretaries an explanation as to that which was really in progress. It was publicly said in Sweden as well as Poland that the kings would conjointly endeavour the conclusion of a peace with Russia; and John already issued in November, 1588, and repeated in the spring of 1589, (no mention of participation either by the council or the estates being made,) summonses to the whole realm, for a general war-tax in wares, and for an impost under the name of a voluntary loan. He likewise exacted from the nobility the full performance of the conditions of their knight-service; admonishing them that it would well befit them to extend it beyond its legal obligation, as the king himself, in his old age, meant to venture his person against the enemy, and compel them to an honourable peace. The council assembled about the king in Upsala, conjectured some other "especial and singular reasons" why his majesty should so vehe-

⁵ See the prohibition hereof, issued in 1583, and the king's answer to the remonstrances of the council in Reval.

⁶ The old dress of the burghess dames with "gorget, cap, and hood with a cornet, and a plained gown of good cloth," the king on the other hand does not disapprove. The prohibition above quoted refers to what was called the noble garb.

⁷ May 30, 1584, an ordinance had been promulgated for a new ground-reckoning and assignment of taxes, as the public income ever more and more decreased. Registry.

⁸ Deliberations in king John's time. Archives.

⁹ See the Registry for the above-named year. That even in 1590 they were not executed, we may learn by duke

Charles' answer of the same year to the points of complaint presented by the council and nobility at Reval: the king, he says, cannot manage with his revenues, because land and fiefs are alienated from the crown; and where not so much is granted in fief, more has been alienated in perpetuity by the crown than under any former reign. Appendix to Werwing, i. 76, 78.

¹ Eric Sparre's Vindictory Memoir, pt. ii. MS. in the Nordin Collections.

² Who wrote the histories of Gustavus I. and Eric XIV. TRANS.

³ Also called Olave Perkelson, (Perkel means *devil* in Finnish,) and Olave Vendekapa or turncoat. John Henrysson has been mentioned before.

mently insist upon this design, and now drew out the representations which were afterwards delivered at Reval⁴. For the moment the councillors confined themselves to dissuasion of the journey and the preparations of war, since the truce with the Russians was not yet at an end—since a two years' scarcity had exhausted the country—and since the plague, which during this reign had several times visited the kingdom⁵, was now raging in Finland and Lifland. But John replied angrily, that he looked upon all dissuasion as treachery, yea, that he would go to Lifland to see his son, though the people should fall like the grass of summer before the scythe. The preparations were hastened; the king however was by far too impatient to wait for the troops, (a great proportion of whom first met him upon his return,) embarked at Stockholm on the 3d July during a violent thunder-storm, with his queen, a new-born son⁶, the principal councillors, and such forces as could be gotten together,—and was at length obliged to wait several weeks in Reval for Sigismund.

After Sigismund's arrival, that which the council had previously divined became the general talk of the day. It was related as certain that the kings would both come to Sweden, and that Sigismund would not return to Poland. John himself only acknowledged that he wished to conduct his son home to be crowned in Sweden. It is credible that he at the same time intended to cede the government to him, (an author well-informed on this period⁷ says that this was his wish,) which would then constitute a pressing ground for Sigismund to remain in Sweden⁸. The Polish councillors had already spoken with their prince in Wilna relative to a rumour of this kind⁹; those of Sweden represent this purpose as fixed, and the violent methods at which they grasped to defeat it show that they did not consider themselves struggling against a merely imaginary danger. The kings spent a month with one another, during which the Polish lords of the council complained to John against Sigismund¹; the Swedish, on the other hand, complained to Sigismund against John, and bloody discords often broke out between the Poles and Swedes. With the beginning of September came accounts of the irruption of the Tartars into Poland, in consequence of which the Polish nobles who were on the spot pressed immediately for the departure of Sigismund. On the other side the Swedish council prepared to lay before John the representations already determined upon in Upsala; and on his refusing access to the lords they delivered the memorial to Sigismund. It repeats in part the remonstrances already made

against John's government, and paints in the blackest colours the condition of Sweden: it behoved their majesties to take to heart the distress of their subjects; this had now, after a war of eight-and-twenty years, advanced to such a pitch, that the kingdom could yield nothing more; besides the tax of the tenth penny in several years², the people had almost yearly to pay first the great food-tax, then three or four aids, money besides, with much conveyance-service and many days' work, most of it imposed without compact and consent, though the law required it, but by chamberlains and clerks of the kitchen. During the hard time of the three last years many persons, horses, and cattle had perished of hunger; many a family had by the rigorous yearly levies lost three or four sons. Alleviation of these burdens had been often enough promised, but never performed; the ill-managed and profuse housekeeping, devoid of order and obedience, the great buildings, castles, and churches, enhanced the poverty of the people,—so that where meadows and fields had been before, great forests now rankly grew, and where formerly in many a year weleful yeomen had dwelt, there they now roamed with the beggar's staff and bag; of the towns the third part lay waste; among the clergy dissensions reigned regarding the liturgy; the army was without pay, abandoned to hunger and nakedness in a foreign land, and was disgusted with the war. Peace was the first necessity of the kingdom, wherefore it must now be concluded with Russia, as the enemy was inclined to it. This representation came in the name of the council, and with it another from the council, nobility, and generals conjointly, the result of a deliberation held in the cathedral of Reval. They had heard, they said, that king Sigismund purposed relinquishing the crown of Poland and following his father to Sweden; this would be against the letter, honour, and truth of the kings; it was indeed a thing not unheard of, that aforetime divers great rulers had renounced the sceptre, yet they had acted openly; but of such a shameful desertion of realm and country king Henry³ alone had given an example, which, like all else he had done, were better avoided than followed; if Sigismund abandoned his throne in like manner, Sweden would undoubtedly have, besides war with Russia, war with Poland to expect. Such stubborn and endless hostility Sweden at this time was not powerful enough to stand out; and out of it would spring a coldness in the subjects towards both kings, or, what were yet worse, mischiefs might spring up in

⁴ Eric Sparré, l. c. He is himself manifestly the author of the representations both of the council and the army, which will be mentioned afterwards.

⁵ Namely, in 1572, when Dr. Lemnius caused to be printed a tract "concerning pestilences; how every man should conduct himself," dedicated to duke Charles, in 1576, according to the Swedish Medicine-Book published in 1578 by Dr. Benedict Olavson; in 1580, when the University of Upsala was closed on account of it, and in the years 1588, 1589, 1590.

⁶ Prince John, born April 18, 1589.

⁷ *Animo habuit constitutum domi forisq. pace confecta regni gubernaculum illi tradere, et ipsemet vitam Upsalæ privatam agere; quo decreverat detestissimos undequoque viros ad functionem ibi academicam convocare, rerumque quotidianus inspector, summus cancellarius et director fieri constituerat.* Messenius, vii. 77.

⁸ Messenius, vii. 9, 5, and Typotius in his *Relat. Hist. de Regno Sueciæ*, printed in 1606, and *Egidius Girs* in his *Chronicle*, speak of a design to procure the Polish crown for the arch-duke Ernest, and to marry him to Sigismund's sister Anne.

⁹ Eric Sparré, l. c.; he had heard this from Sigismund himself.

¹ These complaints relate partly to the execution of the articles of election, partly to Sigismund's foreign body-guard, and the influence which strangers possessed over him. The Latin speech of the Polish senators to John in Reval is found in Eric Sparré, l. c.

² For the making good the ransom-money of Elfsborg, which was to be paid to Denmark according to the peace of Stettin.

³ Henry of Valois, in 1573 king of Poland, which he quitted after four months in order to ascend the French throne.

the kingdom⁴; for the rest, their majesties might be assured of the fidelity of the lords, and that they would not spare their blood or lives for the defence of Sigismund's hereditary right to the throne of Sweden. This paper has sixty-one names subscribed; among which are those of all the councillors present except Clas Fleming. As these representations appeared to produce no effect, and even a new memorial by the council to John received only this answer communicated by Olave Swerkerson, "that they must obey, or provide themselves with another king," the body of officers repaired to the castle, and laid down their standards before the two kings' windows, with an oath never to take arms in their defence if they would expose Sweden needlessly to so many foes. The Poles on their side were not sparing of menaces. Hogenskild Bielké, whom John had left as lieutenant in Stockholm, wrote that duke Charles had begun to excite disturbances in Sweden. Sigismund tore himself on the 30th September from the arms of his father, and John, having despatched plenipotentiaries to negotiate with the Russians, passed to his ships through councillors who had long fruitlessly waited his departure, and an army clamorous for peace and food,—gloomy, silent, and wrathful at heart.

Returned home, he found that duke Charles had remained quiet, and that Hogenskild Bielké's allegation was groundless. Reconciliation of the brothers followed, induced by several representations on John's side, among which one is notable; that they should by no means permit the council of state and nobility, who had besides shown a hankering for Polish and other similar foreign privileges, to press for any further accession of power⁵. Charles was replaced in possession of all his rights in the principality, and assumed in fact the government of the kingdom, the charges of which, however, he was obliged himself to defray. He applied thereto a great portion of the maternal heritage of his infant daughter, pledged his jewels, obtained a loan from his sister the duchess of Mecklenburg, and had at one and the same time not only to collect the means, but also to prevent the king from squandering the funds destined for the purchase of military stores. John, who acknowledged that more was now accomplished by Charles in three days than formerly in as many months, interested himself with little else than his own grudges against the council, which he now constantly styled in public acts "the realm's un-rede." Eric Sparré, Thuré and Hogenskild Bielké, Gustave and Steno Baner, with Clas Tott (who had already fallen under suspicion), had drawn on themselves his especial disfavour. His commands were issued that theiriefs should be sequestered, that none of them should be admitted into the royal castles, and on their return from Livonia, where nevertheless Gustave Baner remained in command, they were called to Stockholm to make answer for what the king styled "the revolt in Reval." The lords would not admit that they had transgressed the duty of subjects therein, whilst the king made this

the condition of the pardon for which they sued. That they had from inadvertency offended the king in sundry matters, for which they prayed forgiveness, was the only confession to which they could be moved, whereupon they were allowed to retire to their estates. They had, however, secretly drawn up and subscribed a protest against their own declaration, purporting that they had committed no crime for which they needed to beg forgiveness, and had even applied to duke Charles to ascertain whether they might reckon upon his protection. Doubtless this was one of the causes why the subject was again taken up before the estates, convoked at the beginning of the year 1590.

These guaranteed anew the hereditary right to the crown, first to Sigismund, next to the young duke John, who was to receive Finland for a principality, and then, in the event of his death without male issue, to duke Charles, and, after extinction of the whole male line, to the princesses of the royal family. For what related to the arraigned lords of the council, the nobility declared that they, as faithful adherents of the hereditary settlement, would completely cut off the said lords from their body, unless they could defend themselves upon sufficient grounds, to which declaration the remaining estates gave their assent. The charges now turned not only on the transactions in Reval, but on an imputed design of annulling the hereditary settlement. In his prolix answer to the complaints of the council John says, that the lords had entertained the intention of governing after his death in the name of the weak-minded duke Magnus. Charles on the other hand, in his *Rhyme Chronicle*, alleges that they meant to commit the semblance of supreme power to Sigismund's sister, the princess Anne. Neither of these supposed projects can be substantiated by proof. A letter from Eric Sparré to his father-in-law, the old count Peter Brahe, on the occasion of the Calmar Statutes passed in 1537, is said to have expressed hopes of the restoration of an elective monarchy in Sweden⁶; for which indeed these statutes offer grounds enough. But how should these be made the subject of an accusation, seeing that they had been accepted and confirmed by John himself?—With more reason might Charles complain of them. Thus he was hardly reconciled to the king when he made a demand of "the written Latin act, which had been acceded to in Calmar ere Sigismund quitted the kingdom," whereof Hogenskild Bielké had the custody. The duke reiterated this demand with the menace "that the king's majesty's keys were now delivered to him," and that he would use force if the document were not given up voluntarily. "For your announcement," he writes, "that these statutes embrace much profitable matter, it is little warranted; and how beneficial soever they might seem, yet such affairs as concern the general weal ought not to be discussed and disposed of secretly by three or four persons, (and that in a foreign language,) but this should have been done on the well-considered

⁵ To duke Charles, upon certain affairs of 1589, after the return from Reval. Registry.

⁴ In the accusation before the estates, and in their declaration hereby produced, it is said the lords had employed the following expressions: "to bar the kingdom against both their majesties." The expressions quoted in the text are as they are found in Werwing, Appendix 29, and in Eric Sparré's Defensive Memoir.

⁶ Messenius, vii. 86. Eric Sparré begins his own defensive memoir with a long proof, that however it might have been said that an elective monarchy was as good as a hereditary, yet this did not imply the abolition of the one and restoration of the other, since there was a great difference between word and deed.

advice and consent of Us and the Estates of the Realm ?” In like fashion he requested from Eric Sparré “his copious memoir upon the king’s regalities and the rights of the princes⁷” which had been read in 1587 before the king at Vadstena; and the conditions which John dictated to the duke at this congress were also laid by way of charge upon the lords. Their trial, if we may give that name to a proceeding devoid of all the forms of law, lasted above two years, their endurance being tried by imprisonment, threats, and demands of explanations, which the king never found satisfactory, and which, as Eric Sparré more than once secretly protested against what he had publicly admitted, appear to have been not very sincere. Charles at length pardoned them, and effected a kind of reconciliation between John and count Axel Leyonhufvud, though in the draught of the king’s will he is named among those of the councillors who were unworthy of any confidence.

The king’s bitterness against the council continued, and was vented in expressions heretofore unheard of in Sweden. In the answer to the representations in Reval he says, that in future, as hitherto, he would reign as an “absolute king.” A new oath, to the effect “that no one should disapprove or speak against it, if the king found it good to follow his own counsel,” was proposed to the new councillors, who filled the places of the deprived lords⁸. Towards the accused he was the more inexorable, as they were really a sacrifice for many. Vain were the intercessions of their wives and connexions, and of Sigismund himself. “For the behoof of his father-land,” wrote the latter (on the 14th August, 1590), he had accepted the crown of Poland; as he had not been able to attain this object, and must be rather an injury than a help to Sweden in the war against Russia, he had been and still was willing to renounce his throne in Poland. He now understood, that the disgrace with which his father had visited the chief lords of Sweden had its foundation therein, that they had dissuaded his departure from Reval. Even were they not altogether guiltless, yet should his majesty let grace stand for law, and ponder, how grievously it would fall out for his son to come into a government, where widows and orphans, in part not distantly related to the royal house, would cry vengeance upon him as the author of their woes⁹. In another letter he requests to know how he was to deal with the Russian envoy, who had come to Poland. To this John replied: that he would grant peace to the grand duke, if he “would cast his head before him², inquire by an embassy the conditions which the king would dictate, and cease to call himself lord of all the Russias, since a portion of Russia belonged to Sweden.”

It was while the government of Kexholm and Ingermanland had been again lost, while Finland was laid waste, and a Swedish force of 20,000

men³ was fighting against a Russian of more than 100,000 in Estland, that John held this language. This Russian inroad, which fell out in the winter of 1590, ensued upon the breaking off of the negotiations commenced after the meeting in Reval. The Czar came himself with his whole army. Gustave Baner, lieutenant in Livonia, retired out of Ingermanland, and on his march neglected to reinforce Narva, where the heroic Charles Henryson Horn withstood siege and storm by the whole Russian force, with so small a garrison that at last he had but four hundred men in a serviceable condition. Narva was not taken, and Estland was saved by a convention, in virtue of which Horn obtained the retreat of the Czar, for the cession of Ivangorod (or the so-called Russian Narva), and Koporie, with free quitance for the Swedish garrisons. Kexholm was left to further negotiations. For this was Horn, together with Baner, recalled, thrown into prison, and declared a traitor by the king, who could not forgive him for having subscribed the remonstrance at Reval. In Estland the troops were so weary of the tedious war, that they inclined finally to make peace for themselves. Sigismund actually concluded peace for Poland, and stipulated at the same time a truce of a year’s duration for Sweden. This had the effect of incensing John, who said that neither his son nor his brother should be his guardian, and ordered the continuation of the war. For the rest, new levies in Sweden, mutinies of the troops from defect of pay, appointment and deprivation of commanders (Charles himself went over to Livonia for a short time in 1590), mutual devastation, and on the Swedish side occasionally successful feats of arms, were the chief features of this war during the last two years of John’s life. Charles Henryson Horn demanded and obtained inquiry and judgment. His defence, which he was refused permission to reduce to writing, although he declared that he was sick and weak from imprisonment, and “a man with few gifts of the tongue,” was full of magnanimity. One error he acknowledged, hoping it would be overlooked; that he had allowed Gustave Baner, who after had left him without relief, to take too many troops from Narva; he had so often with few soldiers beaten the Russians, and held them not then more formidable than in 1577 at Reval, which himself and his father defended against 50,000 men. The 20th February 1591, on the anniversary of the assault of Narva, he was condemned to death, but was kept in confinement for another year, and at length pardoned on the place of execution. To obtain grace from the long implacable king, the prayers of prince John, who was yet a child, had been employed. When Charles succeeded to power, Horn again received the government of Livonia. He had grown up in this war by the side of his father, old Henry Horn, who was able to pride himself on this son and on a nephew like Clas Christerson Horn⁴. Charles had

⁷ To Hogenskild Bielké, Feb. 10 and 20, 1590. Reg.

⁸ Namely the treatise, *Pro rege, lege, et grege*. Letter to Eric Sparré, Feb. 28, 1590. Reg.

⁹ Fryxell, from documents in the Archives, IV. 103, 125.

¹ Werwing, i. 95.

² Id. 98. An oriental mark of subjection, by touching the earth with the forehead. Ivan Wasiliewitz II., as cowardly as he was cruel, performed it in 1571 before the envoys of the Khan of Crim Tartary, after the latter had taken and burned Moscow. Karamsin, viii. 149.

³ So the Russian account. Karamsin, ix. 175. Probably the numbers are too large, although yet grosser exaggerations respecting the Russian army are found in their chronicles. These state it at 300,000 men; while the Swedish chronicle of Ægidius Girs speaks, it is true, of 100,000 Russians, but says, that the Czar first appeared before Jamgorod in Ingermanland with but 30,000.

⁴ The High Admiral Clas Christerson Horn, who in Eric’s time commanded the Baltic with the Swedish fleet, was a

four sons, all distinguished men, and among them Gustave Horn, the youngest and greatest. There was more than one Swedish family which in this time bore such offspring. Already they foreshadowed the days of the mighty Gustavus Adolphus.

Charles had wedded a second time at Nyköping, August 22, 1592, with Christina of Holstein⁵. This drew upon him the king's disfavour, and old suspicions were again awakened. Sigismund had intended to woo the bride of Charles before his departure to Poland, and already sent her his portrait and valuable presents, when the negotiation was broken off. She was a princess of harsh temper, and is said, at an after-day, as the consort of Charles, not to have promoted concord between him and his nephew⁶. In spring of the same year John was brought low by a wasting malady. On his sick-bed he again withdrew the pardon he had granted to the lords of the council. He declared also that if God should prolong his life, he would never again constrain any man in matters of faith, as the liturgy had occasioned so much disturbance and scandal. This was his last answer to the representations of the clergy of Smaland. Half a year after his death, his liturgy was preserved only in the chapel of the queen dowager Gunilla.

King John died in the castle of Stockholm, on the 17th November 1592, in his fifty-fifth year. His death was for some time kept secret. The queen was suspected of having in the mean time appropriated whatever of the property left she wished for. Much was missed on search being had; but she pleaded in defence John's letter of bequeathment. The king had besides enjoined that no account should be demanded of her⁷. Duke Charles first brought sorrow, and wrath alike, into the royal castle⁸. The body which had been carried into an ill-arrayed chamber, he caused to be wrapped in a sumptuous vestment, and watched in one of the chief halls of the castle. The queen, together with the councillors of state Clas Bielke and George Possé, who had been present during the king's last moments, was obliged to endure sharp upbraidings. They had delayed for two days informing the duke of the royal demise, though he was but three hours' distance from the capital⁹. He forthwith commanded the queen to remove, who however did not give obedience, and even in the following year we find complaints by Charles respecting the crowd of useless mouths which were subsisted in the castle.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHARLES AGAINST SIGISMUND.

PROCEEDINGS OF DUKE CHARLES AND THE COUNCIL OF STATE IN THE ABSENCE OF SIGISMUND. ASSEMBLY OF THE CLERGY AT UPSALA; MEASURES TOUCHING THE LITURGY AND DOCTRINE. PROMISES OF SIGISMUND. FEARS AS TO HIS ADMISSION. HIS ARRIVAL IN STOCKHOLM. DIET OF UPSALA. ACCEPTANCE BY THE KING OF THE CONDITIONS PROPOSED TO HIM. CHARTER TO THE NOBILITY. INTRIGUES OF THE COURT, AND DISORDERS IN THE CAPITAL. DISAFFECTION TO THE KING; HIS DEPARTURE. CONVOCAION OF THE ESTATES BY DUKE CHARLES AT SÖDERKÖPING. DIET OF ARBOGA. HOSTILITIES BETWEEN SIGISMUND AND CHARLES. TREATY OF LINKÖPING. DECREE OF THE ESTATES AT STOCKHOLM AGAINST SIGISMUND; CHARLES DECLARED HEREDITARY PRINCE REGNANT.

A. D. 1592—1598.

THE man who could have promised, writes Eric Sparré, out of his own prison¹, that a prince who was born in a dungeon under a tyrannical government², should once be king over two monarchies, might well have expected another guerdon than they have obtained, who are now accused of having played into his hands the crown of Poland. With hope of this, we are told, he was nurtured from his infancy; with this his parents sweetened the days of their captivity. Therefore he was educated in the Catholic faith, although John gave him also Lutheran instructors for appearance' sake, and attended with him the public services of the church³. When his father changed his opinions, he essayed

son of Christian Horn, the brother of Henry, and ancestor of the Horns of Aminne, as Henry was of the Horns of Kaukas.

⁵ Daughter of Adolphus, duke of Holstein Gottorp, by Christina, daughter of the landgrave Philip of Hesse.

⁶ Werwing. The proposition of marriage above mentioned came from Sigismund's aunt, the duchess Elizabeth of Mecklenburg, who herself subsequently advised against it.

⁷ See what duke Charles calls "The Prelude to the King's Testament," Stiernman, i. 385. That testament in relation to the government after his death, which the king had reserved to himself to draw up, was not found.

⁸ Regis tectis luctum induxit. Messenius.

⁹ Nov. 16. A day before the death, the duke writes to the

by threats to compel his son to defection from his mother's faith, and the council also made representations in this respect to the royal children⁴. The princess Anne was induced to renounce her religion; Sigismund not only remained true to his, but reckoned it an honour not to calculate the consequences of his zeal for its doctrines.

That which in Sweden is called his reign, shows us but the complete outbreak of those troubles, for which the preceding must be held accountable. John had been untrue to all those principles, to which the house of Vasa owed its elevation. This his son was to atone for by the loss of his crown,

council from Nyköping, that he had understood from their letters the very weak state of the king, and would take the road for the capital. On the journey he stayed at Södertelje, as would seem, to wait for further intelligence; but it was delayed for two days.

¹ In his defensive memoir.

² Sigismund was born during the imprisonment of his parents in the castle of Gripsholm, June 20, 1566.

³ On the other hand, when Arnold Grothusen, who, after the Catholic doctor Nicolaus Mylonius, was Sigismund's teacher, once ventured to lead the prince away from the Catholic mass, John drew his sword over his head, exclaiming, "Educabis filium meum in spem utriusque regni!" Werwing.

⁴ Messenius.

while Charles, in struggling with the perils which menaced his country, was to win supreme power.

Gustavus Vasa had founded his structure on the Reformation. If John had already undermined this foundation, what was there that might not be feared from a king who was so devoted to the Jesuits, that his father at last conjured him, though vainly, to beware of those fathers, "who were accustomed to keep one foot in the pulpit and the other in the council-room⁵." In Rome too not a little was expected from his zeal. So early as 1537, at the election to the Polish throne, pope Sixtus V. expressed his hope, that Sigismund would subdue not only the Polish but the Swedish heretics⁶.

Charles had in fact conducted the government of Sweden for the last two years. It was natural that it should remain with him for the present, since John had expired without having made any dispositions in this respect. By letters of the 24th November 1592, which the duke forwarded by his own servants, Sigismund was informed of the death of his father, and also that Charles and the council had assumed the government until the king's arrival. The duke solicits his mediation in the negotiations opened with Russia, and adds, "As the Poles without doubt will now seek to gain possession of the Swedish portion of Livonia, we have written to the commanders there to embrace no Polish offers, ere they have advised us and the council thereof." He begs Sigismund to take this in good part. For the conduct of the war no means were to be found, since neither gold nor money appeared in the effects left by the deceased king, of which an inventory should be sent as far as the duke's knowledge reached. Thereupon followed, on the 23th November, summonses to the deprived councillors to repair to the duke, who, after some dealing with them, ratified the forgiveness which he had a year and a half before promised to them. They then re-entered upon the exercise of their offices, and received back their fiefs. In general Charles set at liberty all who were confined on account of the liturgy or political causes⁷. Meanwhile a letter arrived from Sigismund, transferring the government of the kingdom to the duke, until he was himself able to visit his paternal dominions, and a copy of this letter was annexed to the proclamation which Charles caused to be spread throughout the country. So far all appeared good; for even the reconciliation with the accused lords of the council pleased the king well. He issued afterwards a public declaration of their entire innocence⁸, wherewith the duke, however, was little content.

Divers signs ere long pointed to what was to come. Timely information had been secretly forwarded to the king from Sweden; his majesty was

told that he would not so easily arrive at the succession there. One of the council (the name is not stated) communicated to him an opinion upon the means of securing his rights, even in case of the employment of force being found necessary. It would be advisable to send a number of soldiers, Cossacks and others, to Livonia, as well as to equip a fleet at Dantzic, whither the king himself should repair. In order to win the Poles, he must give them satisfaction in reference to the frontiers, that is, by the cession of Estland. At home the council would not cease to watch over the weal of the king's affairs. The duke must be dissuaded from all opposition by the representations of foreign powers⁹. The party did not stop at words only; count Axel Leyonhufvud tried, immediately after John's death, to make himself master of the fortresses of Elfsborg and Gullberg in the name of Sigismund. The attempt indeed failed, and its author was obliged to flee the kingdom; but he carried his accusations against the duke to Poland, received a letter of warranty from Sigismund, and afterwards recovered his county in Finland, which king John had sequestered. Of that province Clas Fleming was governor, as well as general in Livonia. He despatched letters to Sweden conveying warnings to the duke, and declared that he intended to be ruled only by the king's commands.

In this he was fortified by the special legation in Livonia and Finland, which Sigismund in the beginning of 1593 committed to John Sparre, brother of Eric. From this moment there was a separate government for these countries¹.

The duke on his side entered into a covenant with the council to conduct the administration without prejudice to their fealty to Sigismund, under conjoint responsibility, one for all, and all for one². This mode of speaking, which henceforth was used in all the conjoint declarations of the duke and the estates, Sigismund used to style duke Charles' bird-net. That this confederacy might lead the council further than they wished was soon shown. The clergy assembled at Stockholm pressed for the fulfilment by the duke of the promise given by John in 1590, of a Swedish kirk-mote, for the adjustment of religious disputes. The Council was of opinion that only certain of its members should convene with the clergy to effect this end. The duke, however, demanded likewise a general diet, and carried his view. Religion and freedom, he said to the council, were his father's good deeds to the country. Out of thankfulness for these the estates had made the crown hereditary in the house of Gustavus; only he would be a true hereditary king of the realm of Sweden who should preserve them to the kingdom. They had now a king who was subject in his conscience to the authority

⁵ Letter to Sigismund, July 9, 1591.

⁶ So the cardinal Joyeuse writes from Rome to Henry III. of France. Raumer, Letters for the History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

⁷ Messenius.

⁸ Sigismund's patent for Hogenskild Bielké, Gustave Baner, Eric Sparre, Axel Leyonhufvud, Steno Baner, Thure Bielké, and the already deceased counts, Peter Brahe and Clas Akeson Tott, was made out after his arrival in Sweden, Nov. 2, 1593.

⁹ From an anonymous German letter in the Latin Registrature, 1593-98, in the State Archives. It is directed "to a princely personage, related to the crown of Poland, (pro-

bably the princess Anne,) touching the condition of the kingdom of Sweden."

¹ *Hæc prima inter regem et ducem fuit discordiæ sementia.* Messenius.

² The council ventured to suggest that an extract should be made from the Latin *Brief* (so were then called all written documents) of Calmar, whereby were meant the statutes of Calmar before mentioned. The duke replies, on the 20th June, that although this brief had been cancelled, because drawn up secretly without the cognizance of the estates, it might yet be looked into, and what therein might be beneficial to the kingdom, should be laid before Sigismund. Reg. for 1593.

and will of the Pope; it would be therefore the more necessary, as well for religion as liberty, to establish such conditions as the Swedes had from aforetime been free to propose to their kings. To Sigismund himself he held language no less plain, when he acquainted him with the convocation of the estates, and the synod convened for Upsala: the king's government could only make the people happy in so far as he might confirm the religion and liberties of the realm, and those statutes by which the estates thought meet to uphold them; hereby he would take away all occasion of acting against the law and his oath as a king; and at the same time all hatreds against his person. The succession would then remain to his descendants. This was the duke's counsel, and if the king had true servants, they would assent to it. With messages to this effect the secretary, Olave Swerker-son, was sent to Poland³.

On the 25th February, 1593, the synod was opened at Upsala. Deputies, as well clerical as laic, repaired thither from all parts of the kingdom excepting Finland, whence but a few were sent⁴. There were present the duke with the council, four bishops⁵, above three hundred clergy, many of the nobles, burgesses, and peasants. Nicolaus Bothmiensis, professor of theology in Upsala, although a young man, was named Speaker. He had been imprisoned on account of the liturgy. The choice was a homage to the stedfastness which the university of Upsala had shown in the liturgical struggle; wherefore one of the assembly's acts decreed, that it should be again raised from its ruins. After they had agreed that holy Scripture, explained by itself, was the sole ground and rule of evangelical doctrine, and had gone through all the articles of the unimutated Augsburg Confession, Peter Jonson, lately confirmed by the duke as bishop of the principality⁶, rose up, and inquired of all present, whether they assented to this faith and would abide by the same, even if it pleased God that they should suffer for it. All replied, "Therefore will we put at stake all that we have in the world, be it goods or life." Then the speaker exclaimed: "Now is Sweden become one man, and all of us have one God?" The changes in church ceremonies and doctrines which had been introduced under the former reign were abolished. Luther's Catechism was again made the general ground-work of instruction in religion, and Lawrence Peterson's

Manual that of divine service⁸. The bishops of the realm, who had all appeared as promoters of the liturgy, were now the first to renounce it, and their clergy followed their example. These all concluded with a general deprecation, and requested from the council of state the return of those written engagements to the reception of the liturgy, by means of which they had obtained their places. The council promised it, but the duke preserved the documents in the chancery. Several lords of the council now exhorted the clergy never more to consent to any thing against God's word and conscience. Hogenskild Bielké made a discourse to the same effect; which reminded his hearers that he had himself violently enforced the liturgy in East-Gothland. The clergy of the duchy now celebrated their victory, and with them those of the laity, with whom John's liturgy and the offence thereby given had done more than any thing else to obliterate the last vestige of papal authority in Sweden. "In the government of the church," as the synod of Upsala complained, "all things were done with secret cabals, craft, and violence, without inquiry, trial, or judgment, against all order, so that they only who assented to the liturgy were promoted to be bishops, without any previous questioning of the will of the clergy." That which John would have reformed fell by his meddling into deeper disorders. "Ministers were forced on the congregations," it is said, "who were not only unlearned but often marriage-breakers, thieves, perjurers, homicides, tipplers, and leaders of vicious lives; those alone who would subscribe the liturgy were constantly provided with the best benefices; while honourable, learned, and moral preachers of the gospel, who opposed and rejected the liturgy, were contemned, hated, yea persecuted in welfare and life; proof sufficient that if the liturgy be not abolished ere king Sigismund come into the government, God's word will then be no otherwise bestead in the land than if one should carry a light in a violent storm?" Those who now ruled used their victory with moderation; oblivion of the past was promised; no one was persecuted. A single clergyman, minister in Stockholm, named Peter Paulson, was deprived; he was the only one who now ventured publicly to defend the liturgy; but he had previously showed so refractory a spirit in his office, that king John, upon reiterated

he had been elected in 1586, and exercised the office since that time. Duke Charles' Reg. 1593.

⁷ Relation of Nicolaus Bothmiensis, concerning the Council of Upsala; printed by Lönbom, Historical Memorials (Historiska Märkvärdigheter), v. i.

⁸ After the liturgy had been forced on the congregations of Sweden, it was forbidden to make use of Luther's Catechism for the instruction of youth; the more advanced, and especially the clergy, were enjoined to read assiduously the writings of the ancient Fathers, to which it was known that the Jesuits principally appealed. Afterwards many notoriously popish books were dispersed among the common people, as Eccii Euchiridon, and others of that class. The Catechismus Canisii and Consultationes Cassandri had appeared in print in Swedish, and misled many. Werwing, i. 133. In duke Charles' Answer to the Points represented by the Clergy, Feb. 29, 1595, it is directed that an exposition of Luther's Catechism shall be made every Sunday after sermon. On the 24th July he writes to the clergy that the Swedish Catechism should be amended, and purged of papistical ceremonies, and the translation of the Bible narrowly examined.

⁹ Werwing, i. 136.

³ This person had found means of insinuating himself into the favour of Charles, whom he afterwards calumniated to Sigismund; he fell at length into disgrace by his duplicity, and sought then, although vainly, to recover the duke's favour. The son of this important person was hound's beadle (*spigubbe*, one who goes about with a stick during sermon, to wake up sleepers, and drive the dogs out of the church,) in the Clara Kirk of Stockholm.

⁴ Messenius says, that not a single Finlander was present; Werwing, on the contrary, that they attended. The bishop, provost of the chapter, and master of the school, of Abo, are mentioned in the records. The signatures to the Acts of the Synod of Upsala were not all taken on the spot. They were sent round and subscribed in the dioceses.

⁵ From Litköping, Strengness, Westeras, Abo. The vacant chair of the archbishop was filled up during the assembly, as well as the episcopal chairs of Wexjö, Skara, and Wiborg, although the first two were not occupied until their then aged possessors had dropped off by death.

⁶ He received an episcopal writ for Strengness, January 6, 1593, and was consecrated during the sittings, although

complaints¹ by the burgesses, was obliged to interdict him from the exercise of his functions. The duke had refrained from taking part in the deliberations. He subscribed the statute², although not disguising his disgust with the council for not having before taken his opinion. He maintained likewise the abrogation of the raising of the sacrament in the Lord's Supper, of the use of salt and lights in baptism, with other papistical ceremonies still retained, whereof reason demanded the change. Sponsors in baptism were continued against his will. Some difference marked the close of the assembly. The same bishops who had just disclaimed the liturgy, sought now zealously to show the purity of their doctrine. Not content that the errors of the so-called sacramentarians were rejected, they also demanded, although by this word the Reformed communion was plainly enough designated, that Zuinglians and Calvinists should be expressly declared heretics, because the duke and his clergy were suspected of adhering to their doctrines. The act of assembly had been previously read and adopted. The speaker refused to propose any further addition, and abdicated his office. The prelates persisted in their demand. The bishop of Strengness at length appeared as mediator, and Charles gave his assent in phrases of no very choice order. "Set in," he said, "all that ye know to be of this tribe,—ay, the very fiend of hell, for he too is my foe." In a confidential letter to the archbishop and professors of Upsala he afterwards (May 15, 1594) declared: "We are now defamed by the clergy as if we countenanced the doctrines of Calvin and Zuingle. But we will profess ourselves bound to no man's person, Christ excepted, neither to Luther, nor Calvin, nor Zuingle, but to God's word alone."

The Synod of Upsala, whose memory the Swedish Church celebrates every century³, was a great and decisive step. It consolidated the Reformation in Sweden, and by its consequences in Europe. Relations, which in the impending strife carried great weight, had already begun to appear. Henry of Navarre had written to Charles concerning a general Protestant league⁴. Sigismund had lately married a princess of the house of Austria⁵.

The Polish diet, before which came the question as to Sigismund's occupation of the Swedish throne, was, according to custom, full of disorders. Eventually their consent was obtained, with a supply of

money for the journey, as it was alleged in Sweden, in consideration of Sigismund's promise, to arrange the dispute regarding Estland to the satisfaction of the Poles. Olave Swerkerson returned from Poland with thanks to the duke for the pains he had taken; about Estland Charles need not give himself apprehensions; the king would uphold the laws and liberties of the realm, and show affection or hate to no man on account of religion, although he neither would nor could confirm the statutes passed by the synod of Upsala during his absence⁶. Such general promises were brought by several envoys from the king. In Sweden men demanded more definite securities, especially for religion. To obtain these before Sigismund quitted Poland, a man personally agreeable to him was sent, the councillor of state Thuré Bielke, who was provided with a warrant, which along with the acts of the synod of Upsala Charles caused to be read before the people in all parts of the country. Upon obtaining security, the commissioner was to request that Sigismund would fix the time of his arrival, as the duke wished to equip a fleet to bring him away. The councillors of state Eric Sparre and Clas Bielke were thereafter despatched for the same object to Poland, and met the king on his way to Dantzic. Most of the councillors appeared now to be on the duke's side. All of them were not so circumspect as the old chancellor Nicholas Gyllenstierna, who, being questioned as to Thuré Bielke's instructions, protested with much length of phrase, "that the Polish business far exceeded his comprehension." Accounts that a papal legate had arrived in Warsaw, with a summons to the king, calling upon him to restore the ancient church in his hereditary dominions, and with a subsidy in money towards the undertaking⁷; that an imperial envoy held the same language; that the pope's legate was following the king in order to crown him in Sweden; that Sigismund had in the course of his journey placed an interdict on the evangelical churches of Thorn and Elbing, and that the fear of a like proceeding in Dantzic during his sojourn there had led to popular tumults; all this increased the solicitudes felt in Sweden. In Finland Clas Fleming continued to defy the Swedish government. A strange correspondence was carried on between the duke and this man, who was not unlike him in disposition, and noted for his roughness and prompt decision⁸. Eventually he proceeded, not having

1679. His attempts at mediation were also extended to the Catholic powers. Henry then purposed visiting in person the chief Protestant countries.

⁵ At Cracow, May 21, 1592. His first wife was Anne, daughter of the archduke Charles, son of the emperor Ferdinand I. by Mary of Bavaria; his second, married in 1605, was Constantia, her sister.

⁶ Upsalæ decreta—supremo magistratu inconsulto—nec possint nec debeant rata censeri. Messenius, viii. 12.

⁷ Thirty thousand guilders, according to Typtotius. Poland had granted two hundred thousand guilders for the king's journey, not including what Lithuania afforded, according to Sigismund's own statement to Charles, March 13, 1594.

⁸ April 7, 1593, the duke writes to Clas Fleming, that "without commands from the king's majesty in Poland, from us, and from the council of state, he should admit no man into the castle of Abo, were he even Clas Fleming or any other;" also to relieve Narva with ships, whatever Clas Fleming might allege against it.—In a letter to Poland the latter subscribes himself "Clas Fleming, free-baron of Wik, marshal, high admiral, and general, who has now too many

¹ See the Vindicatory Memoir of the Corporate Body to John, against the inculpations of Peter Paulson; printed in Nytt, Treasure of Documents in Northern History (Förråd af handlingarna i Nordiska Historien), Stockholm, 1759.

² It is drawn up in the name of the duke, the council, the bishops, nobles, the inferior clergy and burgesses, March 20, 1593. Next year Charles caused it to be sworn to in his duchy, at a provincial synod in Strengness, and ratified by the peasants with the seals of their several hundreds.

³ At first a sermon, from the text of 2 Chronicles xv. 2, was preached yearly, in remembrance of the Sunday after the 19th February, on which day Sigismund was at length compelled to acknowledge the acts of the Synod of Upsala. See duke Charles' letter thereupon to the clergy, Feb. 29, 1595. Register.

⁴ "Ad procurandam in ecclesia Dei concordiam et retundendos Romanæ Anti-Christi conatus." To this end Henry had in 1583 sent Segur as his ambassador to the Protestants of Germany, and even written to John as well as Charles. The letters are to be found printed in Henrici Navarrorum Regis Epistolæ de pace ecclesiastica constituenda. Utrecht,

communicated with Charles, with the fleet from Finland to Dantzic, took on board Sigismund with his wife, sister, and train, and landed after a troublous passage at Stockholm on the 30th September, 1593. Charles took his stand on the castle-bridge to receive the king. The newly-elected archbishop, Abraham Angerman, the most vehement opponent of the liturgy, was a sight as little agreeable to the new-comer, as the papal legate Malaspina to the prince⁹. After a short interview, during which the duke, even in the king's presence, gave way to his wrath against Clas Fleming and count Axel Leyonhufvud, Charles retired into his principality, and committed to the council the business of negotiating with the king.

Further demands touching the securities so requested were pressed. But Sigismund would confirm neither the acts of the Synod of Upsala, the printing of which he forbade, nor the choice made of an archbishop; his Jesuits and the clergy of Stockholm preached against one another. He wished to concede the use of a church in the former monastery of the Franciscans to the Catholics, and enforced there an interment after the Catholic ritual, at which the Poles and Swedes came to blows in the church itself, so that blood was shed. Of natives, only those surrounded him who had embraced Catholicism, and now showed themselves most zealous for its extension. Otherwise he held converse mostly with the papal legate and his own Polish retinue, rarely saw the Swedish council, and refused to receive the deputies of the Swedish clergy¹. In his answer to the council in January, 1594, he expresses surprise, that any conditions should be demanded of him before the coronation. Men should know the distinction between a hereditary and an elective monarchy. This, says the great Gustavus Adolphus, his counsellors, the Jesuits, "who stir up every subtlety that is good for nought," had taught him. Of the same school is another answer of the king: as king elective, he said, his conscience would have forbidden him to approve any other religion than that which he himself held to be true; now being born king hereditary of subjects differing in faith, he would leave them unmolested, it being first declared what privileges they would permit his fellow-believers the Catholics to enjoy².—Thus with minds mutually exasperated, men repaired to Upsala, where the estates were assembled, to solemnize at once John's entombment and Sigismund's coronation. The former was conducted with great pomp; but the papal legate was extruded from the funeral procession, and the Jesuits threatened with death if

they ventured into the church. Next day, the warden of the cathedral of Upsala averred that he and several others had seen the grave of king John sprinkled with blood³. Charles came thither, but with a train of three thousand men on foot and horse, whom he quartered on his hereditary estates in the surrounding tracts. To the estates he said: "I part not myself from you; if Sigismund will be your king, he must fulfil your requests." To the king he declared that no coronation could previously be permitted. On the delivery of this intimation he was accompanied at the castle of Upsala by the council and nobility and the applauding shouts of the people who stood without. The order of peasants offered him the crown, but he enjoined them to be silent. Others talked of placing the young prince John on the throne under a government of guardians.

The court spent its time in evasive answers, and endeavours to disunite the estates. Rumours were current of an attempt against the duke's life. A Netherlander who at this time resided in the court, himself a Catholic and partisan of Sigismund, relates that such a proposal was made to the king, and absolution promised him for the crime⁴. That Sigismund rejected the crime, we should be warranted in believing from his whole character, even if prudence had not forbidden him to risk such a step against a rival emboldened by the devotion of the estates, and whose army was the stronger. Meanwhile Charles redoubled his vigilance, and kept his cavalry in readiness. The estates vowed unanimously, with prayers and upon their knees, to uphold the acts of the synod of Upsala. No Catholic was to be thenceforth capable of filling any office in Sweden; whosoever should embrace the Catholic faith or permit his children to be educated therein, was to lose his rights of citizenship; Catholics might reside in the kingdom if they conducted themselves peaceably, but no Catholic service should be performed except in the king's chapel⁵. This was all the court could obtain; and when the duke at last threatened to depart and dismiss the estates to their homes, unless a decisive answer followed within four-and-twenty hours, the king submitted to the conditions prescribed. The estates sang *Te Deum* as for a victory won. Even the newly elected archbishop was confirmed in his office, but the king was determined not to receive the crown from a man so odious to him. The same day on which the assurance was given⁶ (February the 19th, 1594),

lessly than discreetly requested, thereto we had good reason." Sigismund to Charles, Jan. 22, 1594. Ibid.

² Baazil Inventarium Eccl. Suo-Goth. 547.

³ Messenius.

⁴ Jac. Typotius, *Relatio Hist. de regno Sueciæ*. This person had gained no good repute in Sweden. An Italian named Stozzi gave the duke warning. Charles himself afterwards said, he had been informed from abroad, that about the time of the coronation designs were thrice entertained against his life, as well as subsequently in Stockholm, before the king's departure. Declaration to the Council, March 6, 1595. Register.

⁵ Covenant of the Estates of the Realm anent Religion. Upsala, Feb. 16, 1594.

⁶ The King's Assurance anent Religion, as found in the Registry, differs from the version printed in *Stiernman*, in that the king reserves to himself the power of afterwards granting, with the approbation of the estates, more tolerable conditions to his fellow-believers.

rulers, though he guides himself by no more than one, who is called king Sigismund; come, my mates, to command me too, and see if I do not knock them on the head."

⁹ "It is also singular that master Abraham, who had fallen into disgrace with our late father, should now be the person to receive us in the name of all the clergy," Sigismund afterwards wrote to Charles. The duke demanded the removal of the papal legate, which the lords of the council sent to meet Sigismund had already urged in Dantzic. The answer was, that he was not sent to the kingdom, but to the king's person, and had well merited another requital by the trouble he had taken in furthering the king's journey. He would not interfere in the coronation, and had been silent upon questions of religion, although the clergy were crying out against him. Sigismund's Register, 1594.

¹ "For that we did not give such answer to the clergy, who some time ago were in Stockholm, as they more reck-

bishop Bellinus of Westeras performed the coronation of the king and queen in the cathedral of Upsala. The archbishop read the prayers. As the king dropped his hand during the oath, Charles reminded him to keep it upright. He himself took his oath to the king without bending the knee, but laid his ducal cap at the royal feet. His rights as duke were confirmed, without the contested limitations, and he received Dalsland in addition as a pledge for his loan to the crown.

"Sigismund was slow in confirming all clerical and laical privileges," says the great Gustavus Adolphus; "and as he promised with hesitancy, so he kept to it no longer than between Upsala and Stockholm; for hardly was he arrived in Stockholm when he made the count Eric Brahe (a Catholic) to be lieutenant there, which was not the least office in Sweden. Malaspina, the evil thorn that stuck in the king's foot, made him halt sorely in his promises; popish schools, popish churches were erected; around Stockholm divine service was interrupted by disturbance; men were obliged to go armed to the church; complaint thereof was made to the king, but little good thereby effected. Moreover the king's councillors found it good to fish in the troubled water. Sweden must be stirred up to civil discords, that one heretic might be extirpated by another. The king hastened to Poland. Here all was to remain in disorder and confusion, no one bound to obey another, that the more speedily, among so many magnates (for every province had its lieutenant), mischiefs might spring up. But as the majesty of the realm of Sweden was by God's succour defended and maintained up to this day, so that it never was transferred to another monarchy, but by God's blessing and Swedish valour was preserved to this country and nation, so too were now found men who would not allow this design of the king's to be effected. The council, which was in Stockholm, protested against him, that it was not competent for him to remove the kingly government out of the land; he should appoint a government within the realm, that should manage affairs instead of his. They also gave king Charles, (so Gustavus Adolphus constantly styles his father,) who lay sick at Nyköping, to understand this. The king indeed made out, although with no good will, a warrant (which was in tenor accordingly), wherein with few words my father was empowered to manage the administration with the council of state; but the lieutenants of the provinces were enjoined to pay this government no regard. Thus they did whatsoever they wished. To the people, who (in Sweden especially) were accustomed to law and justice, it appeared strange that they were treated so ill by the lieutenants nominated; and as the people are besides prone to complain, so when they found themselves oppressed, they ran in crowds to Stockholm, where they were wont to find redress. The government would gladly have had from Sigismund a better warrant and fuller instructions, after which they might have ruled people and realm for the king's behoof; which also, while the king was in Stockholm, was sufficiently promised; yet it was deferred from day to day, until the king was ready to sail, and no other could be obtained, whence all the disorder afterwards flowed⁷."

We know the nature of the government which Sweden had under the former Union; on the one side provincial magnates, who, under the title of councillors of state, governed in the name of an absent king; on the other a turbulent crowd, which joined the standard of him among those who ventured to separate himself from the rest in order to maintain, under the name of administrator, at least the appearance of a national sovereignty. To what degree the new Union with Poland produced similar relations, bringing up again old pretensions and abuses, just as if a Gustavus Vasa had never appeared in Sweden, this has not been adequately and truthfully shown, and yet herein lies the key to the transactions of the time.

We return to the chancellor, Eric Sparré, the undaunted defender of that which his order styled old Swedish freedom. On Sigismund's arrival in Sweden he presented to the king that tract which is known under the name of *Postulata nobilium*, or, according to its more detailed title, "Supplication and submissive request of the council of state, the knights, and the lesser nobility, to enjoy their ancient liberties and privileges in equal measure with the other estates of the realm." It is subscribed by the principal members of the council; some passages towards the end, where the author's pen seemed too blunt, having been erased. After congratulations to Sigismund upon his arrival in his hereditary dominions, "against the will and purpose of many," and extolling the advantages of the Union with Poland, which the author seems to love as his own work, he proceeds to prove that Sweden had been from of old a state free and controlled by the law, and could not, as a hereditary kingdom, have ceased to be so; although it had since endured many sufferings, which in recent times had reached their highest point, and which are drawn in the darkest colours.—Unbounded power was contrary to God's word, repugnant to the wisdom of the ancients, against reason and the law of Sweden, and king Eric's example had shown that even a hereditary king might justly be deposed on account of tyranny. To govern absolutely would of yore have been a word unheard in Sweden; nevertheless there were those who now maintained that before the time of king Gustavus there had been no liberties and privileges in the kingdom, and that it was something new in Sweden to speak of estates to whom these liberties should belong. Were there then no estates when the hereditary settlement was agreed to? Who else then could have sanctioned it? Were there not here princes, knights, and nobles, bishops and priests, and a considerable army, although exhausted by a tedious and wasting war? Were there not here burgesses, miners, and yeomen, who, as men's memory can yet testify, were here of more weight than in any other country, and partly more respected as being yeomen? And although some say that king John wished to reserve to himself all affairs, as well spiritual as temporal, yet men must in general consider rather what ought to be than what had been. Howbeit these were no outlandish, no excessive and intolerable rights which were now requested (of these the Swedish nobles had scant experience, and sought not after them), but only what had been anciently held good in Sweden.—Thereupon follows a copious collection of former privileges of the

⁷ MS. from the hand of Gustavus Adolphus, before cited.

council of state and the nobles, especially during the Union age⁸.

Induced thereby king Sigismund issued before his coronation a special assurance to the knights and nobility, by which, upon the expressed ground that the nobility had approved the hereditary settlement, John's privileges were considerably augmented. Judicial posts were now reserved exclusively for nobles, as well as all the high offices of state in the chancery, the government of the provinces, and the command of the army, and no mean or un noble men should be placed in any office above them or beside them. The kingdom should be governed by the advice of the council, and no man be received into it without the approval of its remaining members. The council and nobility should be duly supported in the service of the realm with land and fiefs, according to the household laws ordained by preceding kings⁹. The conditions of the horse-service were further lightened, and all freeholds originally acquired by the assumption of its burdens were to be enjoyed unimpaired by the nobility and their dependents. It is surprising that the right of the crown, grounded upon the false statute of Helgeandsholm, is controverted, and against it Eric Sparré manifestly directed a part of his essay. That metallic ridges in Sweden are no regalities he shows by the statute of 1486, in respect to the advantage devolving to the crown, and the rights of the proprietor, and adds, that according to the old register of the kingdom in Strenghus the oldest councillors at that time attested that this so obtained in the time of king Christopher. Against claims of the crown to the commons of hundreds he appeals to the Land's Law; that of exclusive right over the streams is also held bad. All such assertions in the charters of privileges are also declared illegal.—The true import of the dignities of count and baron at this time we learn from the letters confirmatory of such grants. The inhabitants of the domains annexed are exhorted to acknowledge the possessors for their rightful count or free baron, to him after the crown to show fealty and obedience, and to make to him all those payments which were otherwise due to the crown. Fiefs were distributed in numbers. Complaints were made of partiality, and of the intolerable influence of the royal secretary therein. The nobles were not content. Sigismund requested on the 9th March, 1594, the opinion of Charles, since the nobility, notwithstanding the assurance given in Upsala, still incessantly solicited amendments of their privileges. Charles, who had previously warned the king against the new privileges¹, replies, that he now cannot advise, because he should only be ill interpreted².

The duke had gone after the coronation to his principality; and sickness, perhaps also mistrust, retained him at Nyköping during the short time for which Sigismund still tarried in Sweden. The

king's intention of returning instantly (according to his promise given) to Poland, had already been made known to the estates in Upsala, with a declaration that the duke and the council should conduct the government in Sweden. The people thereon regarded Charles, the magnates the council, as the ruling authority. That the latter was the opinion of the council itself was soon shown, when they produced on the 20th of March, 1594, their own scheme of government, in the minuteness and formality of which is again recognised the pen of Eric Sparré. This was a circumstantially ordered polygarchy, meted out and balanced in several offices filled by nobles, with the council at the head of the administration, affairs being decided by a plurality of voices. We see that the statutes of Calmar were not forgotten. The author refers also to the example of Denmark, where the council now held the government during the minority of Christian IV. The king appeared content with this form of government, which was promulgated by commissioners in the country. Charles rejected it, as contrary to Swedish law and Swedish manners. Born prince hereditary of Sweden, he was entitled to conduct the government during the king's absence, although he would have willingly dispensed with its toils, if the king himself would stay in the country; the council, according to Sweden's law, was to advise, not to govern; Denmark was an elective monarchy, and its example not applicable to Sweden³. To the council he wrote, that for what concerned the ordering of the government, there was no more certain rule than the law of Sweden and the king's oath. To govern accordingly must be exacted of the man to whom the king, with the assent of the estates, should commit the government during his absence; then any further circumstance was needless; all cases could hardly be so anticipated and comprised in a determinate order, that the condition of the realm might not well demand another disposition; every other order of government must be the subject of discussion, as well with him to whom the government was to be committed, as with the estates, who were to be governed in accordance therewith⁴. Charles therefore requested the convocation of the estates anew, ere the king quitted the country, but communicated a proposition, upon the principles stated, as well for the warrant which he required from Sigismund, as for the assurance of fealty he was to give in return⁵. Among the king's attendants an individual was found, who advised the accepting of both without limitation; this was Arnold Grothusen, his former tutor. Sweden, he argued, needed a government; Charles would take in any case what he now requested; it would be better to leave it to him with a good grace; the matter touched Sigismund's hereditary right and crown, which could only be preserved by this method. This was what Charles himself had not concealed. "If your

he says, that he could not advise any thing touching the dowry of queen Gunilla; yet he was of opinion that her claim should be abated in several respects, and that the young duke John, after the death of duke Magnus, (which occurred June 21, 1595,) should receive East-Gothland.

³ Answer to Sigismund's messengers, Werwing, i. 250.

⁴ To the council, upon the ordering of government, June 5, 1594. Register.

⁵ July 15, 1594, just as the king was departing. See both in Werwing, i. 256.

⁸ We quote the above from a manuscript copy. According to Warmholtz, it was printed at Stockholm in 1594.

⁹ For this Eric Sparré refers to the decree of the Council of State at Telje in 1380.

¹ Charles writes, Nov. 5, 1593, that he had heard the nobles requested further amendment of their privileges; that the king should request to know upon what grounds; also, since they referred to ancient charters, that they should show them. Minute for Sigismund. Register.

² Answer to Sigismund, April 4, 1594. In the same letter

majesty set out," he writes to the king, "without your subjects knowing by whom and how they are to be governed, we dread what will ensue thereupon, and have been loth to leave this unnoted for the warning of your majesty⁶." Sigismund's whole nature was opposed to a mode of action so decided. He lived in negations or in half affirmations. Without power to enforce his will, no one yielded with a worse air, whence his discussions as well with the duke as the council bear the impress of exceedingly peevish humour⁷. The council, wavering and divided within itself, as little possessed his confidence, and religion was already a wall of partition which Sigismund could not overlook. He was himself hardly accessible for others than his fellow-believers, and at court were now seen two papal legates, since another had newly arrived, to congratulate the queen on her being delivered of a daughter⁸. The clergy of the town and court preached and spoke against one another. The Catholics showed publicly their contempt of the Lutheran worship. The burgesses kept watch when their preachers mounted the pulpit. In the holy week the king and queen washed the feet of twelve poor men. On Easter Sunday the minister Eric Schepper preached against this practice, and forbade every man to give alms to these beggars, who had well-nigh perished of hunger. To the baptism of the king's child came several Polish nobles with an armed train of unruly followers. The king himself increased his Polish body-guard, whose outrages had given much offence. When the dissatisfaction of the council thereupon was made known to him, he jeeringly remarked, that with two or three hundred men no kingdoms were taken⁹; the strangers burdened not the land; all that the king had drawn from this kingdom amounted not to one or two thousand dollars¹. The council thought fit to summon a band of Dalecarlians to the capital, and made overtures to the duke, especially after it became known that the king was bringing a fleet from Dantzic, and when it landed a force of Polish soldiers in Stockholm. This was done manifestly from the king's fear for his own safety; yet it appeared to be first imperilled by this very step. The Poles were to be kept in check neither by commands nor punishments; quarrels and bloodshed ensued. The citizens kept under arms, and fetched stones out of the streets into their houses. All lamented that the duke was not present.—In such a temper of men's minds Sigismund (July 14, 1594) embarked, to return to Poland. While he lay among the islets, the negotiations between him and the duke were still continued. He had at last left the latter a warrant to conduct the government conjointly with the whole of the council, but without fixing limits for the powers of either. Sweden in anarchy would be more easily curbed, his Polish councillors had

told him². Charles's last answer was that he would hear the estates upon matters of government. Meanwhile, he assumed its conduct as administrator, being acknowledged in this capacity by the council, with whom he now struck a new compact. He could not yet, as he himself says, set all sail, by reason of the waves.

The council had placed itself between two powers, yet without being able to work otherwise than as an ambiguous ally, now on one side, now on the other. Therein too is implied its fate—to be crushed in the struggle. That it had some importance as a separate power, was a constitutional figment of Eric Sparré, on which he would fain have founded a government. It had in fact never possessed this importance in Sweden, whatever the Land's Law might say thereupon; though its members were really of great consequence as individuals, powerful every man for himself, yet oftener divided among themselves. So it proved on this occasion. The greater portion of the council, with the Bielkés and Baners at their head, had, according to the old fashion under the Union, become disaffected to the king on account of the distribution of the fiefs. The leader on the other side was Clas Fleming, hated by the rest from the time of John, whence they now demanded his removal. Sigismund on the other hand had bestowed his confidence on him, because he had severed himself from the rest, and had declared with his adherents that he would obey only the king's orders. Between the two parties we find Eric Sparré with his learned ambiguity; on which account he received his share in that distribution of sovereignty which Sigismund arranged with Fleming before his departure. An apportioned sovereignty that may justly be called, which was now committed to the lieutenants of the provinces. It is surprising that the proposal seems to have proceeded from the council, but to have been rejected by the king, in order to carry it into effect for the sole advantage of the favoured lords³. Clas Fleming was confirmed in his offices as high marshal, admiral, and supreme governor of Finland. Of his brothers-in-law, the Stenbocks, Eric received West-Gothland, Arvid East-Gothland, Charles Smaland; Eric Sparré obtained Westmanland and Dalecarlia, Eric Brahe, although a papist, was appointed not only to the lieutenancy of the castle of Stockholm, but also to be captain of Upland and Norrland. They were made by separate and secret warrants independent of the duke and the council. Charles styled them "king each in his district⁴," and they were near enough being so.

"Others, both in and out of the council," he writes to Sigismund, "have besides ourself had warrants directed to them, as well in Sweden as Finland, the tenor whereof hath not been made known to us

⁶ Answer to the king anent his departure, July 4, 1594. Register.

⁷ For example, there was a question of marrying his sister, the princess Anne, to the margrave John George of Brandenburg, and the council had let fall something thereupon; the king writes, among other points, to the council, "Regarding lady Anne's marriage, he can answer nought else, than that he cannot offer her for sale." Answer, Jan. 6, 1594. Reg.

⁸ Who died shortly after birth.

⁹ Answer to the council, June 6, 1594.

¹ To duke Charles, March 9, 1594. Reg.

² *Comites Poloni (admonebant), ut in Poloniam maturaret, reditus se majoribus cum copiis; relinquere Suecos impeditos; sic fore opportuniore injuriis. Typotius.*

³ For what is mentioned in respect to the lieutenants in the provinces, the king finds it less necessary, if the lords in the government do their duty, especially as the fortresses are in good hands, and there are besides justiciaries. To the council, June 6, 1594.

⁴ *Authentic Relation and History (Samfärdig Historia och Berättelse, för hvad orsaker, &c.) for what causes the estates of Sweden renounced king Sigismund, Stockholm, 1689.*

to this day; natheless we have, in order that the affairs of the realm may not be entirely wrecked, been obliged to take on ourselves the government, according to the compact with the council, which here follows ⁵." It soon appeared that these new lieutenants regarded themselves as independent. Clas Fleming took the fleet for his own use to Finland, and separated himself openly from the Swedish government. Arvid Stenbock denied obedience to the commands of the duke, and was five times summoned by him to make answer without complying ⁶. His brothers gave no better obedience. The duke complains of Eric Brahe, that he issued orders at his pleasure in the castle of Stockholm. Eric Sparre, at first popular in Dalecarlia, and avoiding longed an open breach with the duke, ultimately showed his real inclinations. The last time of his holding a court in Dalecarlia, ere he quitted the kingdom, he drove, to the astonishment of the Dalesmen, with his wife and children in gilded cars, preceded by trumpeters. He kept a guard round himself like a royal personage, and levied great sums for his table-money. At length the peasants were so exasperated against him that, two years afterwards, on a false report of his arrival in Dalecarlia, they chose out twenty of the stoutest among them to seize him as duke Charles' enemy in the house of the minister of Tuna ⁷.

In the year 1594, the 9th December (O.S.), at eight in the morning, Charles' son, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, was born in the castle of Stockholm. More besides Tycho Brahe might have foretold him a crown. The solemnities at the baptism (on New Year's Day, 1595) still evinced such concord between the duke and the council, that Sigismund's suspicions against the latter were strengthened. Charles celebrated his son's birth-feast by the restoration of the University of Upsala, which had been partly raised from its decay by John, but again dissolved ⁸, while the recent revolutions, decisive of the fortunes of the Reformation in Sweden, had engrossed universal interest. The professors of Upsala were leaders in the struggle against the liturgy, and suffered on that account a protracted persecution. In general the teachers of the schools throughout Sweden were the props of Protestantism. Schoolmasters were summoned to the synod of Upsala ⁹, a rector of a school drew up the protocol, a professor was speaker, and the restoration of the University of Upsala, as a pillar for the upholding of the Reformation, was one of the points demanded by the estates from Sigismund ¹. Charles

did not neglect to remind him of it; and although the king returned one of his ordinary fretful answers ², he was yet obliged to engage in his assurance to maintain the Academy efficiently "in the general religion of the kingdom," and to provide instructors and students with proper support. The execution of the resolve was committed to the duke and the council ³, but deferred until Charles, on the 15th March, 1595, issued the charter of the Academy's privileges, whereto at that time belonged the revision of all the schools in Sweden ⁴. To three professors of theology and four of philosophy he assigned adequate incomes from the tithes, with prebendal residences and other houses ⁵, and founded a common-room, where forty students received free maintenance. He besides supported at his own cost several pupils at foreign seminaries of learning ⁶.

An achievement which the people valued still more highly was the peace that brought to an end the six-and-twenty years' war with Russia. A two years' truce had been concluded in 1593. Sigismund was not greatly satisfied with the peace, because he wished to keep together the army under Clas Fleming. After tedious negotiations Charles succeeded, on the 14th May, 1595, in concluding the so-called perpetual peace of Teusin. Narva, Reval, with all Estland, remained part of the Swedish dominions. On the other hand, Kexholm with its government was to be ceded, which, however, Clas Fleming under manifold pretences deferred, in order not to be compelled to dismiss his troops. With difficulty the duke averted the outbreak of a new war. Civil war in fact broke forth in Finland, through the unheard-of inhumanities practised by Fleming's horsemen, and it was not till after his death, in 1597, that Kexholm could be surrendered and the peace with Russia secured.

This procedure of Fleming was a new ground for convening the estates, which Charles had threatened, contrary to Sigismund's prohibition at his departure. The fulfilment of the menace necessarily set the duke and the council at variance. We relate the course of events mainly on the authority of a partisan of the council ⁷. To the memorial which duke Charles wrote to Sigismund anent another amended order of government the king replied, that both the duke and the council must be content with the order which had been given, until he should return to the kingdom. When the prince heard this answer, dissension arose between him and the council

homage by the noble estates to Sigismund, after he had given the assurance, is emitted by bishops, prelates, ministers, and schoolmasters.

¹ Letter of the council and estates, Feb. 6, 1594. Baazii Invent. Eccles. Suoig. 550.

² "Anent the Academy, the king will let himself be dictated to in nothing." Answer to duke Charles' Articles, Feb. 1, 1594. Register.

³ King Sigismund's Assurance anent Religion, March 16, 1594. Stiernman.

⁴ With the right of examining, and along with the bishops, of appointing the rectors of the schools, §§ 8, 9.

⁵ The so-called kirk-houses at Upsala, formerly attached to the cathedral, sequestered by Gustavus I. and partly granted to the nobility.

⁶ In February, 1600, for the first time after the restoration of the university, seven masters of philosophy were instituted with cap and ring.

⁷ Memoirs of the treasurer Canute Person. A contemporary witness. Scand. Memoirs, v. x.

⁵ Letter to the king, Stockholm, Sept. 17, 1594. Reg. Covenant of the councillors of state with duke Charles anent the government. Sep. 2, 1594. Stiernman.

⁶ "We have received your tedious and offensive memorial, and you are to know, that although his majesty hath appointed you the supreme commander in the province, your power yet doth not reach so far, that you should set yourself near us." Charles to Arvid Gustavson Stenbock. Stockholm, Nov. 15, 1594. In January, 1595, five letters of citation to him occur, without his having appeared to any.

⁷ Iure, de tumultu Dalecariorum, vulgo, Næftaget (Næf's raid). Upsala, 1763.

⁸ Towards the end of his life the king had again appointed some of the former teachers.

⁹ They bore an important share in its deliberations. The rector of the duke's school at Nyköping, Olave Martinson, drew up the protocol, was afterwards archbishop upon the deposition of Abraham Angerman, and carried on with Charles, when king, a theological controversy. The brief of

of state, he wishing that they should agree with him, to resolve and ordain all that he intended. But the few who were present stubbornly opposed him. Then the duke changed his plan, and appealed to the estates of the realm, wishing to convolve a diet. On the other hand, the council of state stedfastly protested, and clung to their lord and king. But the duke held to his way, that he would not inquire the king's will thereon, but had himself the power of convening the estates.—What was to be done now? The councillors of the realm warned the king in good time, and wrote collectively to his majesty, requesting that he would provide them with money and men, to resist the overweening power of the prince. But meanwhile duke Charles issued his letters as well in his own name as in that of the council, that a diet of lords should be held on the 30th of September in SÖDERKÖPING. When the said letters were to be snberscribed, the councillors of state said that they could by no means consent to this diet. Then the prince used other language, telling them, "Ye must sign the letters, and betake yourselves thither too, or I will show ye another way," and reminded them of Engelbert the Daleman, who had been a peasant's son, and yet could constrain the council of the realm. "I am a king's son," said he, "and prince hereditary of this monarchy. After my will shall ye do, and if ye follow not after with good heart, I will have ye brought thither in bonds." Thus the good lords were fain to subscribe the letters with the prince, whether they wished or not. Yet the council hoped for effectual assistance from the knights and nobles.—Now when all were assembled in Söderköping, the prince, on the 20th October, with great complaints, caused certain points touching the evils of the government to be given in to the estates; saying that he wished to be spared the toil thereof, if he might not have the power as well as the name of an administrator; if that which was contained in the king's oath, specially ancient religion, might not be fulfilled, and the lord Clas Fleming, with other refractory chiefs, did not receive their punishment.—Now when he had fully drawn up the statute of Söderköping, every one who was there present behoved to subscribe and set their seals to the same. Thereafter he caused a bench of majesty⁸ to be erected on the market-place. Here he held a free conventicle; and albeit he directed his address to all the estates, yet he turned to the common people⁹, closing his parley on this wise: "After that we, honourable and good men, both by means of the answers which ye gave us on the points that were propounded to you, as also by means of the points which we caused to be annexed¹, have arrived at a complete resolution, here therefore cometh my question and interrogatory, whether ye be minded to defend what here hath been done and decreed, and will stand to the same, all for one and one for all, seeing that it is grounded upon the oath and assurance of the king,

and nought hath been done save what is profitable to his royal majesty and to our fatherland."—Yet another time he made the same demand. With that the common people answered, yea, yea, yea, gracious lord, and took the oath with uplifted hands,—“to hold by his princely grace all for one and one for all,” which form of speech the prince was ever wont to use. Thereupon he turned to the councillors of state, the bishops and nobles, who stood by him upon the royal bench, and questioned them in these words: "And ye, what say ye to this? Hear ye what these have sworn? Will ye sever yourselves from them?" The council of state answered in the name of the collective body of knights and nobles, and promised to his princely grace obedience in all which should tend to the weal and profit of king and fatherland. But the prince raised his hand and said, "So swear that ye will obey me in that which I shall prescribe." Then the greatest number lifted their hands, but there were many who would not. Thereafter the prince spoke of an aid for lady Anne's portion, and the payment of the army, saying, "We will so order it that it shall not fall heavily upon any man." Then the people promised the tax forthwith, and thanked the prince that he would not tallage them too highly². But the letter of the council to king Sigismund in Poland remained six weeks without answer; and it was heard that some of the king's pernicious secretaries had said, "Let duke Charles and the councillors of state pluck and reive. It hurteth them not. 'Tis good enough for heretics."

Let this stand as a sample of the procedure of the old Swedish diets. To what has been quoted, from the same source, may be subjoined the following. The estates advised the prince, we are told, that another course should be taken in the diets; that all points which were to be made generally known, should be first handled by the indwellers of each province, and then pleupotentaries should be sent by them to the diets, namely, the bishop with some of the clergy, six of the nobility in the name of all their peers, six from the army, divers of the burghesses, and six of the commonalty, with the seal of their province. Hence we discern how indeterminate the representation still oscillated between the old model by provinces and the new by estates, such as it was first settled in the time of Gustavus Adolphus.

The statutes of Söderköping were promulgated by Charles, as well in Swedish as in German and Latin. By these the provisions previously passed against the catholics of the realm were confirmed. Their worship at Stockholm, Drottningholm, and Vadstena, was interdicted; their priests were banished. The convent of Vadstena, the oldest and most famous in Sweden, was now completely suppressed. For the few remaining nuns Sigismund provided a refuge in the Bridgettine convent at Dantzic. A general church-inquest, to extirpate

⁸ So an elevated platform, built for the occasion, was called, when the king wished to speak with the people under the open sky.

⁹ Of them Sigismund writes in an answer to one of the duke's letters; "For what concerns the common men, his majesty expected, that they would not presume to be his guardians, since he had come to such years and understanding, that he could legally manage his own affairs." Werwing, i. 278.

¹ The freedom which Charles used with the acts of the diets, and of which his adversaries so often complained, he here acknowledges himself. This was also his father's custom.

² The treasurer says, that the tax was levied in three years, and amounted to some tons of gold, but was applied to the good neither of the princess Anne nor the troops. The latter is probably an assertion springing from the author's ill-will to the duke; the former is true, for the marriage came to nothing.

the remains of popery³, was carried into effect throughout the kingdom. Herein the new archbishop Abraham Angerman showed his violent disposition. Flogging, sprinkling with ice-cold water, imprisonment with bread and water, were the means by which he sought to uphold ecclesiastical discipline. The disorders in the church had dragged into the light primeval superstitions. We should not be inclined to believe that men were yet to be found in Sweden who *served Odin*. Yet this was a well-known expression of those who by invoking his spirit attempted to procure wealth⁴. Revolting proofs of the barbarism of manners appear in the protocols of the visitations then held. Homicides are mentioned who drank the blood of their enemies⁵; nay, this was testified of a clergyman, infamous for murders and other horrid cruelties, and yet in this case the sentence was mild⁶, "because he was at issue with us in doctrine, it is said, and now promises to be at one,"—adding consequently apostasy to his other crimes. Many who made their fortune by informations, came to a shameful end. Did not men afterward see master Eric, the minister of Badelunda, after he had accused old bishop Bellinus of intriguing with the papists and obtained his place, in no long time beheaded for a double adultery, in the very town where he had lately been ordained bishop?⁷

While the archbishop held his kirk-inquest in the country, master Eric Schepper the minister was equally zealous in Stockholm. Both quiet men, they had distinguished themselves by their violence in the liturgical contest, and soon discovered their inclination to master the secular government. Charles deprived Schepper because he preached against the taxes ordered at Söderköping for the payment of the public debt, and stirred up the burgesses of Stockholm to disaffection. The archbishop took him under his protection. To the prelate Charles thereupon wrote; "We will maintain the right which our father of happy memory acquired, that it should appertain to the magistrate to suspend a clergyman, upon well-grounded cause, from the exercise of his office; else might we as gladly sit under the pope as under the archbishop

and chapter of Upsala⁸." The duke was ill-content with his manner of holding the kirk-inquest. He had demeaned himself, Charles said, like an executioner and not like an archbishop, and excited great trouble among the people, who regarded the failure of crops and terrible dearth, which had now lasted three years, for a punishment of God upon the so-called Reformation of Abraham Angerman⁹.

Probably this might have had dangerous consequences for the duke, had not a head-point in the political creed of the Swedish peasants been his stay. We cannot better express this than by quoting the words of the letter of the Dalemen to the other provinces, dated Tuna, Epiphany Tide, 1597: "We will have no more rulers than our law-book alloweth, where it is set down, Over all Sweden no more than one shall be king. And as the king himself is not in the realm, and his son and brother are not of age, so can we and will we acknowledge no other for the realm's administrator than his princely grace duke Charles¹." Even Sigismund's prohibition to pay the taxes ordered by Charles, his promise to take under protection all who opposed the statute of Söderköping, his rescripts and embassies, as well as the secret and public opposition of the council, were able to effect nothing against this principle.

There was no longer a middle path. The statute above-named declared all who disavowed its enemies of the realm. This indeed induced most of the council and nobility who were not present on that occasion to subscribe the statute²; yet with what sincerity was shown in the sequel. Clas Fleming had not only opposed the statute of Söderköping, but persecuted those who had consented thereto, and generally all who dared to carry their complaints to Sweden and the duke. In Finland civil war already raged between the peasants and the troopers of Fleming. The club-war, so called from the weapons of the peasants, was carried on with atrocious cruelty, and cost the lives of eleven thousand peasants to East Bothnia and Tavastland³. Charles required that Clas Fleming and his partisans should be subdued by arms; Lifland and Finland

Westeras, but died before his inauguration, on which Bellinus again received his office, and held it to his death in 1618.

⁸ To the archbishop, anent master Eric Schepper, Aug. 23, 1596. Register. Both had reproached the duke for engrossing to himself the merits of the Synod of Upsala. Hereupon he had once written to Abraham Angermannus, "Had we not been present, the matter would have run otherwise" (which is true). On the same charge he made answer to the archbishop, July 26, 1596, "Ye come with your satiric discourses, imputing that we give ourselves out for a pillar of religion, whereas we are nought else than a poor, wretched, mortal man."

⁹ A multitude of men perished by this famine, which began after continual rains and large inundations in 1596. Sigismund forbade the export of grain from Poland to the Swedish ports. A fearful account of this famine is copied from an old church-book in the Palmsköld records. Acta ad Historiam Sigismundi.—For some years proofs continue to be found of the attachment of the people to the old ceremonies of the church. In 1602 the peasants of Swintuna fell upon their minister because he would not hold service on St. Laurence's day. Reg. for 1602.

¹ Fryxell, iv. 24, from documents in the Archives.

² Accession to the Statutes of Söderköping of the absent among the council and nobility, in Jenköping, Jan. 20, 1596. Register.

³ Werwing, i. 328.

³ Visitationem, quam incepit archiepiscopus in Ostrogothia, perduxit dicto anno (1596) primum per totam Gothiam cum Smolandia et Ölandia, deinde in reliquis diocesisbus eandem continuare pergit. Baazii Inventar. Eccles. Sviog. 573. Yet the inquest appears to have been stopped the following year by the duke.

⁴ In 1578, Eric of Osterby, in the parish of Illedemora, came to a cross-road at Peter's hut, and prayed Odin to grant him money. Then came two black hounds that breathed fire, and a whirlwind carried him into the air. He died eight days after, and received asses' burial (that is, was buried out of the church-yard). In 1580, Olave of Garphytta was traversing the heath of Grådö, when Odin came and bade him cease from night-walking. In 1601 another example of one who served Odin occurs. Diary of the minister Eric Anderson. MS. in the Library of Upsala.

⁵ Account of the general visitation of the see of Linköping in the year 1596. Memoirs of the Swedish Reformation, v. 303.

⁶ Ibid. 389. "If thou drink so deep that thou become foolish and stupid, then shalt thou be cut off from the congregation, and banished out of the country." The minister of the place was to be the accuser if he returned.

⁷ This is a mere fable, Rhyzelius says in his Bishop's Chronicle. But it is found in several authorities. In the same year (1606) Nicholas Peterson was ordained bishop of

must not be severed from Sweden⁴. The council evaded, negotiated, dissuaded. George Possé refused to lead the troops. The duke laid down the government on the 2nd November, 1596, but with the declaration, that as he had received it from the estates, he could deposit the charge in their hands alone; wherefore he convened a new diet for February of the following year in Arboga. Meanwhile, on the 13th January, 1597, arrived Sigismund's letter to the estates of the realm, that he had learned from his envoys on their return that the duke would not conform to the prescribed conditions of government, wherefore the king transferred its conduct to the council.

On the 25th of the same January Charles wrote to Sigismund, that the envoys had not mentioned before him that the king had already stripped him of the government. They had been silent upon many of the accusations found in the letters, which they had disseminated through the country, whence dissensions and revolt had been engendered. He, the duke, had assisted the king's parents out of their greatest misery to the government of Sweden. Sigismund's rights he had upheld, although in the king's absence he had demanded the power of an administrator. It came to pass by the king's governors, and the powers entrusted to them, that the hereditary settlement was brought to a nullity; for it should be known, that some had been heard to say, nothing would thrive rightly in Sweden so long as king Gustavus' brood ruled there. By such intrigues discords had been beforetime sown in other royal houses; it was to the greatest detriment of the king, not less than of the realm, that so many should govern, for every man took what he listed, as if the kingdom were given for a booty. Moreover, the people were to be feared; they would not suffer many lords; they clung fast to their kingly line; these came to the duke with their complaints, since he had relinquished the government, not fewer than before; he was called upon, from all quarters of the country, not to lay it down. The sole remedy was the king's own arrival; meanwhile he had convoked the estates to Arboga⁵. Another letter of October says, "We will not deal underhand, but would have your majesty plainly informed and warned, that if the government of this realm be not otherwise disposed and arranged we will not be subject to such a government, but use those means and expedients which may help for the alleviation of our own lot and that of our country⁶."

The council had received the duke's renunciation with silence. The first voice which spoke out upon the subject was that of the University of Upsala. To their heart's great sorrow, wrote the professors on the 4th December, 1596, had they heard this; and although his princely grace could better than any of them weigh what consequences might ensue,

they could yet, as born Swedish men, occupied in the duties of education, do no otherwise than with humble and well-meant suggestion, warn both the duke and the council of the danger of such a severance from the general weal.

We hasten to the solution. The diet assembled at Arboga in February, 1597, notwithstanding the prohibition of the king and the protest of the council⁷. A single lord of the council was present, the unstable count Axel Oxenstierna, alternately the enemy of Charles and Sigismund, who had been gained over by the duke on this occasion with large grants of fiefs. Almost the whole of the nobility were absent, excepting those of the duchy. The clergy came, but those who had formerly been most violent against Sigismund were now suspected of being his partisans. The archbishop, Abraham Angerman, was publicly accused by the duke of having attempted to spread abroad Sigismund's prohibition of the statutes of Söderköping, which were subscribed by himself. Two years afterwards he was deposed, and died in captivity and wretchedness. Scheffer, who was likewise imprisoned, afterwards recovered his freedom, and died minister of Enköping. In the diet a violent spirit prevailed. Charles discoursed; the peasants cried, yea, they would defend him so long as their blood was warm, and brandished axe and club against the lords⁸. Charles caused the statute to be drawn up and subscribed, and sent it thereafter through the country for signature by the hundreds. The enactments before passed at Söderköping were confirmed. Whosoever opposed them was to be put down by arms as a public enemy, and the duke, who at the request of the estates again assumed the government, proceeded to their immediate enforcement. Most of the councillors now quitted the kingdom; Eric Sparré first of all. Charles made himself master of Elfsborg, Stegeborg, Calmar, and crossed over into Finland, where Clas Fleming had lately died. Abo, defended by his widow Ebba Stenbock, fell together with the fleet into the duke's hands. He returned with several noblemen whom he had made prisoners, and Samuel Lasey, an envoy who had arrived from Sigismund, saw in Stockholm and Upsala many who had fought for the king's cause pass to the scaffold. Thus the flames of civil war were thoroughly kindled, and that which Sigismund had declared in one of his many manifestoes was fulfilled; namely, that by the fashion in which the duke filled the king's place, the estates would not know their own position ere they saw themselves in arms against their legitimate king⁹.

One of the resolutions of the diet of Arboga was, that the king should be solicited by an embassy to come to Sweden. Need we say that none was

⁴ Points required by duke Charles, if he will remain in the government. Register.

⁵ Register for 1597.

⁶ To Sigismund, Abo, Oct. 4. Reg. for 1597.

⁷ The duke had deferred it to the fair-time, when in all cases a great crowd of people was assembled. He had formerly spoken with the peasants at the fairs of Enköping and Upsala. The Dalecarlians issued their letter, and exhorted the others to come.

⁸ "They of the knights and nobles who were yesterday gathered in the council-room, have let fall hard words of us, that we should not have allowed peasants to judge noblemen,

which is said to have been done, inasmuch as we denounced before the commonalty those who had gone about in the country to annul the statutes of Söderköping, which they themselves had subscribed. We have not procured any one to be condemned; but the statutes do sufficiently judge them, for which the estates of the realm, (riksens ständer,) all for one and one for all, are bound to make answer. So therein have the peasants as much to say against the nobles, as the nobles against the peasants." Charles to certain of the nobility. Arboga, March 7, 1597. Reg.

⁹ Werwing, i. 370. Of the prolix correspondence on both sides we have quoted only that which was inaccessible or unknown before.

sent? On the other hand, the king made known his purpose to return without delay into his paternal dominions, on which account he required the fleet to be sent to Dantzic for his passage. For his security he was compelled to bring with him foreign troops; should he find all tranquil in Sweden they would be immediately sent back. The duke appealed in all things to the estates, and these in reply passed two new decrees¹, at Upsala and Vadstena, wherein they bind themselves mutually to stake life and property for the previous statutes, and rather to suffer all extremities than permit that the duke or any one of them should endure violence or persecution on that ground; denouncing therewithal in the strongest expressions the seceders from the council, as those who first wished to excite revolt, and then to introduce a foreign force into the country, for which they must stand their trial. With this turn of affairs the fate of these lords, who were in part gifted with distinguished qualities, was sufficiently indicated.

Sigismund, after he had waited in vain for the Swedish fleet, at length embarked in merchant-vessels, which he sequestered at Dantzic, with about 5,000 Polish troops and a brilliant court, and landed on the 30th July, 1598, at Calmar, which soon opened its gates to him. He sought by every method to contradict the general opinion that he came as an enemy of the realm. German and English envoys had, solicited by him, interposed their mediation between his uncle and himself. His very presence did much; for a report of his death had got abroad in Sweden. The Dalesmen, who already in the time of John and the contests regarding the liturgy wished to raise Charles to the throne, and now too took arms in his behalf, answered the commissioners of Sigismund and the council, that they would not believe the king to be alive until they saw himself². The Swedish councillors who accompanied the king, all employed their influence in winning men's minds to his

cause. Livonia was in the king's hands, and a considerable portion of Finland likewise, for Arvid Stalarm, who succeeded Fleming there as royalist governor, had retaken Abo. From that station he threatened the Swedish coasts, and even attempted a landing with 3,000 men, but was driven back by the duke's fleet, and the peasantry of Upland³. Stockholm declared for the king; as also the larger part of the troops in Gothland, where Sigismund's most zealous partisan had been lieutenant. The strength of Charles, as formerly that of Gustavus Vasa, consisted chiefly in hands from Sweden Proper, Dalecarlia, and Norrland, besides his ordinary army from his principality. A month passed away in negotiations without results. The king repaired to Stegeborg; the duke with his army approached on the 8th September, but was surrounded in the night by colonel Weyer with his Poles, and found himself at once encompassed and attacked. The leader of the king's troops, the Livonian Farensbach, with an enemy's head carried upon his lance, conjured the king to follow up the advantages he had obtained. But Sigismund, when he saw the blood of his subjects, gave orders for the cessation of the conflict, and caused it to be intimated to the duke that he might retire his men⁴. This mildness of the king made great impression, even upon Charles himself, who in the first moment declared himself before his officers willing to quit the kingdom with wife and child if harmony could be thereby restored. The negotiations began anew, but made as little progress as before, and as Charles' fleet meanwhile arrived, he raised his pretensions. The king drew towards Linköping; the duke occupied Stegeborg, and followed in his footsteps. A battle ensued, on the 25th September, 1598, upon both sides of the Stange-stream at Linköping, in which the royal army, attacked by the duke, with little loss upon his side, suffered a complete overthrow. Two thousand men, by the duke's own statement, were left on the field⁵. This was the

¹ Feb. 20, and June 25, 1598.

² *Ihre de tumultu Dalecarlorum.* Sigismund himself complains that a saying was current among the peasants, that the Poles had sent a shoemaker who resembled him closely. Werwing, i. 399.

³ "Therefore some thousand peasants of Upland were gotten together, and two professors of Upsala, namely master Nicholas (Nicolaus Bothniensis, the same who presided at the Synod of Upsala,) and master Jacob Ericson, were appointed them for leaders, along with some others who were more practised in affairs of war. These hastened to fall upon the Finns, having first supplied themselves with provisions; and because their wallets were mostly filled with roots, this march was called the root-raid." Werwing, i. 387.

⁴ Sigismund himself represents the beginning of the conflict in another light. Respecting this occurrence we will cite extracts from both his own and Charles' letters. The king's note to Clas Bielké is dated September 8, the evening of the battle, at Stegeborg. In this he says, "That the duke had intimated by a trumpet, that since he had received no answer to his conditions by the German messengers, (which yet was twice transmitted,) he would now come himself, and have an answer within half an hour; if meanwhile any beginning was made, he would be assuaged from it. Thereupon, early this day he led all his force from his camp at Mem hither before our camp, ere one of our people knew thereof, and gathered a rabble of peasants. As soon as our people showed themselves, he took the initiative, began to use his field-pieces, and skirmished upon our men, in which he had no better success (although he had all the advantages, and there

were not more than two or three companies of ours who maintained the skirmish, for our whole force, cavalry and infantry, remained quiet, since we took no pleasure in seeing blood shed), than losing three hundred men, and we, praise God, no more than sixteen, besides some who were wounded. Wherefore, when he saw that we were so strong, although he had formerly threatened enough that he would drive us into the sea again with hop-poles, he sent messengers, that he desired not war, but rather peace and reconciliation; whereupon we gave for answer that he should vacate the field, and then negotiate with us. Therewith he moved off." "Else," adds the king, in a letter to the archbishop Abraham Angerman, "that day would by God's help have been a dear one for the duke and his men." Sigismund's Register, 1598.—Charles wrote shortly to Joachim Skeel, Peter Stolpe, and others in the fleet, the day after the action: "Yesterday, as we were pushing towards Stegeborg with our people, to offer not blows but reconciliation, the Heilduces fell unlooked for upon our foot-folk, whereby a sharp fight sprung up between them, so that some fell upon both sides, yet most of them Heilduces; of ours were not more than thirty wounded and slain. This to the seamen, that they may not believe lies, as if we had for every man lost some thousands." Duke Charles' Reg. 1598.

⁵ Charles to Laurence the West-Goth, from his camp in Linköping, Sept. 27. "He had heard that the troopers of Upland and the Finns were preparing to make an incursion through the principality, but hoped they would have another stomach for the chase when they heard how their fellows had succeeded below."

fight of Stangbridge (Stangebro). Sigismund would probably have been made prisoner himself, had not Charles granted a truce, notwithstanding a shot treacherously fired at him during the negotiation. The king and the duke had, immediately after the engagement, a personal conference. The sequel was the convention of Linköping, on the 28th September, wherein it was provided that both sides should lay down their arms; that the foreign troops, except the king's body-guard, should be sent away, the government committed to the king, who should conduct it in accordance with his oath, and convoke a diet within four months, till which time the officers appointed by the duke should continue in their charges. From the promised oblivion of the past the duke excepted the five councillors who had followed the king to Poland, Gustave and Steno Baner, Eric Sparre, Thure Bielke, and George Possé, whose surrender he demanded. The king sought in vain, through count Eric Brahe and others, to obtain a remission of these conditions. "Against you, count Eric," said the duke, "I have nothing, for ye hold the same faith as the king, and have but acted according to your conscience. But not so the other five; and if the king will not approve their delivery, men are to be found here who will of a surety drag the foes and traitors to their country out of the king's ranks." Here he pointed to a crowd of armed peasants, who but now had come to his succour. The lords were delivered up. They were heard to say, that if they had been faithful to the duke as to the king, they would have

been otherwise required. Yet they were to be tried by judges impartial, and not natives. The king and the duke parted at Linköping. Sigismund embarked at Stegeborg, was driven by storm to Calmar, left there a Polish garrison, and sailed, not to Stockholm but to Dantzic. By the treaty of Linköping it was stipulated that the estates should have the right of opposing whosoever should break its provisions. These assembled at Jenköping, in the outset of 1599, and renounced their fealty and obedience to Sigismund, albeit conditionally. At a new diet in Stockholm this renunciation was (July 24) made absolute, with the addition, that if within six months Sigismund should not send his son Vladislaus to Sweden, in order to be educated to the crown in the evangelic faith, his family should forfeit for ever its hereditary right to the Swedish throne. The duke was declared reigning Prince Hereditary of the realm. The Finns, if they did not voluntarily submit, were to be compelled to obedience; whosoever opposed these resolutions of the estates should be punished as a traitor.

This was the end of Sigismund's power, even in name, within his paternal dominions. Sweden learned to know him more as a zealous Catholic than as a king. On the Polish throne, which he possessed to his death, he showed rather the virtues of a private man than of a ruler. The long wars, which the branch of the Vasa family, now deposed for their religion, occasioned by their pretensions, conducted the Swedish nation on the path of conquest, rich in honour, as in misfortune.

CHAPTER XIV.

CHARLES IX.

CONSEQUENCES OF SIGISMUND'S FLIGHT. SEVERITIES AGAINST HIS PARTY. DIET OF LINKÖPING. TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION OF THE ROYALIST LORDS OF THE COUNCIL FOR HIGH TREASON. DEPOSITION OF SIGISMUND AND HIS HEIRS BY THE ESTATES. CONTINUANCE OF HOSTILITIES WITH THE POLES. EVENTS OF THE WAR. VISIT OF CHARLES TO FINLAND. DIET AT STOCKHOLM. RELIGIOUS VIEWS OF CHARLES. HIS ACCEPTANCE OF THE CROWN FROM THE ESTATES AT NORRKÖPING, IN 1604. STATE OF THE LAW AND JUDICATORY. ENCOURAGEMENT OF PUBLIC INDUSTRY. RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN POWERS. WAR WITH RUSSIA, AND WITH DENMARK. THE KING'S DEATH.

A. D. 1599—1611.

WERWING relates that Charles, before the diet of Söderköping in the year 1595 had the following dream; "It seemed to the duke that he sat at table in Reval, and a Livonian nobleman, Fittinghoff the elder, placed before him various dishes. When the plates were uncovered, there appeared to him in one of the same the Swedish arms, and in another a dead man's skull, with many bones around it. From this strange dream the duke forthwith awakened in alarm, and when his chamberlain, Ludbert Kauer, shortly after entered, he told him the same; which he as a learned and experienced man might interpret to the duke, corresponding to the mournful events which thereafter ensued."

Of different other forewarnings at this time mention is made, as that it rained blood in Stock-

holm before Charles went to Finland; that the peasants about Linköping saw armies fighting in the air before the battle of Stangbridge, and the Oelanders' fleets engaging in Calmar Sound. We allege not these as external but as inner signs of a vehement disquiet, of which the heart was full. Since Sweden was settled, it had been scarcely so shaken to its deepest foundations as in the convulsions which overthrew the last fragments of Catholicism, and wrested the crown from the line of John.

Sigismund's flight reduced his still numerous adherents to despair. Count Eric Brahe wrote to Poland, that such an example was scarce to be found in the whole history of the world; loss of property, honour, life, gallows and wheel, were the only things which the king's friends had now to expect. Sigismund replied, that he hoped still to

have more partisans in Sweden than could fall by gallows and wheel; although a great number of the troopers of Smaland and Westgothland, by their conduct in the battle of Stangbridge, had deserved no better⁶. To Charles he had already written; that no man could wonder at his departure who knew the circumstances; after he had been driven from Stegeborg to Calmar by storm, and he had intimated to the duke that he intended to go to Stockholm, letters had arrived from Poland that great troubles were on the point of breaking out there. In Poland he would also be nearer other potentates, with whom he could concert to send their envoys to Sweden at the time of the appointed diet. The only object of this diet was the process between the duke and the lords of the council; their cause must be investigated indeed by impartial men, but to the king himself belonged, after the law, the last decision; the duke should know that it beseeemed not him to inflict aught on the lords of the council against law and justice, nor to undertake aught hostile against the king's castles, especially Stockholm, Calmar, and Elfsborg, any more than to persecute the king's subjects, or forbid the promulgation of his letters, and allow insults to his name; if any other conduct were held, it would be impossible that any gilding, how thickly and strongly soever laid on, could keep it longer hid⁷. John Sparré received orders, "upon his temporal and eternal weal," to hold out over the winter in Calmar; all negotiation and capitulation with the duke was forbidden him; if the duke would constrain him, even by threatening the taking the life of his brother Eric Sparré and the other lords of the council, he should reflect on his oath and truth, his noble rank, and his famous name in arms; he should treat the people fairly (he was named lieutenant in Smaland also), and represent to them, that the king designed no inhumanity against the Swedes; he had come as a peaceful sovereign and as such had departed, to treat with the Roman emperor and other powers, things that might further the welfare of both kingdoms⁸. In his letters to Arvid Stalarn and Axel Kurk, his commanders in Finland, Sigismund complains of Charles having given out that he had run away from his kingdom, and that Sweden was now without a king; in proof thereof the duke had struck gold coins without the king's name; on the one side were seen only the words, "Coins of the kingdom of Sweden," and on the other the name of Jehovah in a pillar of fire⁹. Sigismund's late disaster seems to have totally

deprived him of self-possession. His letters and orders show exasperation as deep as it was impotent against Charles, whom he styles the dishonoured, perjured prince. In Finland, which was still in his power, he gave orders that sundry sworn officers should be appointed in all the towns and parishes to watch over suspected persons; whosoever was found in communication with the duke or his faction, should have his property delivered over to the soldiers to be plundered. Otherwise sparing of words, he now descends himself to give directions in a particular case, how the degrees of the rack are to be applied¹. He caused a violent pamphlet against Charles to be written and distributed to foreign courts, for which Eric Sparré and others furnished materials². A naval expedition under John Gyllenstierna was undertaken from Dantzic against Elfsborg, in which a revolt of the king's adherents in Westgothland was also reckoned upon. The rising, however, did not take place, and the enterprise failed, although countenanced by the king of Denmark. How far projects or the suspicion of them extended, may be seen from Sigismund's letter to Christian IV., not to believe the allegation of duke Charles, that the king intended something with the aid of Spain against Denmark and Norway³.

While the feud between Charles and Sigismund was decided in Gothland, Upper Sweden did not escape a civil war. A landing of the Finns was continually apprehended, and it was in fact a plan of the royalist party that these, combined with the troopers of Upland (who had been already employed in Finland under Clas Fleming), and supported from the capital, should reduce to obedience the provinces conspicuous for their devotion to the duke. Commissioners of the king and the lords of the council traversed the country. When the governor, Jacob Naef, a Scotsman, came to Dalecarlia on this business, the inhabitants rose and put him to death. The Dalecarlians renewed their old league with the Westmanlanders, Gestricers, and Helsingers, plundered and assassinated with ingenious cruelty the adherents of Sigismund, and were already on their descent to the lower country to join the duke, when tidings of the convention of Linköping arrived. Even then they could with difficulty be restrained, would not credit the reality of the treaty, and were bent on marching onwards, as they said, to scour the land of its evil counsellors, who had already attempted, in king John's time, to extirpate the family of old king Gustavus by intestine discord. We may look upon this as an

⁶ To Count Eric, Jan. 5, 1599. Sigismund's Reg. Count Eric Brahe afterwards made his peace with the duke.

⁷ To Charles, Warsaw, Dec. 15, 1598. Reg.

⁸ Instruction for John Sparré before the king's leaving Calmar, Oct. 21, 1598. Reg.

⁹ To Arvid Ericson and Axel Kurk, Warsaw, Feb. 18, 1599. Register.

¹ Anent a partisan in the club-war, Hans Hanson of Monikala, who had been previously employed by the duke, afterwards offered his services to Sigismund, and ended by being suspected by both. Arvid Stalarn had taken him and acquainted Sigismund with the fact. The king wrote to Stalarn and Axel Kurk respecting his punishment, Dantzic, Nov. 24, 1598: "First, he shall be admonished while the court is sitting of all his traitorous acts and plots, and then shall judgment pass upon him. Thereafter (!) he shall be tortured upon the rack and with brandy (which was burned

upon the naked body on such occasions), and what he confesses shall be exactly taken down. The day after let him be taken to what place shall seem best to you, there to undergo the punishment of a traitor. This is to be executed so that the seventh or eighth day after the arrival of this letter shall be the last of this traitor in the world, if ye lay any weight on our royal favour and grace. Let this be your guide. We commend you to God." Sigismund's Reg. 1598. The punishment, however, was not inflicted, and it was first by the command of Charles in 1605, that Hans Hanson of Monikala suffered death for his double treason.

² This rare anonymous tract, to write which a professor Sturcius was brought from Rostock to Dantzic, was printed there in 1598, under the name Ansa Caroli, &c. It is found in Sigismund's Registry for 1593—98, let. E.

³ To the king of Denmark, Warsaw, Aug. 12, 1599. Sigismund's Register.

expression of the popular disposition towards many of the leading men of that period.

After Sigismund had withdrawn, and the convention of Linköping was thus annulled, a general persecution of the king's party broke out in the country. A prison, banishment, or death was the lot of many. Their property was confiscated or plundered; rapacity accused even the innocent; many new rich and new poor were seen. And when the first anarchy was appeased by the transference of the government to the duke, vengeance was but the more effectual in the hand of an individual. For Charles knew not what it was to forget and forgive after a civil war, and punished his own foes as traitors to their country. The town of Calmar was taken by storm, where the duke himself was for the second time seen uppermost on the storming ladder. The castle surrendered to the force of hunger. Charles granted the Polish and German garrison their liberty, upon their promise never again to serve against Sweden. But the eyes of the whole kingdom, and especially the imprisoned lords, were directed to the fate which awaited the commander of Calmar, John Sparré, brother of the chancellor. He was the first of the magnates who had been taken with arms in his hand. On the 14th May, Charles propounded to him the following queries, to make answer thereon as before God:—Where were the letters of confederacy which the faithless councillors had drawn out against his princely grace? whether the king and the disloyal councillors had not intended to seize, expel, or kill the duke? whether the king had not promised relief both to Calmar and the captive lords? whether they and their ladies had not requested a year previously that the king should come into the realm with his forces? whether they had not designed to get the government into their own power, and bound themselves to grant a certain aid from every province? whether they had not purposed to make Sweden an elective monarchy like Poland, and promised the king the free exercise of his religion? whether they had not sought and solicited both all the fines devolving to the king from their own vassals, as also that they and their dependents should never be bound to pay suit to the hundred-court, and they themselves should acquire the right of judging in their own manor-houses all cases touching life and limb? whether there had not been a rumour that lady Anne should be regent of Sweden, and Gustave Brahe should obtain her hand? What their answers were to all these questions is unknown. But John Sparré, with two other noblemen, and many of inferior class, were found, with the assent of the councillors of state present, guilty to death, and their heads fixed over the town gate of Calmar⁵. "Vengeance! vengeance! vengeance! before God's just tribunal!" wrote the chancellor

in his testament on receiving intelligence of his brother's fate. With rigour as inflexible did the duke act in Finland, whither he proceeded with the fleet and army in the summer of 1599. The Finns were routed, Wiborg and Abo taken, and the whole country subdued. Eight-and-twenty persons fell in these towns by the sword of the headsman; among them the young and chivalrous John Fleming, son of Clas the marshal. On his visit to Abo two years earlier, Charles had found there old Philip Kern, who by John's order had mixed the poison for Eric XIV. He is said to have so beaten him with his own hand that blood flowed from the mouth and nose. Now Olave Gustavson Stenbock, who thirty years before, when Eric's warden, had broken by a shot the arm of the unhappy king, and being accused of several crimes on John's death, had fled out of the kingdom, was apprehended in the vicinity of Abo. He was tied to a tree and shot by order of Charles, his body being thrown into a quagmire, whence it was taken out and interred by Catharine Magnus' daughter.

At the diet of Linköping, on the 3d March, 1600, was opened the process against the arraigned lords of the council, who had been detained for a year and a half in rigorous confinement, separated from their wives and children. In consequence of late events the indictment had been extended to several others. The court consisted of one hundred and fifty-three persons; thirty-eight of the council and higher nobility, among whom were many relatives of the accused, twenty-four officers of the cavalry, all of noble rank, twenty of the infantry, twenty-four burgesses, twenty-three bailiffs and law-readers⁶, with twenty-four yeomen. The clergy regarded it as unseemly to take the part of judges, and confined themselves to a declaration that the evangelical faith would undoubtedly have been endangered in Sweden if Sigismund had attained the superiority⁷. The trial was held publicly, and in presence of the envoys of John Adolphus, duke of Holstein⁸, brother-in-law of the administrator. Charles absolved the judges from the oath which they had sworn to him, and appeared himself as accuser against eight lords of the council of state, Gustave and Steno Baner (brothers), Hogenskild, Thuré and Clas Bielké (brothers), Eric Sparré, Eric Leyonhufvud, George Canuteson Posse, and five other noblemen, Charles Stenbock, Arvid Stalarm, Axel Kurk, Christian Horn, and Bennet Fack, formerly royal commanders in Finland and elsewhere. The heads of indictment were read by Eric Göranson Tegel, son of the notorious Göran Persson, who was afterwards the historian of Gustavus I. and Eric XIV. The prosecutors began with the well-known charges of the time of John, in respect to which the reconciliation formerly effected was declared invalid, because

wished to restore the estate to his widow. This lady, Margaret Brahe, (a sister of Eric Sparré's wife,) writes to Sigismund, that she and her children were driven out of the kingdom. The king promises her succour and vengeance as soon as he should have subjugated Sweden, and augments for her children the old Sparré arms by a tower planted round with cannon, in memory of the defence of Calmar. To lady Margaret, Warsaw, 28 Aug. 1599, and Sept. 26, 1600.

⁶ So was called the person who filled the office of judge of the hundred, while its noble possessor drew the emoluments.

⁷ See this declaration in the additions to the Rhymic Chronicle of Charles IX. i. 346.

⁸ A Danish envoy had wished to be present, but was excluded.

⁴ Charles' Reg. for 1599. At the diet in Linköping the following year, Charles wrote to the estates, that the princess Anne, for her intrigues during many years with the disloyal lords, deserved to lose her portion. In one of the notes from his own hand, of which a copy is preserved in the Palmisköld Collections, it is said, "And his (Eric Sparré's) and the others' intention is no other, than that the king should have the name and the trouble, but they themselves the profit, expelling and setting up the king as often as it pleaseth them."

⁵ Bergquara, Sparré's estate, was given by the king to his natural son, Gyllenhielm, who had had the command before Calmar. He had in vain begged for Sparré's life, and

the lords had continued their treasonable proceedings, broken their engagements contracted with the duke, and the statutes of Söderköping, plotted against the duke's weal, honour, and life, and at last brought foreign armies against their country. Their private letters to wives and connexions were used in evidence. In spite of this no proof appeared against Hogenskild Bielké, although the duke swore by heaven and earth "that the old fox was the real cause of it all".⁹ His violent expressions were accompanied by applause and murmurs from the numerous throng which usually attended the diets of Charles; whence he was called the peasant-king. Clas Bielké, Eric Leyonhufvud, George Possé, and Christian Horn fell on their knees, confessed themselves guilty, implored and obtained pardon. The remaining lords said, that they here perceived only parties in the case, not judges, and made protest. The duke replied, and the protest was overruled. The functionaries sitting on the bench, the officers, bailiffs, and juriconsults first gave their opinions¹ in reference to the charge. It was for the capital punishment, and was adopted by the un noble estates, and held valid against the more lenient verdict of the nobility. The only point wherein the estates did not yield to the duke was, that they insisted that the sentence should be enrolled in his chancery.² On the 17th March it was promulgated, and the estates engaged by the act of the diet to defend the same against the whole world. Neither the intercessions of the bishops³, nor the near connexion of the accused with the royal family, nor the prostrations and tears of their wives, and twenty-two of their children, who were present, could obtain a commutation of their sentence. Charles quitted Linköping, having given orders for the execution of the sentence. On the 20th March of the year 1600, Gustave Baner, Eric Sparré, Steno Baner, and Thure Bielké were beheaded in the market-place of Linköping. Their demeanour in their last moments made a deep impression. They spoke to the people, asserted their innocence, and all met death with tranquillity, especially the three last named. After them suffered Bennet Fack, a sexagenarian warrior, who was a Catholic. The other prisoners (excepting the paralytic Hogenskild Bielké) were also led forth, and obliged to see the blood of their friends poured out. Their lives were then granted them, and they were reconducted to prison. Yet the persecution was not appeased by this sacri-

fice. The courageous Arvid Stalarm, already twice condemned to death, who is said to have jestingly remarked at Linköping, "the lords of the council, now made happy, will be wondering what has become of me, since I have not followed them to heaven," received his freedom in 1602, on the intercession of the Finnish nobility, and afterward was even appointed to a command in Livonia. But after the unsuccessful assault on Wittenstein in 1604, the following year he was again accused and condemned, led out to death, but reconducted to prison, where he died. At the same diet of 1605, convoked on occasion of a conspiracy against the duke⁴, the old and feeble Hogenskild Bielké was again placed before the tribunal of the estates, and condemned to death for expressions which betrayed deep hatred against Charles and his house. Sitting on a chair, he was carried to the place of execution, and the head having been struck off, which his chamberlain vainly sought to protect from maltreatment, was set up over the south gate of Stockholm. After he had seen his two brothers fall by the headsman's sword, and himself endured a long imprisonment, the third brother, Clas Bielké, once the richest man in Sweden of that day, went into exile with his wife and children and three nephews. The same fate of banishment also fell upon the counts Axel Leyonhufvud and Eric Brahe, who had themselves sat on the bench at Linköping, on Gustave Brahe brother of the latter⁵, on five Stenbocks, four Sparrés, six Gyllenstiernas, seven Possés, two Ribbings, two Bondes, two Flemings, one Torstenson, one Horn⁶. Other members of the old families saw the cause of their country in that of Charles, or at least sought and enjoyed his protection. In 1604 the property of the exiles was declared forfeited to the crown, unless they appeared to make answer before the tribunal. "And seeing that the children," it is said in the statute of the diet, "soon forget their father's offences, if they have not a daily remembrance, therefore shall no one of the sons of the condemned lords ever be capable, without especial grace, of sitting in the council of the realm, or other high places of trust; all their children, who shall again plot to transform the kingdom of Sweden into an elective monarchy shall, when they come to an age at which they can understand the design of their parents, be punished like these as traitors; if they discover the offences of their parents, they shall enjoy their property."⁷

⁹ Account of the judgment which was passed in king Charles IX.'s time by a portion of the people, and the greatest part of the estates. *Palmsköld Collections. Acta ad historiam Caroli IX. v. ii.*

¹ Humble, poor, and submissive opinion of the officers, bailiffs, and lawyers. *Ibid.*

² For what is requested by the estates, that the prologue to the judgment and answer to the grounds wherewith the council of state had excepted to the court (*exceperat forum*), should be enrolled in the duke's chancery, the same cannot be, and cometh too high his princely grace, as if the estates themselves knew not how to answer what they had done with free and good conscience. March 12, 1600. *Reg.*

³ Note of Christina Baner to her sister, on the mournful lot of their father the high marshal Gustave Baner. Appendix to the Rhyme Chronicle of Charles IX. p. 359.

⁴ "An unheard-of treason of Hogenskild Bielké, his brother Clas, Christian Classon Horn, and several others of the nobility, clergy, burgesses, and peasants, has been discovered; that not only the troopers of Upland (long devoted to Sigismund) had intended to shoot us dead and pass over to the

enemy at the time of our being in Livonia, but also plotted how we might be betrayed, with wife and child, into the enemy's hands. And no doubt there are many in this realm who are participant in the same treason, so that, since it is impossible for us in such sort to assume a government, or let ourselves be crowned king, we would rather dwell among bears and wolves, and take our sustenance where we can, than among a people that heeds neither oath nor truth. Therefore are we constrained to convene you to a diet; and as we have no other matter to handle with you than what regards the said treason, ye need fear no more new imposts than what have been granted in Norrköping (namely, in the previous year, 1604)." Writ of summons by Charles to the diet of March 8, 1605. *Reg.*

⁵ Son of the high steward Peter Brahe, who died in 1590, in disgrace with king John. Two other sons, Magnus and Abraham, were of the duke's party.

⁶ Duke Charles' Slaughter-Bench, the most famous of the many violent pamphlets against Charles, printed in 1617, but very rare. The author was George Nilson Possé of Siögeras.

Unhappy memorials of civil discords, which parted the son from the father, and stirred up brother against brother!

At the diet of Linköping, in 1600, the un noble estates and the officers of the army offered the crown to the duke. The nobility confined themselves to a request that he would continue to administer the government. On this account the statute of the diet recommends two courses; the first, to leave Sigismund yet five months, within which to send his son on the terms before mentioned; the second, forthwith to bar from the throne the whole family of John III., that is, not only Sigismund and his descendants, but his younger brother John, who was now a boy of eleven years old, to whom East-Gotland was guaranteed for his duchy. For the exclusion of this prince are alleged as grounds, his youth, the kingdom requiring a ruler, and the revenge which he might in future be disposed to exact on his brother's account. The estates declare that they had moved the duke to embrace the second alternative, though he himself had expressed his approbation of the first.

In letters to queen Elizabeth of England, Charles declared that the estates had offered him the crown, and pressed it on his acceptance, although he had refused it, since it belonged of right to the young duke John⁷; yet he would further consider their request. Charles received ambassadors from both England and France. Elizabeth, whose alliance he sought in 1599, declared his cause to be just, and promised her mediation in his disputes with Denmark. Charles lamented on her death the severance of a long friendship, and showed the greatest reverence for her memory. Henry IV. sought the hand of the Swedish princess Catharine for prince Henry of Rohan, and the answer of Charles, evasive as regarded his daughter, did not interrupt their good understanding⁸. The following year Henry bespoke cannon and balls from Sweden⁹, and in 1604 offered his mediation in the Polish affairs.

From Linköping the estates had sent a new, although in the opinion of Charles not sufficiently decided memorial of renunciation to Sigismund, who for answer threw the messenger into prison, ceded Swedish Estland to the Poles, and at the diet of Warsaw in 1600 and 1601, obtained the promise of the estates of Poland to support him in the war against Sweden. Charles, convinced that every delay upon the path he was treading was a retrograde step, resolved to seek out his enemy. After he had obtained at the diet of Linköping an engagement that every province should henceforth maintain a certain number of troopers and infantry, he crossed in the summer of 1600 with a considerable army to Livonia. He had with him his consort and the young Gustavus Adolphus, whom he recommended to the estates, in case any calamity should befall himself. Livonia was badly defended, for the Poles were detested; Reval with Estland immediately declared for Charles. In six months all the Livonian fortresses had been wrested

from the Poles, except Kockenhusen, Dunamunde, and Riga, which Charles, reinforced by troops from Germany under the command of count John of Nassau, in person besieged. Differences with the count, who in a short time quitted the Swedish service, and want of pay for the troops, occasioned a retreat. Charles' progress had caused great preparations in Poland. In the autumn of 1601 a Polish army, with which Sigismund himself was present, entered Livonia. He soon, however, withdrew, leaving the command in chief to the high chancellor Zamoisky. "Our king is no warrior, nor can endure toils and pains," the brave old Zamoisky said to Charles Carlson Gyllenhielm, who at the taking of Wolmar fell, together with the young Jacob de la Gardie, into the enemy's hands. The former was the natural son of Charles. The defence of Wolmar had excited the astonishment of the enemy, but did not satisfy the severe father. "We have received thy letter, Charles Carlson," he writes, "and although we are little bound to trouble ourselves about thy liberation, seeing thou hast held out no better, we will nevertheless ascribe to thy youth what hath taken place, since we have understood from thy messenger, that thou hast stood one or two assaults. Thou mayst therefore apply to the chancellor anent thy release, and request to know, against which one of those who are in our power thou mayst be exchanged; thereon we will take order that thou mayst again have liberty¹." This day of freedom was late in rising. Sigismund's exasperation had now found an object on which to wreak itself. Charles Carlson Gyllenhielm spent twelve years in a dungeon, and of these six and a half in chains. In Livonia almost all the advantages gained by the Swedes were again lost, while the war filled the country with the most frightful misery. The Polish general appeared not disinclined to peace. Had the duke not attacked Livonia, he said to the Swedish prisoners, never would the Poles have saddled a horse against Sweden². These overtures and incipations led merely to a warm correspondence, in the course of which Zamoisky at length challenged Charles to a duel, receiving for answer that he deserved only a cudgel by way of reply. A truce could not be concluded, because the conditions demanded would have made the Poles masters of all Livonia.

Charles had gone to Abo with his wife and son, and there in the beginning of 1602 received the oath of homage from the Finnish nobility, where, he says, "greater disorders existed than in any other quarter of the kingdom." Finland, where Sigismund's lieutenants had longest ruled, herein afforded a proof of what might be expected from the magnates under an absentee king. The people were sunk in the deepest misery, and had borne the main burden of the war, while the nobles took possession of the estates subject to tax, and treated the peasants almost as the Livonian nobleman his bondsmen. Between the peasantry of Sweden and Finland there was a great difference, as Charles was informed in reply to his demand why the latter should be exempted from the post-service,

⁷ Ad reginam Anglie, May 14, 1601. Ad Robertum Cecil et Seniores Anglie. Reg. for 1601.

⁸ Responsum, &c. Nycopiæ, May 14, 1602. The duke would deliberate with his relatives in Germany. The princess herself answers in a Latin letter, committing the matter to her father, and sends sable furs in acknowledgment of the presents.

⁹ Through Andreas de la Fromentie. Charles answers Henry IV., Nov. 28, 1602, that the dimensions had not been stated. Reg.

¹ Answer to the letter of Charles Carlson, Abo, Jan. 20, 1602. Palms. Collections. Acta ad Histor. Car. IX. t. ii.

² Werwing, ii. 51.

because the peasants of the nobles in Sweden were proprietors of their horses and nags, whereas such peasants in Finland had no property at all, but must be provided by their noble masters with all that was necessary for tilling a farm in field and meadow, and for seed-corn, so far as these might expect any profit from their estates³. Charles had already in 1600 forbidden the nobility in Sweden to exempt their peasants from the payment of their share of general aids voted by the diet, to raise larger amounts from their fields than the law permitted, or make any encroachments on the rights of the tax-paying peasants⁴. He now ordained, "since the nobles of Finland could enjoy no greater privileges than those of Sweden," that in every aid, impost, or levy, the peasants of the Finnish nobles should pay half the proportion of the peasants assessed to the crown, and likewise bear their share of the rents of justiciaries and judges of Hundreds, as well as of the tithes. These had been hitherto paid in Finland at pleasure. An ordinance was now issued that two thirds, in Finland as in Sweden, should be allotted to the crown. The arbitrary power of the bailiffs in levying them was limited⁵. Charles returned by a way which before him no Swedish prince had trodden,—north of the gulf of Bothnia, on whose shores he chose out sites for new towns.

Charles, who had for a long time before actually ruled, possessed undivided power after Sigismund's flight. Could a government be grounded only on what may be termed a factitious base, none had ever been better prepared. But history shows that determinate legal notions are still more important for nations than for individuals. Rare are the examples in which an encroachment on these has not left enduring effects upon a nation. Sigismund had been declared to have forfeited the crown. Yet how long did Charles delay accepting a crown abandoned by its owner, and so often proffered to him! His scruples have been denominated hypocrisy, and if respect for the opinion of the world deserve this name, we deny not that he shrank from it. Yet it is but a superficial judgment of him which overlooks the contest that glowed in his own breast. No one had higher ideas of the sanctity of the legal power of royalty. His own writings on the history of Sweden best prove this, for their leading notion is, that the Swedes mostly occasioned the misfortunes of their kings, and thereby their own⁶. In general he reproaches them with unsteadiness, untrustworthiness, envy, default of civic courage and virtue. "Their manner is," he says, "to fall all upon one, so that when one of them comes into trouble, be it by his own desert, or by violence and wrong done to him, then is there none who can, or dare, or will help him, but all creep into holes and corners, and help to ruin one another⁷." We should scarcely be apt to believe that he who seared the council with the name of Engelbert, styled that leader a right sedi-

tious fellow. Yet the fact is so. Charles might have said with Elizabeth of England, whom he so much admired; "Whoso lays hands on a prince's sceptre, grasps a fire-brand which must destroy him; for him there is no grace⁸." Therefore he declared thirty years before to John, in the outset of their contention; "I am accused of having attacked the majesty of the king, for which history shows that neither brothers have spared one another, nor parents their children." With this disposition it was his destiny to fall at strife with two brothers and a nephew; a feud of which the issue was to decide not only who should bear the sceptre, but whether it should remain in the house of Vasa or be broken. That common responsibility which Gustavus imposed upon his sons, was therefore in truth Charles's political religion. Throughout his whole life he fought for the Swedish crown, seemingly against his own family, but really in its cause; and he was himself, amid these contrarieties, torn by internal strife. With one hand battling against Sigismund, and all the dangers which with him threatened the country, with the other he struggled inexorably, and quenched in their noblest blood the factions which had dared to beleaguer the throne of Gustavus Vasa. We find not that in this respect he ever doubted of his good right, or that he repented for a moment what this after-world lays most to his charge. On another side, again, we find so much the more dubiety, which is closely connected with his political faith. As the son of Gustavus, and from his whole position, he could not misappreciate the value of power bestowed by the voice of the people. But on the same voice his whole family rested their hereditary right. Against Sigismund, an outcast by religion from the heritage of the father of his line, Charles enforced the resolutions of the estates. But there remained a child, whose weak arm outstretched between himself and the throne seems to have excited in him deeper disquietude. Duke John, Sigismund's half-brother, was by the hereditary settlement, his claims being unforfeited, next heir to the crown. Not only was the life of this child held sacred by a hand otherwise so bloodstained, but Charles fulfilled towards him all the duties of a near kinsman. He is still uncertain whether the young prince's renunciation of his pretensions, made at the age of fifteen, is valid, and closes by acknowledging in his testament John's superior right, "provided that the estates of the realm shall in no wise depart from their enacted statutes." According to this, Sweden was without a king at the death of Charles, and first received one in Gustavus Adolphus, by a new election of the estates.

In this position Charles took no step forwards without the sanction of the estates of the realm. This concurrence was by no means agreeable to them; for he vexed their members with incessant diets to repeat to them ever the same tale. Diffi-

³ Werwing, ii. 67.

⁴ Mandate against extortion from the people, Linköping, Feb. 28, 1600.

⁵ Decree of Biörneborg, Feb. 9, 1602. This malpractice of the Finnish bailiffs afterwards again provoked the indignation of Charles: "If we use them and other such thieves further, so may all the thousand devils use them," he writes to the treasurers in Finland, Sept. 20, 1607. From his prohibitions in Sweden we learn that the office of bailiff was sold.

⁶ King Charles IX.'s Swedish Chronicle, extracted with his own hand from the Chronicle of the archbishop Laurence Peterson. Palmisk. Collec. Acta ad Hist. Car. IX. t. i. The judgments following are the king's own.

⁷ L. c. ii. 208, 209.

⁸ Elizabeth to the French ambassador Beaumont, upon occasion of Biron's treason against Henry IV. Raumer, History of Europe from the end of the Fifteenth Century, ii. 607; a work which at length does full justice to the great Elizabeth.

culties accumulated around upon a land shaken so deeply by civil turmoils. The feud with Sigismund was gradually waxing more diffusive in its sphere; with Denmark and Russia old disputes were awakened, which were to lead to new wars with both. Charles encountered every danger with an activity and courage which knew no bounds, but also with growing irritation; and the stroke to which he succumbed came at last from his own soul.

Upon his return from Livonia he convoked the estates to Stockholm in the summer of 1602, and laid before them for their consideration the following view of foreign affairs.—“The Swedes,” said he, “have three neighbours, the Dane, the Pole, and the Russ. With the Danes they may live in peace, if these will yield the three crowns, which are Sweden’s rightful arms, with what of Lappmark Sweden anciently possessed; and thereto we will allow them free trade with the ore-tracts of the realm, even as the children of the land, nor ever henceforth speak of the unright done by Denmark to Sweden in manifold ways since the peace of Stettin. With the Poles they may straightway come to peace for eight years, if these will restore Pernau and Dorpt, and leave the main question unresolved. It is to be considered what the crown of Sweden may win thereby. With the Russ we may have good friendship, if we will give him Narva and Reval, and Wiborg besides; therewith he will keep peace so long as he may.” This time the duke was met by general dissatisfaction. The notion of the uselessness of the Livonian war had gained prevalence throughout the country, and was maintained by returned soldiers and troopers. Secret emissaries from the Swedish exiles dispersed Sigismund’s manifestos. The extraordinary wet and cold of the preceding summer had destroyed the harvest; 1602 was also a hard year. Men died of hunger in the streets of Stockholm during the congress of the estates¹. The plague spread devastation in Finland as well as Sweden. Charles sought to relieve the distress by distributions of grain from his own stores; but he had to demand new sacrifices; and to the proffer of the crown, without means to carry on the government, he returned, therefore,

⁹ Opinion of Charles to the estates, how the Swedes may obtain peace. Stockholm, June 13, 1602. To the grand duke Boris Godunow, Charles writes from Abo, Dec. 17, 1601, that as the grand duke still ever speaks of the Livonian towns, he cannot have understood Charles’s Latin epistle. “Therefore can we infer no otherwise than that thou hast no good interpreter, who might rightly have it explained to thee; and therefore will we now write to thee in Swedish, which is our mother tongue, although we know several languages. The perpetual peace is not made between Sigismund and Feodor Ivanowitz, but between Russia and Sweden. The towns which our brother John won in Livonia are not taken from Ivan Wasiliewitz, who took them unjustly from the Roman emperor; and when he speaks thereupon we will answer as becometh. Hadst thou, instead of making peace with Poland, attacked the Poles on the one side as we upon the other, and as thine envoys in Stockholm have given us to understand, then would every man have had a new jerkin, and thou not needed to ask aught from us or any one else. Our messengers to thee were lately kept captives, and durst not look out of the window, much less walk on the roads.” Reg.

¹ “His princely grace has understood that in the hospital of Upsala seven persons are dead of hunger, and daily more die, and here in the streets every day are persons who perish with hunger. At such mournful events ought the clergy to bestir themselves, and inquire whereto the revenues and

a scarce amicable answer, especially since in respect to the king’s assurance sundry doubts were raised which showed mistrust. They might look after another,—he writes to the estates on the 16th June, 1602,—who would rule the kingdom better; the king of Poland, to whom they had not yet renounced their oaths, and with whom a party secretly held, or his son, as was formerly requested, or duke John; for himself and his descendants, by God’s help, some counsel was left. The statute of the diet was drawn up according to his wishes, and new aids were granted for the continuance of the war. On the other hand, Charles showed the estates the complacency of selecting his council with their approval, since the members of the old council had now for the most part disappeared by death. Twelve lords, of whom the five oldest filled the highest offices of state, as steward, marshal, admiral, chancellor, and treasurer, were called into the new council, which henceforth remained stationary, instead of being as formerly scattered throughout the country. Charles wished also to call six Livonians into the Swedish council. The proposal met with resistance, and remained unexecuted². The new lords of the council already swore to be true and loyal to his princely grace, his beloved consort, and their male heirs, and to labour that all which the prince promises to subjects, and subjects to the prince, should be kept irrefragably on both sides. The latter clause was taken from the old oath of council. Of what different interpretations this was capable, in respect to the power of the council, was further to be shown during this reign³.

One of the principal causes of discontent was Charles’ relations to the clergy, which began to be unfriendly, and so continued during the still remaining portion of his reign. The perfecter of the Reformation in Sweden was not reckoned an orthodox Lutheran. We have already mentioned the suspicions manifested against him in this respect at the synod of Upsala. At the diet of Liuköping in 1600 a service-book proposed by him was rejected by the clergy⁴. Charles was not prevented by this

rents of the poor are applied, and set overseers to take an account thereof.” To the clergy, Stockholm, June 10, 1602. Failure of crops and hurtful weather had prevailed for some years in various districts. In Upland and other provinces the corn-rent could not be collected from the poverty of the peasants. This was increased by their inability to sow their land, while the franklins could sow half and reap half, while they paid nothing to the crown. Letters of Jan. 3 and Feb. 3, 1603. Reg. Letter to the Uplanders, April 1 of the same year, touching supplies from the duke’s granaries, that they may see the duke cares for them as well as himself, as he has not spared his life for their weal against the foes of the realm. Reg. The distress of both these years extended with fearful severity to Russia. In the spring of 1601 it rained for ten weeks incessantly, and on the 15th August crops and fruits were killed by the frost. In two years and four months the dead bodies registered alone and interred in Moscow amounted to 127,000. Karamsin.

² Because the estates find it cause umbrage to have the Livonians with themselves in the council, they could well be quit of them. Danes, Russians, and Poles would willingly receive them as soon as they should be offered. Charles to the estates, June 13, 1602. Reg.

³ Oath of the council of state, Aug. 23, 1602. Reg.

⁴ “We have no thought of adopting the same at any time.” Exceptions of the clergy to the Handbook, March 20, 1600. Palms. Collec. Acta ad Hist. Car. IX. t. ii.

from introducing a new order of worship in his own household⁵. This was brought into scandal as Calvinistic, and the archbishop Olave Martinson wrote against its errors, among which is enumerated the position that heretics should obtain Christian burial. In the year 1601 Charles published, but without his name, a collection of Swedish Psalms⁶. He composed, and left behind him in manuscript, Swedish and German Hymns, as also Prayers, of which that for the guidance of rulers reflects honour on the author⁷. In 1604 appeared a Catechism written by himself in 1593⁸. Herein he followed the reformed catechism of Heidelberg, which awakened new controversy, not allayed by his attempt to introduce an amended translation of the Bible. Charles stood forth in his own defence, and exchanged controversial tracts with the archbishop, in which the king's learning and acuteness appear by no means inferior to those of his opponent⁹. The proposition most earnestly urged by Charles in these writings was, that holy Scripture should be the only rule of faith; for which reason he combated the practice of those who delineated this by the confession of Augsburg, and still more, of those who held out that the acts of the assembly of Upsala should be a new law for the church. "We cannot and will not allow," he writes to the council respecting the clergy, "that the decrees of the council of Upsala should be set up for a new creed, since there nothing else was treated than what the confession of Augsburg, founded upon the prophetic and apostolic writings, contains. Therein we will not quarrel with our kinsmen in Germany." It has often been alleged that Charles' journey thither and his alliance by marriage with the Palatine house made him inclined to the reformed confession. In the second place he maintained, that the sacraments were only confirmatory signs of grace, and did not in themselves impart forgiveness of sins, whence he zealously contended against regarding the Lord's Supper as necessary to God's grace in the hour of death, which caused trouble and anguish to many who were debarred from being partakers thereof. He wished also that the absolution of sins should be proclaimed by the priest only in the following way: "In virtue of the power which Christ hath bestowed upon his church, and pursuant to thy confession of sins, I proclaim to thee in the name of God, *who alone forgiveth sins*, forgiveness of thy sins and the grace of God." He defended, thirdly, the use of reason and philosophy in theology. In the "Answer of the high and mighty prince and lord, Charles, &c., to the Book of Proofs, which Master Olave, archbishop of Upsala, with

sundry others of the bishops and clergy hath promulged," he shows from the words of Scripture the duty and right of men in this respect. "Christ saith, Search the Scriptures; as also king David in the 32d Psalm, Be ye not as horses and mules, which have no understanding; also in Colossians iii., Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom. So too the holy Scripture elsewhere, 1 Timothy iii., ordaineth that a preacher shall be competent to give instruction. How can he be that, if he be not gifted with reason and wisdom? We see also in holy Scripture, especially in the Psalms and in the Epistles of St. Paul, how noble a use is made both of definitions and divisions, syllogisms and method. Therefore Augustine (lib. i. *contra Crescentium*) extollet the Apostle Paul herein; yea, he saith also, that Christ employed the art of reasoning in his disputations. Now if all these have employed reason in things divine, so likewise may we well do, so far as reason reaches in things divine, and as it is revealed in God's word. And it helps nothing that the archbishop will allege this instance and say, that God's true knowledge cometh from heaven, wherefore men cannot attain thereunto by any industry or art. To which we answer, that the subordinates (*subordinata*) are not repugnant to one another. True it is, that knowledge of Scripture and God cometh from heaven; but thereon must be remarked, that this understanding and knowledge of God is given to man either immediately, without any means, or mediately, with means. Immediately the apostles had knowledge of God; but now is God's true knowledge and the right understanding of Scripture only mediately imparted to us, and therefore need we the arts which guide us thereto. Hence we may learn, that reason doth not impugn faith, if it be rightly used, and have holy Scripture on its side. And we cannot so generally exclude it from things divine as the archbishop doth."

He that knows Charles will not be inclined to doubt that the book in its principal contents is his own. Of the learned sons of Gustavus he had been the best grounded in his studies; in acuteness of intellect he excelled them all, as well as the crowd of his contemporaries. Yet we would not rob the archbishop of the praise that is his due. He dared to raise his voice for his convictions against a king, and that king Charles IX. Olave Martinson enjoyed great consideration, and was indefatigable in his calling. If not hindered by other labours, he preached almost every Sunday in the cathedral of Upsala, and besides read lessons from the Bible for the young students¹.

⁵ Christian order and method, how in the court-chapel of the high-born prince and lord, Charles, by God's grace reigning prince hereditary of the realm of Sweden, &c. worship shall be performed. Stockholm, 1604.

⁶ Naghra nyttigha andheliga Lofsanger och Wijser. (Divers profitable spiritual Songs and Lays.) Stockholm, 1601. Compare Sundel (Afhandling, &c.), Treatise on the books and writings, printed and unprinted, which have been composed in Sweden by royal personages; Academical Transactions, v. ix. Charles' psalms are copied in the Palmköld Collections; among them is one in German by his first wife.

⁷ L. c. Acta ad Hist. Reg. Caroli IX. t. ii. 105.

⁸ Catechism, or right Christian Knowledge of the most necessary Articles, Head-points, and Parts of our Christian Faith, collected for the simple Christian from the right ground and understanding of Holy Scripture. (Catechismus

heller rätt Christelig kännedom om vare Christelige troos Nödtorfigeste Artikler, Hufvudpunkter och Stycker, af den Heliga Skrifts rätta grund och förstånd sammandragen för the enfaldige Christne.) Stockholm, 1604.

⁹ He had printed in 1604, "Sundry particular Proofs extracted from the writings of the old Doctors of the Church, and of Luther and Melancthon, upon the personal union which exists in the two natures of our Lord Jesus Christ, as also upon the Sacrament of the Altar, &c." The archbishop published against this, "Proof that the Opinions, &c. respecting the union of the natures in Christ by no means authorize the tenets of the Calvinists upon the person of Christ and the Lord's Supper;" whereupon Charles in 1606 replied by the book of which extracts are quoted in the text.

¹ Baazius, Invent. Eccl. Suoig. 615.

Charles spent a great portion of his life in attempts to unite the Lutheran and Reformed Confessions², without however approving all the positions of Calvin, as for example the doctrine of unconditional election. Public disputations on this subject were several times held, as in 1602 with his chaplain Micronius, and 1608 with John Forbes, a Scottish literate, both of whom he had called into the kingdom. To the clergy he administered more than one blunt reproof. The archbishop had been among the plenipotentiaries who had discussed with the people the aids for the war granted at the diet of 1602, but had received "a downright adverse answer" in the diocese of Westeras. Charles writes to him: "that the cause lay in the clergy and other knaves who roamed about the country; that the clergy would not pray for the realm's arms in this war, which yet was undertaken on account of religion, not to speak of rendering other help; the archbishop should call upon them to instruct the people rightly as to the condition of the present time; for if they would not pray for the army of the kingdom of Sweden, they should be deprived of their calling and offices, and receive no sustenance from the crown." Another letter of the following year has this passage: "Because we see that your views are only bent upon this, by the name of the doctrines of faith to have wives, and keep Christmas and holidays, we will for our person dismiss this religion, reconcile ourselves with the king of Poland, and set ourselves down at home to the same repose as you. If then it seem advisable to you, ye may yourselves march out against the enemy with your priests." "We have to thank the clergy for little," he writes to the council in 1604, "the most part have not long ago fallen off from the Augsburg confession. Trust not to the steadfastness of the clergy, for when need came upon us they hung the mantle on both shoulders, and returned to their vomit again." In the same year he issued to the collective body of the people a declaration regarding his whole conduct in matters of religion since the times of the liturgy, intimating that he had been at length compelled to publish a defence against the imputations of the archbishop, whence every honourable and intelligent Christian might judge that great wrong had been done to him.

The University of Upsala, which held with the archbishop in questions of belief, now also shared his disfavour, and sharp answers followed solicitations addressed to him by more than one teacher. To a suggestion for the improvement of the schools and academy the answer was, that "order had been

taken for it; it remained to know whether they could be improved;"—to a request that their privileges might be conserved to them: "if they mean those which we subscribed with the council we will not allow it, but they shall rather surrender them; then we will grant them such liberties as other evangelical academies, yet after the circumstances of this country;"—to a request that a Latin printer should be sent: "he whom they have to print Swedish and German may print Latin for them too;"—to a representation, whether the professors, for whom neither lands nor prebends were set apart, might not expect such: "certainly not, but the teachers shall attend to their office in the town, letting the priests mind theirs in the country, and the peasant his plough." Lastly, to a petition that the number of the professorships might be completed it was replied, "If we might get any capable; but he that has no falcons must go a-hawking with owls."³ In the midst of such rebuffs the professors were surprised with an extraordinary mark of confidence. In the year 1605 Charles despatched John Göranson Rosenhane and John Skytté, now tutors to the young Gustavus Adolphus, to learn their opinions upon a proposal of reconciliation with the king of Poland, "because in all lands and realms it is the usage, that men should take counsel of highly-learned academies, as well in secular as spiritual affairs." The professors deemed it impossible to give their assent to a proposal so little suitable, the same with which Charles, in a moment of ill humour, had lately tempted the council of state. The end of the negotiations was for them less agreeable. For thereafter followed a query, in what manner the professors and capitulars, as they did not assent to the peace, would contribute to the further prosecution of the war; the baronage, towns, and commonalty of Upland had granted a levy of every tenth man, from the age of sixteen to sixty; if the professors would give their help in this or any other fashion for the continuance of the war, they might make it known to the lords commissioners.

Notwithstanding this, Charles acted in all these contestations with real, and if we consider his vehement temper and the manners of the time, with wonderful moderation. He exchanged controversial treatises with the archbishop, but he was no persecutor. He chastised the clergy with words; occasionally too he deprived a priest for violent sermons; but he was scrupulous as to their rights, and to this prince are they indebted for a legal determination of their revenues, as well in Sweden as Finland⁴. He interested himself in various ways in academical concerns. Upsala received from him John Messenius⁵ and John Rudbeck, the first

² In the Palmköld Collections is a copy of a German letter, undated, from the king to a master Joachim, concerning this scheme, in which it is said, "This might easily be accomplished, if a Christian council might be held, and God's word be judge therein, and not doctor Luther's controversy-books."

³ The extracts quoted are from the registers for the above-named years.

⁴ Ordinances concerning the just levy of the tithe, 1602 and 1607, and in the latter year a renewal of that regarding the erection of mansees. To the former purpose tithe proctors were appointed. Charles also established the year of grace for ministers' widows. The king's proposal to the clergy, Dec. 15, 1604 (Reg.), to be freed from all public taxes and imposts and purveyance, for the relinquishment of their arrears and the cession of their farm-yards, seems to have had no results.

⁵ The historian. He was, in 1609, the first professor of law and politics (juris et politiciæ professor). In 1605 we find this entry, "As of the several professorships resolved upon in 1593 four were still to be founded, in politics, the medical faculty, and the Hebrew and Greek languages, his majesty is prayed to ordain professors, when any competent present themselves." Reg. Charles at first regarded Messenius with suspicion: "Here is come," he writes to duke John, Nov. 23, 1608, "one that calls himself doctor Messenius, and declares he was born in Vadstena, and carried away when a child by the Papists, and reared in their schools in Germany and Italy, and solicits permission to go to Vadstena to ask after his parents and relatives, whom in sixteen years he hath not seen;" and bids the duke "be wary of him, since he is suspect, and seeks perchance to insinuate himself." Reg.

distinguished teachers who infused a new life into the studies of the place, although their dissensions excited no small turmoil. The university in fact obtained its privileges, though not by formal charter. The college founded by Charles was augmented so as to receive one hundred students⁶, and the academy obtained the right of electing "a political personage as chancellor⁷." In the main question too he at last yielded, and the Augsburg confession, with the act of the council of Upsala founded thereupon, was confirmed in his royal Assurance, given at Upsala the 27th of March, 1607.

In the year 1604 he had at length, upon the often repeated solicitation of the estates, accepted the crown⁸, after they had first, at his request, offered it to duke John, who declined it. Gustavus Adolphus was acknowledged Crown-prince, and his younger brother Charles Philip⁹ hereditary prince of the kingdom. In default of male heirs of his body, or of duke John, the succession was to pass to the eldest unmarried princess. This was the hereditary settlement of Norrköping, by which the hereditary right of the line of Gustavus Vasa was finally transferred to Charles and his descendants. Howbeit, Charles was not yet tranquil, nor ever was. Many circumstances, the delay of the council in not drawing up the final letter of renunciation to Sigismund¹, the treason of 1605, the attempt at assassination in the following year by Peter Petroska, a concealed Papist in the service of Charles², generated in his mind impatience, bitterness, and unsteadiness of purpose. In the very same year in which he assumed the title of king, we find him making a proposal to the council to abdicate the government, and grant freedom of religion, even to the Catholics³, throughout the whole kingdom, excepting the duchy, which together with Livonia he wished to retain; and in 1606, when the estates were again assembled to consider of his coronation, he anew, according to his own written notes, renounced the government, and committed it to duke John⁴. In the year 1607 his coronation was solemnized with pomp at Upsala; and in 1608

he made known his purpose, after the old fashion to ride his Eric's-gait, or as the Law-Book says, ride round his land⁵, which came to pass in the following year. Accounts of the progress of the Poles in Livonia and Russia interrupted this journey before it could be completed.

The war demanded an increase of the public burdens, and the kingdom needed the relief it received by several good and fruitful years following 1604⁶. At the diet of Norrköping the estates engaged to raise and furnish monthly pay for nine thousand men on horse and foot, besides the force which could be maintained from the ordinary revenue. Orders issued a short time before are preserved in the state registries, for the formation of a land guard (*landtvärn*), or militia for home-service, "seeing we with the troops," says the king, "are employed abroad against the enemy⁷." Those called upon for this duty were to enjoy certain exemptions from taxes, and to be free from burdens of purveyance (*gästning*) and post-service, which are said by the diet of Norrköping in their statute to be "more grievous to the peasant than all his yearly payments;" on which account Eric XIV.'s ordinance for the erection of public houses of entertainment was again revived. It has been already remarked that from the time of Gustavus I. there was a species of cavalry distributed and maintained upon the estates of the crown. Charles regulated this institution, dismissed the unserviceable troopers, fixed the number to every standard (one hundred and twenty under each), the revenues allotted to them in peace, their pay and equipments in war-time. Every household-man or trooper with his standard was to have a good and sufficient horse, a shot-proof harness, two short and two long guns, a good rapier, good saddle and gear⁸. This cavalry of the crown was the best proof of the inadequacy of the so much contested horse-service of the nobles. Charles likewise agreed with the nobility in 1604, that in consideration of their sharing in the aids for the war, granted by the other estates, they should be ex-

⁶ Every student in it was to pay one mark, or as afterwards fixed, half a mark in the week, and Charles aided the foundation with a sum of 5000 dollars. Ordinance for the College, Reg. 1604. The king promised also to supply the amount, when any good wits were pointed out to him who could not pay.

⁷ In 1604 the university solicited Gustavus Adolphus for the chancellor, to which Charles replied that he was still too young. In 1606 the king proposes three persons for their choice, count Abraham Brahe, the councillor Ludbert Kauer, and the lord John Göranson Rosenhane. Reg. The first-named was the first chancellor of the university.

⁸ He styles himself elected king and hereditary prince of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals.

⁹ Born at Reval, April 22, 1601. Duke of Sudermania, Nerike, and Vermeland, June 12, 1610.

¹ Emitted in the name of the estates, June 17, 1605.

² He was a Swede by birth, but educated abroad and employed on embassies. "Hunc rex Carolus toleravit aliquandiu in aula sua. Prodidit autem ingenium fallax, dum arrepta occasione solitarius regem crudelissimo ausu perdere tentavit. Quo cognito rex eum carceri custodiendum tradidit, qui postea in comitis Æreboensis (1606) examinatus, proditoris convictus et condemnatus est, gravibusque tormentis cruciatus, scilicet fractis cruribus et brachiis, tandem cor vivo extraxit carnifex." Baazius, l. c. 602. (Him king Charles sometimes allowed to be at his court, but he showed a false spirit, for watching his opportunity, he

made an atrocious attempt to stab the king, while alone. Finding this, the king consigned him to prison, and being afterwards tried at the diet of Örebro in 1606, he was convicted of treason and condemned. He was subjected to the most painful tortures; his legs and arms being broken, and his heart, while he was alive, torn out by the executioner.)

³ To the council, aient proposals of peace with Poland. Reg. for 1604.

⁴ "The 22d March, 1606, I laid down the government, and committed it to my nephew, duke John. April 1—9. All these days proceeded the trial aient the Papists and the business of their treason: also letters were exchanged between myself and duke John and the estates, and they urged that I should remain in the government. But I wished rather to be rid of it, by reason of their unsteadiness; for they scarcely keep what they have promised." King Charles IX.'s Calendar, 1604—1606. Miscellaneous, t. ii. in the Library of Sko Cloister.

⁵ To all the provinces, aient the Eric's-gait. Nyköping, May 17, 1608. Reg.

⁶ These appear to have been general. The same is related of Russia and France.

⁷ Warrant for Andrew Styfvert, Linköping, Jan. 25, 1604, relating to East-Gothland. Probably the project, of which no mention is made at the diet of Norrköping, was not carried into effect. (*Landtvärn, landwehr*.)

⁸ Ordinance, how the cavalry shall henceforth be maintained. Calmar, Oct. 24, 1603. Compare Werwing, ii. 94.

empted from the horse-service for two years⁹. By the proffer, repeated several times afterwards, of abolishing the horse-service for ever, if the peasants of the nobles might be assessed in like amounts with those of the crown, the king shook the very foundation of the privileges of nobility, and hence it was constantly rejected. The king, on the other hand, offered freeholds of nobility to all un noble persons who would serve with their own furniture on horse or foot, and thereby make manifest that "the spirit of the Goths was not yet entirely quenched in their hearts¹." He never confirmed the immunities of the nobility to the satisfaction of the order. Among the questionable points of this subject was that article in the statute of the diet of Norrköping, which provided, that no infeudations of estates by the king should be valid, unless their confirmation was solicited and granted on the accession of every new sovereign. Charles replied to the remonstrances of the nobility against this enactment, "that whoso misliked it should look how he accepted donations; they were forced upon no man²." Sundry examples prove that the nobles regarded law and justice as not binding upon themselves³. We collect the remaining features of the domestic administration of Charles.

At the diet of Stockholm in 1566, Eric XIV. had proposed, and the estates had consented, that the Law of Sweden should be printed, with the alteration, that the article respecting election to the crown should be omitted. This resolution was not carried into effect. Meanwhile the confusion and dissimilarity of the extant copies occasioned great inconveniences, and judgments contradictory of each other; wherefore Charles in 1593 referred it to the council to take order "that no man should

have license to write a law-book, unless he had it in charge from the government, and the same were revised by the council of state;⁴ and in 1595, to the estates at the diet of Söderköping, "that the law should be examined and amended⁵." A resolution to that effect was passed by the estates in 1602, who, with the king's consent, appointed divers noblemen in 1604 to undertake the matter. A code was prepared and submitted for consideration, but with its tendency Charles was far from being content, as regarded the power therein assigned to the council of state; for it was declared that he "must follow and obey" its guidance in what they might find to be profitable for the king and the realm. He had therefore himself, with the co-operation of other fit persons, drawn up another code⁶, which, on the other hand, was not very agreeable to the nobility on account of several of its provisions, especially that declaring, that "every nobleman who did not educate his son, so that he might acquire the learned arts, or be available for military service, should forfeit his standing as noble." At the diet of 1609, where the king caused his code to be read, it was on these grounds rejected, while the other was not adopted⁷. It was not until 1734 that the kingdom obtained an amended law-book. Between that which Charles IX. tried to pass, and that which was at length accepted, lies an interval of an hundred and twenty-five years, and Sweden's career of conquest begun and ended⁸.

In the administration of the law great disorders prevailed. The ancient custom of self-vengeance was yet far from being abolished. Two letters of Gustavus I. are still preserved, wherein he, on account of special circumstances, entreats pardon for homicides from the kinsmen of the slain persons⁸.

⁹ Aid for the war granted by the knights and nobles, Norrköping, March 22, 1604. In 1602 a similar agreement had been concluded for one year. In 1608 the nobility engaged, instead of their horse-service, to furnish horses for the foreign cavalry. This promise was not fulfilled to the king's satisfaction. "Ye will not ride yourselves," writes Charles, "nor do horse-service according to the law; nor will ye help by finding horses."

¹ In 1606. Werwung, ii. 135.

² Answer to the memorial ancient their privileges, presented by the nobility. Jenköping, March 31, 1609. Reg. The king says that they ought to be content with the privileges granted to them at Örebro in 1608.

³ Let one suffice for many. In the Register for 1604, under the 2d of February, the following singular transaction appears. Catharine Hans' daughter, wife of the minister of Parasa, gave in a complaint, that having sent her daughter Sigrid to the lady Ebba Bielké to service, and wishing to get her back, especially as her father was now very weak, and the girl was besides not willing to serve any longer, lady Ebba refused, and asserted that the girl had been given to her wholly and solely, concluding with the bishop that he should deprive the minister, and threatening his family that she would so manage with her relatives and friends as they should not thrive. Therefore, because after God parents are appointed to govern their children, especially while they are under age, and it is not to be suffered among Christian people that a man should be sold like an irrational beast; and no such serfdom as lady Ebba would practise had been heard of among the Swedes since the coming in of Christianity; upon these grounds the maiden must be restored.

⁴ To the council of state, Jan. 14, 1593. Points for the commonalty and for the council of state, Oct. 4, 1595. Reg.

⁵ Charles himself composed "Reflections upon the Law of Marriages (Betänkande om Giftermal Balken), how the

same may be fitly arranged," which are in the Palmsköld Collections. Acta ad Hist. Caroli. IX. t. ii. 151.

⁶ We refer, in respect to the fact intimated indeed by Messenius, but hitherto not ascertained, of a twofold code at the diet of 1609, to the prize essay in the Royal Academy of Science, History, and Antiquities, by Hans Järta: Essay at a view of the Swedish Jurisprudence from the accession of king Gustavus I. to the end of the Seventeenth Century, which, although not printed, the writer had the goodness to communicate to us.

⁷ Before the two above-mentioned new codes had been proposed to the estates and rejected by them, Charles had begun to publish a printed version of the ancient laws of Sweden. The laws of Uppland and Eastgothland were printed in 1607, that of Helsingland in 1609. Then king Christopher's general Land's Law was printed, which the king, for every man's information, confirmed, Dec. 20, 1608, with the exception of the church section, which, as originating from Catholic times, was to be used in no court before it had been revised and amended, and the article regarding the election to the crown in the king's section, since Sweden had become a hereditary monarchy.

⁸ "It is our royal prayer to you, that ye will for God's sake grace him with life, for a fair and just man-bote. Where we again, in like cases of mercy or otherwise can hear your petitions, and it may be for your service and profit, we will gladly do so as a gracious sovereign." This was to a mother, a poor woman at Salberg, whose son, master Eric of Edby, had been killed by his chaplain. The letter is dated Tempore Brigittæ, 1530, and quoted by Eric Sparré in his *Postulata Nobilium*. Another example is offered by the Register for 1545, in the king's letter of July 1, to mistress Catharine and Jens Laurenceson of Orby, mother and brother of Eric Laurenceson, who had been killed in the parish of Vaddæ by three brothers, "more out of mishap than pre-conceived will, in drink." These sued for the legal and Chris-

Civil troubles were not adapted to extinguish such ideas. As we have seen, the nobles filled all judicial offices². The institution of a supreme court by Eric XIV. had failed. The king's court was closed, or at least not so held as the law prescribed. At the diet of 1600 complaint was made that the king's Court of Error (*rättare-ting*) had not been held within the memory of man. To Charles IX. the kingdom owed the first ordinance for the conduct of trials¹. In the preamble he says, that although Sweden's written law pointed out how proceedings should be taken in suits, as he had also himself, together with the council, directed in 1593 by a public mandate, confirmed by Sigismund, that no process should be entertained in the superior courts unless it had been first investigated by the courts of the hundred and the judiciary, and then brought by appeal before the king, who behoved to elicit the whole truth; yet such regulation had not been observed, so that he was daily overwhelmed with endless complaints, which had never come before the inferior court. The chief reason was, that the lawmen and judges of the hundred did not themselves sit in their courts, but appointed others in their stead, who could neither read nor write, and had little insight in the law; whence it ensued, that many unjust judgments, by reason of violence and corruption, were pronounced, and many heinous offences remained unpunished, wherefore God visited the land and people with plagues of all sorts. To this were added great disorder and confusion from illegal purchases and mortgaging of land, generally practised in the kingdom, both secretly and in houses of entertainment. Therefore it was commanded that all lawmen and judges of hundreds should themselves sit in their courts, especially at three seasons of the year fixed by law, on pain of forfeiture of their office. The causes which were remitted by them to the king, were to be heard every year at the fair of Disting in Upsala, whereat the councillors of state, the lawmen and judges of hundreds must attend, to sit in court as the king's *naemnd*, upon causes brought before them by appeal, yet not upon those in which they had themselves previously given judgment. There must all the doom-books of the past year be delivered up, and all bargains, exchanges, mortgages, and redemptions of real property, after they had been legally called or investigated in the hundred court, be promulgated and enrolled in the "minute-book of the realm," with other provisions

tion bote (which was 120 ortugs, less than a rixdollar); but the kindred stubbornly refused, and wished without further parley to break their necks, or eject their father from the land which he held. "Therefore is it our will and advice, that ye with all your kin should so arrange it, that ye be reconciled, and satisfy yourselves with reasonable and moderate botes, that there may be good understanding and agreement between your kin and theirs. Whereto we exhort you in the best meaning." A sentence of Gustavus I. at Calmar the Thursday after Lady-day of 1532, is also illustrative of this subject. Jon Germundson and his heirs brought a suit against Peter Paulson and his accomplices, for a murder which he with five others had perpetrated a year before upon Jon Germundson's brother, whom he, without any cause, had shot like a dog. Peter Paulson's proxy contended that the deed had been lawful, because the deceased had some years before slain a kinsman of the accused, and wished to have counted life for life. It was proved that this kinsman was only wounded, not killed, wherefore sentence was passed that wound-botes should be paid for this, but that Jon Ger-

of the like nature. In the mandate of December 4, 1602, it was ordained, according to the statute of the diet of Linköping two years previously, that two such royal courts should be held yearly, in Upsala at the Disting, and in Linköping at Petermass-tide. In his letter to the council of the 29th June, 1604, the king orders that six judges of hundreds should come to the court to adjudicate in such suits of law as might occur, who should be relieved after some time by others². The troubles of the times prevented these attempts to regulate the administration of the law from being permanently efficacious. But thus the erection of the supreme court by king Gustavus Adolphus was prepared.

The ordinance issued by the king in 1606, concerning reeves, bailiffs, and other officers³, must be the first legal regulation of the inferior provincial administration, as Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XI. regulated the superior by the office of prefect (*landshöfding*). The reeve (*fogd*) is to appoint a quartermen (*fierdingsman*) in every parish, and a bailiff (*länsman*) in every hundred. The quartermen shall collect in the manse the taxes of the parish⁴, and deliver the proceeds to the bailiff at the spot where the hundred-court is held, with the attestation of the minister as to the amount. Then the bailiff shall deliver the sum collected within the hundred to the reeve, with proper attestations of his receipts, and the reeve shall then answer with his account for their further proceedings⁵. Doubtless these relations anciently subsisted, and were here more precisely regulated, though the adjunction of the clergy can hardly be older than the Reformation. Complaints have been made among ourselves of the secular position of the priesthood, whereby they become in so many respects a connecting link between the government and the people. These secular occupations may exceed their due measure, but to them this order mainly owes its political position in Sweden.

Charles, fond of engrossing to himself the management of business, showed the same turn in the regulation of trade. On occasion of a dispute between the burghesses of the kingdom, referred to him as administrator, he drew up a project "for the regulation of the towus of this realm⁶," on which was founded their subsequent division into staple-towns and country-towns. He sets out with the position that the places of greatest resort and

mundson should have the right of requiring the full mandate from his brother's murderer. Reg.

² The salary of the lawman was very considerable. Charles IX. writes, June 10, 1600, to Count Axel Leyonhufvud, "The salary of the lawman of Westgothland, with the cess which you caused levy against the will of those in the jurisdiction, amounts to 6000 dollars." Reg.

¹ Ordinance anent processes. Upsala, Feb. 25, 1598.

² Register for 1604.

³ Ibid. We omitted to note the precise date.

⁴ The minister of every parish shall state the number of marriages. Letter of May 20, 1609. The quartermen obtained a remission of one-half the yearly taxes, Nov. 7, 1607, as respected Gestrícland and Dalecarlia.

⁵ By his mandate of August 4, 1607, the king forbids the reeves on pain of death to mix up the accounts of one year with those of another; "which they so often do, that their thieveries cannot be detected."

⁶ *Stjernman, Commercial and Economical Ordinances (Commerce-och Economie-Förordningar)*, i. 133.

best traffic were those which were depositories of foreign goods with free trade; but that these advantages should be pre-eminently enjoyed by those towns which were adapted thereto by situation and other circumstances. Such a place of deposit for the Baltic, after the fall of Wisby, Stockholm must become; and Charles, when king, augmented its privileges. But the necessity of a similar staple for the trade of the North Sea did not escape him, and Gottenburg, the second town of the kingdom, was the creation of Charles, founded by Dutch settlers, attracted by the promise of the free exercise of their religion, with exemption from tolls and taxes for twenty years. In general he adopted the principle of freedom of import (with the exception of foreign strong liquors, on which an excise was raised), "in order that our subjects may have the larger traffic, and the better choice of foreign wares." On the other hand, he imposed a duty on goods exported. In 1606 this also was abolished, but for the conservation of the standard of coinage a fixed percentage on both imports and exports was to be paid in silver to the crown, yet one-half less by native merchants⁷. Upon complaints being made, this percentage was lowered, and appointed to be paid in Swedish money, according to a fixed value⁸. In 1605 the king allowed free coinage for the behoof of his subjects, so that whosoever brought to the mint four rixdollars, or four and a half ounces of silver, should receive in return four and a half dollars Swedish currency⁹. In the preceding year it had been determined that half an ounce of silver should pass for sixteen öres, and a rixdollar for thirty-six¹. In relation to weights and measures, it was ordered that the balance in all the seaports of the kingdom should be like that of Stockholm, but the weight of the country towns should be one lispund, and that of the mines two lispunds heavier. The steelyard, the tun, and the spann (half tun, or two bushels), were to be adjusted by those of Örebro, and the ell (two feet) by that of Ryholm².

If Gustavus Vasa be the father of the Swedish mine-works, Charles trode in his footsteps. We have already seen the care which he bestowed upon those of his duchy, and that he may almost

be called the creator of the mining districts of Vermeland. He afterwards applied the same care to the behoof of the whole kingdom. The produce of the silver-mines of Sala was tripled during his reign, and those of copper also were improved by his attention. The forging of bar iron may be looked upon as having first become general after the ordinance of the diet of Norrköping in 1604, that all the raw ore should be forged into bar iron before it was exported from the kingdom, on which account the burgesses of the towns are encouraged to build forges, "that the profits which foreigners have derived therefrom may accrue to Swedish subjects³." There were manufactories of iron at this time in Arboga, Nyköping, Eskilstuna, and other places, where all sorts of arms, spears, pikes, short and long firelocks, swords and daggers were constructed⁴; nails and plates were also among the articles of export. Alum and sulphur works were in operation in Nerike⁵; there were also foundries for cannon and balls, of which large quantities were supplied to foreign parts⁶. Brass-works were founded by Charles himself⁷.

The new survey and assessment of the land is also one of the works of the father which was continued by the son. Charles IX. extended this to the northern provinces⁸. Land-measurers were appointed in every district, and from the maps prepared by each a general chart was to be framed, a work confided to Andreas Burens, who completed it after the king's death⁹. The measurements were carried up into Lappmark, on the wild inhabitants of which region Charles bestowed especial care, building churches and appointing bailiffs among them, administering law and justice, and regulating their tributes. We may well be astonished at so great activity in all directions, in a ruler who was unable for a single moment to lay down the arms he wielded against foreign and domestic enemies.

The war in Livonia continued; and in 1605 Charles proceeded thither for the second time. Misled by his ardour, he lost against a weaker enemy the battle of Kerkholm, fought September

⁸ Warrant for John Carlson, Stockholm, August 9, 1604, to undertake a ground-measurement in Gesticland, Helsingland, Medelpad, Angermanland, and West Bothnia, as it had been resolved at the last diet at Norrköping, and earlier at Linköping, that a royal inquest and survey should be set on foot over the whole kingdom; wherefore he with the bailiffs was not only to make the assessment, but to assist every man to law and justice. Reg. A special survey for Dalecarlia was ordered, Feb. 3, 1605, on which the king's letter says: "We have heard that ye have anciently had the usage of measuring your fields with poles. The pole has been of six ells and a quarter (12 ft. 6 in.), and a tun-land in length and breadth a hundred and eighty poles. And as ye request to know how many tuns of seed-corn should be reckoned to a grange which pays the full tax, we have made order, after the best possible trial of the quality of the land, that eight tuns of seed-corn, or eight tuns-land, should be reckoned to such a grange. Where the ground is inferior an allowance of some poles shall be made." Reg.

⁹ Fant, *Prelctions on Swedish History* (Föreläsningar i Svenska Historien). The king in 1600 sent Sigfrid Aron Forsius and Hieronymus Birkholz to Lappmark, with instruments, with which they attempted to determine the latitude of certain places. The map of Sweden by Burcus, (the earliest of domestic production,) was published at Stockholm in 1626, engraved in copper on six folio sheets, with a short geographical description. All the maps of the country in the seventeenth century are copies from this.

⁷ Ibid. 497. 499.

⁸ Ordinance of Exchange and Customs, 1611, l. c.

⁹ Patent of free coinage, Jan. 7, 1607, l. c.

¹ Statute of Norrköping, 1604.

² Mandate anent the ell, weights, and measures. Stockholm, May 7, 1605. Ryholm is a manor-house in the parish of Breateberg, Westgothland.

³ The export of raw iron, however, did not wholly cease, but was placed under strict superintendence.

⁴ Charles, in a letter to the treasury, Abo, Dec. 13, 1601, bespeaks a large quantity of similar articles from the above places: 8000 spears, 10,000 bills with long splints towards the handle, the short firelocks or carabines to be made with spring-pans and snap-locks, the long also with snap-locks. Reg.

⁵ Oct. 23, 1603, Charles paid to Laurence Kruse, burgher of Nyköping, for articles furnished to him, 72,000 dollars, in orders for copper from the Koppberg, raw and bar iron from Vermeland, sulphur, vitriol, and alum from Nerike. A skeppund of copper was reckoned at 45 dollars, one bar of iron at 6, and a last of raw iron at 40. Reg.

⁶ We have mentioned above an instance in which France was concerned. Jan. 3, 1604, Charles sends a list of chain-shot, spring-balls or bombs, and canister-shot, which were to be prepared for his own account. Reg.

⁷ To Jens Hammersmith, to repair to Westeras, and construct a brass-forge. Stockholm, Dec. 16, 1606. Reg.

17th, where a Livonian nobleman, Henry Wrede, saved the king's life by the sacrifice of his own¹. A revolt in Poland hindered Sigismund from deriving any advantage from his victory. Negotiations were begun, but broken off through a misunderstanding², and ended with enhanced exasperation. The war was prosecuted by the Swedes with renewed exertions, often unsuccessfully, but distinguished by individual strokes of the highest chivalrous valour, which foreshadowed the brilliant days of Swedish military glory. "God is my witness,"—so Nicholas Stiernsköld, long besieged in Dünamünde, made answer in 1609, when the Polish general Chodkewitz threatened to revenge his resistance on his captive wife and her children;—"that I would willingly offer up my life for theirs; but they belong to me, and the fortress belongs to my king³."

In Russia, about the same time, the so-called false Demetrius had mounted the throne by Polish assistance, and shortly lost again his crown and life. Wassily Schuisky sought the help of Sweden against the Poles and the faction of Demetrius; and Charles, attentive to all that could obstruct the plans of Sigismund, promised his support. In 1607 a Swedish auxiliary force was to set out from Livonia; but this was not effected until 1609. The young Jacob de la Gardie was now appointed commander, and an alliance was signed at Wiborg against Poland, by which the new Czar bound himself to cede to Sweden Kexholm with its district. At the head of little more than 4000 men de la Gardie and Ewert Horn advanced to Moscow, defeated the Poles, and delivered the Czar, who was beleaguered in his capital. Meanwhile Sigismund himself had burst with a Polish army into Russia, besieged and taken Smolensko. De la Gardie pushed on against the Poles. His troops, consisting mostly of foreign levies, had often shown a disobedient spirit. Now, when the pay promised by the Russians was not forthcoming, they mutinied in presence of the enemy, and for the most part deserted, after they had plundered their general's baggage, and forced him to open negotiations. De la Gardie and Horn made with four hundred Swedes and Finns a wonderful retreat through a hostile country to the Swedish frontier. Russia became the prey of contending parties; Schuisky was overthrown, a new Demetrius assassinated, Vladislau son of Sigismund chosen Czar, and again deserted. During these troubles, in 1611, de la Gardie made himself master of Kexholm, took Novogorod by storm, and concluded a convention by which the Russians agreed to acknowledge a Swedish prince as their grand-duke. These tidings first reached Charles IX. upon his death-bed.

At the dict of Stockholm, in 1609, he demanded from the estates new aids for the war. The un-

noble orders granted them; the nobility offered the tenth part of their revenues, but with certain exceptions, to which the king would not consent, and the statute of the diet was drawn up in the name of the priests, burgesses, and peasants, without the participation of the nobility. Irritated both by this affair and by the refusal of the nobility to adopt his new code of law, the king upbraided the order with so great vehemence that his emotion brought upon him an attack of apoplexy. From this time he could with difficulty speak. His faculties of soul, devoured as it were by their own fire, were no longer the same. The king's secretaries, persons of mean extraction, acquired constantly greater influence, provoked the wrath of the old and life-weary monarch, and excited great discontent⁴. Yet his activity was indefatigable to the end.

Meanwhile the public dangers thickened. With Denmark various subjects of quarrel had arisen. The principal were the old dispute concerning the three crowns, and the complaints of the Danes that the king of Sweden prohibited trade to Riga, and took tribute from the Lapps, who, the Danish sovereign maintained, were subject to Norway. These points of contestation were discussed at conferences of the plenipotentiaries of both kingdoms, but not adjusted; and Charles at length caused his son, Gustavus Adolphus, to make a journey to Denmark, in order to avert a rupture. But Christian IV. wished for war, as Charles believed, at the instigation of malcontent Swedes within and out of their own country, who represented that the king was feeble and sickly, his son young and under age, and a good opportunity at hand of making some attempt⁵. Danish manifestos and summonses to revolt flew about the country. The estates met again at Örebro in November of the year 1610. The young Gustavus Adolphus now addressed them for the first time, for the old king could only intimate his will by broken words and signs. All dreaded a fresh war, and wished to obviate it by yielding the demands of Denmark. But to this Charles would not listen, and waived the estates from his presence with indignation⁶. They concluded by granting all that he required, appeased him by a new oath of homage, and engaged to furnish a larger aid than ever had been known before. In the month of April, 1611, came the Danish declaration of war, and although Charles renewed his overtures of peace, the king of Denmark marched at the head of 16,000 men out of Scania to Calmar. This town, after two assaults repulsed, was taken; the castle still held out; and when the Swedish army, under the king himself, with Gustavus Adolphus and duke John, arrived, several petty skirmishes fell out, in which, on both sides, the combatants fought with great animosity. The 16th of

¹ "Our men ran, and let their backs be hacked like a flock of hens, fleeing before a small body, where they were four or five to one, and leaving us on the field. The horse fell under us, and had it not been for a Liflander, Henry de Wrede, we should have fallen, living or dead, into the enemy's hands." The king's letter to the council of state upon the unsuccessful action, Sept. 24, 1605. Aug. 1, 1606, Charles bestowed several manors in Finland, under the conditions of the statute of Norrköping, on the widow and children of Henry Wrede, "because in the battle of Kerkholm, at the time when we ourselves were engaged in the field against the enemy, he not only demeaned himself as an

honourable warrior, but also, when we were deserted by our own people, assisted us with his own horse, whereby he was brought to his own death." Reg.

² See Werwing, ii. 135.

³ Chodkewitz could appreciate this heroic spirit, and gave the prisoners their liberty. Dünamünde at length fell into his hands from famine, after a siege of more than a year.

⁴ The court-chancellor doctor Nicholas Chernecephorus, Eric Elofson, Eric Göranson Tegel, the historian, and others.

⁵ The king's letter to the council, Aug. 10, 1610.

⁶ Relation anent the diet of Örebro in 1610, by an eye-witness. Printed in the Stockholm Magazine, ii. 694.

August, the castle of Calmar was surrendered by Christian Somé, a soldier famed for courage no less than for roughness in the wars of Livonia and Russia, whom some time before Charles in his heat had personally maltreated. He now went over to the enemy⁷. Charles, incensed at this treachery, challenged king Christian, "after the old manner of the Gotlis," to single combat; if he came not, then would he not hold the Dane "for an honourable king and warrior." Christian's answer was worthy neither of a king nor of a man, and full of abuse⁸. Repeated violent attacks by the Danes on the Swedish camp at Ryssby were repulsed. Here were now seen both Dutch and English envoys. Extensive negotiations had occupied the king in his latter years. In 1608 he had sent ambassadors to the states of the Netherlands, then upon the point of concluding their contest with Spain. They were to represent, that the cause in effect concerned all powers and princes who were opposed to "papistical superstition and Spanish ambition," and were to solicit through the States the mediation of Spain in the war with Poland. If it ended in a peace, the king would wish to be comprehended therein; for the war between Sweden and Poland, no less than that between the States and Spain, was carried on for religion. If peace with Spain were not made, Charles would support the States yearly with 1000 men on horse and foot, in return for the liberty of exporting salt from the Netherlands⁹. In 1610 he sent Gustave Ericson Stenbock and John Skytté to England, with commission to seek English mediation in the war with Poland, and to declare the king's readiness to enter into a conjoint alliance with England, the Netherlands, and France¹; and Swedish envoys were already on their way to Henry IV. for a like purpose², when tidings came that he had fallen by the dagger of Ravallac³. Now Dutch and English envoys essayed, although vainly, to compose the quarrel between the two Protestant sovereigns of the North. Charles left his camp to hold a new diet. He fell sick on the way, and died at Nyköping, the 30th October, 1611, sixty years old.

"The historian should write truth," he himself

says in his Rhyme Chronicle. So too have I to the best of my ability sought impartially to portray the youngest and greatest son of Gustavus; in many qualities his father's heir, in others both below, and perchance also above him. Only one feature is to be added, since even on the brink of the grave it still strikes the eye in him, and since in some measure it should mitigate our judgment of his blood-stained path: it is his inborn striving to grasp across every limit, beyond every goal to set another. He battled for himself a crown. At this point another would have halted; to him it was so little the greatest, the sole aim, that he left it less decided than he might. Whereas the strife ensuing, which from Sigismund's slowness and irresolution might, for some time longer at least, have been waged by words and manifestos, he straightway removed out of Sweden to Livonia, Poland and Russia; nor did the outbreak of war with Denmark prevent him from mustering as it were in his last gaze the members of a future league against the Papacy and the house of Hapsburg; as in his testament he especially recommends to his children friendship with the evangelical princes of Germany⁴. Thus in the soul of Charles, perchance more than in any of his contemporaries, laboured the burning future, which burst forth in the Thirty Years' War; and not without significance was he wont to observe, laying his hand on the head of the young Gustavus Adolphus, "*Ille faciet*," (he will do it). Such men verily there are, full of the hereafter, who, with or without their own will and intent, carry the nations onward at their side. Except his father, no man before him exercised so deep an influence on the Swedish people. More than a hundred years passed away, and a like personal influence was still reigning upon the throne of Sweden. The nation, hard to move save for immediate self-defence, was borne along, unwilling and yet admiring, repugnant yet loving; as by some potent impulsions, following her Gustaves and Charleses to victory, fame, and to the verge of perdition. This is neither praise nor blame; but so it was. And as I write the history of the Swedish people, I feel as strongly as may be, that it is the history of their kings.

¹ Instruction, March 19, 1610. Reg.

² Instruction for Abraham Ericson Leyonhufvud, Olof Stralé, and doctor Jacob Dyk, envoys to France, March 19, 1610. Reg.

³ "Is said to have been made away with by the practices of the Jesuits," writes Charles to his envoys, June 4, 1610. Reg.

⁴ We exhort our well-beloved wife and child, as also the high-born prince duke John, to be instant in maintaining that friendship, which we have cultivated with the high lords aforesaid (namely, the elector palatine Frederic V. and the landgrave Maurice of Hesse), and other evangelical princes of the Roman empire. King Charles IX.'s Testament, Aug. 12, 1605. Stiernman, i. 611.

⁷ He wrote afterwards to the king, that he would never return to Sweden so long as doctor Nicholas Chesnecopherus and the secretary Eric Elofson reigned there; and would as little suffer the many boxes on the ear which he must expect, at their instigation, to receive from the king. Werwing, ii. 243.

⁸ E. g. "We perceive that the dog-days are not yet fore-spent in thy harness. Thou oughtest shame thee, thou old fool (*geck*, gowk), to attack an honourable man. Perhaps thou hast learned this from old women, who are wont to use their jaw." Charles' challenge is dated, Camp at Ryssby, Aug. 12, 1611; Christian's answer, At our Castle of Calmar, Aug. 14, 1611.

⁹ Instruction to Jens Nilson, gentleman of the court, and Augustinus Cassiodorus, the king's secretary, to the States of the Netherlands, Örebro, May 4, 1608. Reg.

CHAPTER XV.

GUSTAVUS II. ADOLPHUS. HIS INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION.

EDUCATION OF THE KING. HIS ACCESSION TO THE GOVERNMENT. CONDITION OF SWEDEN. STATE OF PARTIES. VIEW OF THE SWEDISH CONSTITUTION IN THIS REIGN. ORDER OF PROCEEDING IN THE DIETS. SUMMARY OF THEIR LEGISLATION. TAXATION AND CONSCRIPTION. REVENUE AND RESOURCES OF THE GOVERNMENT FOR THE CONDUCT OF WAR. INDUSTRY AND TRADE. NEW SUPREME COURT. CHURCH GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION.

A. D. 1611—1632.

"KING GUSTAVUS the Great, and the second of that name, called at his baptism Gustavus Adolphus," says a contemporary account⁵, "was born in the castle of Stockholm, the 9th of December, 1594. His father was Charles, at this time prince hereditary of the realm of Sweden, duke of Sutherland, Nerike and Vermeland, afterward king of Sweden, of his name the ninth. His mother was Christina, daughter of Adolphus, duke of Sleswick-Holstein, and granddaughter of king Frederic I. of Denmark; on her mother's side of the family of the Landgrave of Hesse, by Christina, daughter of Philip the magnanimous. In his childhood fell out that domestic feud, wherein the said noble duke Charles and the estates of the realm were arrayed on the one part, king Sigismund and his adherents on the other. The young prince accompanied his father and mother in the year 1600 to Livonia, and went with them the following year, late in autumn, from Reval to Finland. Then it came to pass, that when towards evening the duke with his ship came near the haven, it froze so hard in the night, that he was obliged at morning to walk with his train to land over the ice, and so passed through Finland to Sweden.

"To be the prince's tutor and chamberlain master John Skytté and Otto von Mörner were appointed. The latter was marshal to king Charles IX., a Brandenburg nobleman, well travelled, and of cultivated mind. Master John Skytté had returned home after nine years' sojourn in foreign parts, and sat in the state chancery as secretary, having shortly before concluded the boundary treaty with Denmark. These instructed the young prince in all that was needful for a king, and Skytté especially in the Latin language, in the history and the laws of Sweden. As his lord father was a strict ruler and a martial prince, his lady mother (fair in form and stature) lofty in spirit and heart, so he was reared severely, and held to labour, virtue, and manhood.

"Betimes in his early youth, but particularly after he had reached his tenth year, he was more and more permitted by his lord father, as he grew up, to attend the general deliberations and hear what passed. So he was obliged alway to be present at audiences to embassies, and was at last

charged by his lord father to make answer to them, in order thus to accustom him to weighty affairs, and their treatment. Because the time was full of warlike turmoils, there was assiduous resort to the king's court, especially by officers, not only Swedes, but also Germans, French, English, Scots, Netherlanders, and some Italians and Spaniards, who, after the twelve years' truce just then concluded by the Netherlanders with Spain, sought their fortune in Sweden. These often waited upon the young prince, by the will and order of his lord father; and their discourse touching the wars waged by other nations, battles, sieges, and discipline both by land and sea, as well as ships and navigation, did so arouse and encourage the mind of the young prince, by nature already inclined thereto, that he spent almost every day in putting questions concerning what had befallen at one place and another in the wars. Besides, he acquired in his youthful years no little insight into the science of war, especially into the mode and means how a regular war, well ordered, and suited to the circumstances of Sweden, was to be waged, having the character and rules of Maurice prince of Orange as a pattern before his eyes. By the intercourse and converse of the above-mentioned gentlemen, in which every one told the most glorious acts of his own nation, the young lord was enjoined to do like others, and if possible to excel them.

"In his youthful years he gained also a complete and ready knowledge of many foreign languages, so that he spoke Latin⁶, German, Dutch, French, and Italian, as purely as a native, and besides had some foretaste of the Russian and Polish tongue.

"When he had attained his fifteenth year, his lord father made him grand prince of Finland, and duke of Estland and Westmanland, and presently bestowed upon him the town of Westeras with a good portion of Westmanland, over which the prince set master John Skytté to be governor."

Such is the account of AXEL OXENSTIERNA, who well deserves to have the first word concerning his royal friend.

King Charles IX. was a tender and careful father. "Fear God before all," is the injunction of his own monitory notes for his son Gustavus

Xenophon, whom he loved best to read in Greek, his majesty said that he knew of no writer better than Xenophon for a true military historian (*militiæ historicus*). It is added, that for some years after he mounted the throne, he continued his studies for his profit with his tutor, master John Skytté. "Every day he devoted at least one hour or another to reading, preferring to all others the works of Grotius, especially his treatise *De Jure Belli et Pacis*."

⁵ Critical and Historical Memoirs (*Kritiska och Historiska Handlingar*), edited by E. E. (Eric Ekholm), Stock. 1760, p. 9; and somewhat more fully in the Memoirs for the History of Scandinavia (*Handlingar till Skandinavien Historia*), ii. 91.

⁶ According to statements in the Scandinavian Memoirs, viii. 38, the king also knew Greek. It is there said, "Of

Adolphus, "honour father and mother, show brotherly affection to those of thine own blood, love the servants of thy father, requite them after their due, be gracious to thy subordinates, punish evil, love goodness and meekness, put good trust in all, yet with moderation, and learn first to know the persons; hold by the law without respect of persons; impair no man's well-won privileges, in so far as they agree with the law; diminish not thy princely income, but with precaution, that they who taste thy bounty may remember the source from which it flowed⁷." To his second son, Charles Philip, the king writes letters as earnest as they are full of lovingness⁸. His consort was a proud and austere dame; afterwards partial enough in the cause of this younger son, whose rights as duke she defended with a zeal that might easily have led to consequences dangerous for the kingdom, if Gustavus Adolphus had not been as good a son as he was a great king⁹. From the ladies of her household she exacted daily their prescribed task of spinning and weaving¹, and in spite of all the remonstrances of Denmark, she maintained as long as she lived the title of sovereignty "over the Lapps of Northland," which proved one of the causes of war with that power, and was therefore laid aside by Gustavus Adolphus².

Next to his great natural endowments and his extraordinary progress in knowledge, his timorous introduction to public life claims our attention. This was partly to be ascribed to the manners of the time; but Charles was also moved by reasons of his own. Upon the throne, yet insecure, it was of importance to him that the nation should early learn to know his successor; and of Gustavus Adolphus we may say, that he grew up under the eyes of the people. The choice of his instructors was committed to the estates³. Already in his tenth year he is brought into the council; and scarcely fourteen, being engaged with the queen in a journey to the southern portion of the kingdom, he receives from the king his father the following exhortation: "Be kind to those who seek thy help, so that thou let them not go comfortless from thee; neglect not, when any man makes known to thee a reasonable grievance, to hear it and give us to understand it. So far as

rests with thee, assist every man to his right, and press this sedulously on our lieutenants, bailiffs, and officers; thus will prosperity, with God's help, be thine⁴." We find likewise actual affairs of government soon managed by Gustavus Adolphus, partly in his own duchy, partly for the general service of the king, wherein he sometimes used his influence for petition and intercession by advice of his mother. Not less early was his passion for war manifested. The youth of fifteen ventured in the year 1610 to prefer his claim to the command in the war against Russia. "Howbeit, since this was entrusted to others⁵," says Axel Oxenstierna, "he was, not without his discontentment, restrained for the year, to abide at the court of his lord father, until he had passed his sixteenth year, and entered his seventeenth. Then, namely in April of the year 1611, as king Christian IV. of Denmark had renounced peace and declared war, the prince was by his father, according to ancient custom, pronounced in the diet of the 24th April fit to bear the sword, with which, the day following, he was invested in most splendid guise. Thereafter straightway he caused the forces of West-Gotland to assemble, especially the foreign troops which had winter-quarters there, in order to join his father with the same at Jenköping, as came to pass, and likewise march to Calmar, at that time beleaguered, for the relief of the town. In this expedition of Calmar did the young lord, under the guidance of his father king Charles, endure the first trial of warfare, being present at all the remarkable encounters and actions, in the chief himself mostly leading and bearing command, from the beginning to the end⁶." The truth of this statement is attested by the destruction of Christianople, the principal Danish place of arms in Scania⁷, and the reconquest of Oeland, both achievements of Gustavus Adolphus, and the most fortunate occurrences of this war. Calmar, notwithstanding its scanty means of defence⁸, would probably not have been lost without the treason of Christian Somé; since, as a foreign contemporary historian, by no means partial to Sweden, observes of the Swedes of this time, "they defended not their men by walls, but their walls by men⁹."

⁷ "A Minute of remembrance for my Son Gustavus Adolphus." Palmsk. MSS. t. 53, p. 467. Ex Manuscripto Regis Caroli IX.

⁸ To duke Charles Philip, for his princely grace to study assiduously, Oct. 7, 1611. "Because we hear that thou wilt not give close heed to thy studies, and we by no means intend that thou shouldst give up the same; therefore have we sent herefrom to thee this gentleman, the noble and well-born Matthias Soop, whom we would have about thee, and who shall teach thee French; also shalt thou obediently and attentively study with doctor John, that thou mayst learn Latin likewise. If thou wilt do this, we shall make thee partaker of much good, in our paternal complacence. Be assiduous, so shalt thou be wise and understanding." Charles Philip, born April 23, 1601, was then in his eleventh year. The above-mentioned doctor John appears to be John Chesnecephorus, tutor of the prince, although John Skytté also was charged with the education of Charles Philip.

⁹ He begs that "she may not turn from him her maternal heart." To her majesty the queen, Swartsice, March 3, 1618.

¹ This was then brought into the treasury of the crown, and an account kept thereof. Palmsk. MSS. t. 73. It is related that the queen measured out the thread for sewing with an ell-wand.

² See the Danish complaints of 1619, and the queen's answer; Hallenberg, History of Gustavus Adolphus (Gustaf Adolfs Historia), iv. 815. "Her son had power to give his kingdom, but not to order any thing touching herself personally."

³ The choice of John Skytté is said to have been made "auctoritate ordinum regni."

⁴ Letter of Charles IX. to Gustavus Adolphus, July 12, 1608.

⁵ Jacob de la Gardie, who received the command, styles himself "appointed lieutenant" of Gustavus Adolphus, Hallenberg, i. 47.

⁶ Axel Oxenstierna's forecited account of the youth of Gustavus Adolphus.

⁷ Jahn, History of the Calmar war (Historie om Calmar-krigen). Copen. 1820, p. 127.

⁸ In his last answer to Christian IV., Charles seems to acknowledge that the want of powder, which Christian Somé alleged, might have been real. "If powder failed him, he should have defended himself with stones," writes the king. For the rest, that Christian Somé was a traitor, is shown by his calling upon the Swedish commander at Borkholm to surrender likewise, and by his Danish pension.

⁹ Peleus. Histoire de la dernière guerre de Suède, en laquelle sont amplement décrits les sièges, combats, rencontres, et batailles des Suédois contre les Danois. (History

The old king, in nominating his elder son grand duke of Finland and duke of Estland, acted not without a particular view. The council had declared in the statute of Calmar that these territories should never be made the duchies of a Swedish prince; probably because during the contests of the royal family, they were more than once in danger of being severed from the kingdom. Charles on the other hand chose this very region to be titular for Gustavus Adolphus, placing him as if upon a forefront against Russia and Poland; and as he likewise actually conferred upon him Westmanland, and gave to his younger son his own former duchy of Sutherland, Nerike, and Vermeland, he thereby planted the power of his house in the heart of the land. This he did with a fair view to his future security. For, despite the hereditary settlement of Norrköping, the succession was uncertain, chiefly from the hesitation of Charles himself, in other matters so prompt of decision. This marks the king as the man of all Sweden, who could never be induced to deny the unforfeited claims of his nephew duke John; and it is a triumph of generous policy, to have made these claims innoxious by acknowledging them. John was throughout treated as his own son; and when Charles crossed into Livonia in 1605, he was placed in the government. His instruction was cared for equally with that of Gustavus Adolphus, and, though he was five years older, by the same teachers. It was during his education in the royal household, that the duke conceived that love for Mary Elizabeth, sister of Gustavus Adolphus, which, favoured by her parents, led ultimately to their union. Thus Charles might venture by his will¹ to leave the estates the choice between John and Gustavus.

Herewithal, after his father's death, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS assumed not immediately the regal title, and the kingdom was for two months without a sovereign. A diet was convened at Nyköping by the queen dowager and duke John, who meanwhile, with six lords of the council, managed the administration. The estates declared their willingness to abide by their former resolutions. Duke John resigned his claims, receiving an augmentation of his duchy²; and both he and the queen dowager renounced all participation in the government; although, according to the hereditary settlement of Norrköping, and the testament of the deceased king, it devolved upon them to conduct it, until the successor to the crown had attained the age of eighteen, and to partake in it, until he should be four-and-twenty. "On the 10th of December, 1611," writes Axel Oxenstierna³, "began the diet of Nyköping, and the first proposition to the estates was made in the name of the queen, duke John, and the lords of the council. On the 17th the queen and duke John renounced, through me, the guardianship and the government, which they transferred, in presence of the estates, to duke Gustavus Adolphus. The 26th, duke Gustavus Adolphus assumed, in presence of the estates, the government committed to him; may God grant in an happy hour!" Gustavus Adolphus took the

of the last War of Sweden, in which are amply described the Sieges, Combats, Rencontres, and Battles of the Swedes with the Danes.) Paris, 1622. The author wrote from the accounts of the French soldiers who had served in Sweden.

¹ Drawn up so early as 1605.

² His principality of East-Gothland and Dalsland was

style of his father; elected King, and hereditary Prince of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals. He was in the first month of his eighteenth year; his chancellor, whose words we have just quoted, was twenty-eight years old⁴.

Hardly ever did any sovereign receive his dominions in a more exhausted condition. Sweden had enjoyed no peace since the days of Gustavus I. If we look back upon its internal state during the past fifty years, how much of distraction and strife! Fraternal war, civil war, two kings overthrown. Charles bequeathed to his son a throne blood-besprent, and war with all his neighbours. And if we cast our glance forwards—war, again war without intermission, during long times to come! We have arrived at the moment, when through Gustavus Adolphus the weight of the Swedish arms was to be felt over the world, and we purpose devoting in future to the military history that greater attention which it demands. Yet it seems expedient that we should first gather into a whole the occurrences of his domestic administration, ordinarily little noted, or but in straggling outlines, and begin therewith the picture of this renowned monarch's reign. It is a foreground lighted up by the flames of war. But that fame which may outstand the probing gaze of history, must possess other claims to the homage of the afterworld, than the splendour of arms alone.

We begin with what concerns most nearly the constitution itself. The greatest change in this respect was the hereditary monarchy, and the contest which it had called forth was scarcely yet fought out. This was carried on under circumstances which instructively show, how in politics the phrase of liberty is not always a sure indication of the presence of its real benefits. Who can doubt, that in Sweden during the Union this interest was, in fact, represented by the insurgent peasants and the lawless power of the Administrator? and that, while the magnates employed all the liberty known to the law of Sweden only to preserve for the Union-kings the name, but for themselves the exercise of power. GUSTAVUS VASA stamped legality on revolt, and suppressed it afterwards; but found himself on the instant directly opposed to that party which so long had used the cloak of the law for their own advantage. Thus was the foundation of regal power in Sweden, as everywhere at the commencement of more modern history, the work of all-stringent absoluteness; and yet who can deny, that the unity and self-rule of our native land, which thus was established, was in very deed the cause of freedom? Of this the best proof is, that the principal legal security for the new order of things, namely, the heritableness of the crown, was secretly the main object of the hostility of the magnates, while they had the rights and freedom of Swedish men upon their tongues. With the consolidation by Charles of his father's work, men in Sweden seemed to have ascertained the dangers of extremes clearly enough to return to a middle way; and the royal warranty (konunga-

increased by four hundreds of West-Gothland. He obtained permission to exchange the royal hereditary estates situated in his duchy, and compensation for his claims in right of inheritance.

³ See his Latin observations in his almanack. *Palm-sköld* MSS. t. 35, 169.

⁴ Born June 16, 1583.

föräkrän) of Gustavus Adolphus may be termed a new form of government, which aimed at confining power on all sides within the bounds of law. But how was it adopted? In haste, amidst war and distress. How was its operation to be developed? Under a continuance of war and distress, although with increase of glory. Circumstances were too favourable to the more potent for freedom not again to become aristocratic property, at the cost of king and people.

The Royal Warranty of Gustavus Adolphus is founded upon the king's oath introduced in the ancient law-book, but contains besides divers more exact definitions and limitations. The arbitrariness to which, under the foregoing reign, so much calamity was chargeable, now gave occasion to a more express confirmation of the principle sanctified by the law, that no one should be apprehended or condemned upon a mere allegation, or without knowing his accuser, and being brought face to face with him before the judgment-seat. The king was to insure to all orders, especially that of the nobility, their due respect, and to every office its dignity and power, depriving and degrading no man from such offices, unless he should be lawfully adjudged thereto. The enactment in the Land's Law (Lands-lag), that without consent of the people neither a new law should be made nor a new tax imposed, was ratified anew with the addition, that the assent of duke John, of the council, and of the estates, should likewise be requisite thereto. Without this neither war, peace, truce, nor alliance could be made. The council was reinstalled in its position of mediator between king and people, and the estates deprecated their being burdened with too frequent holding of diets. Hereby, in the great necessities of the crown, the right of the estates to tax themselves was brought into jeopardy, especially as the expressions of the king's oath respecting the taxes are very indefinite, namely, "that they shall not be imposed without the knowledge of the council, and the consent of those to whom it belongeth." Thus was the power of the council augmented from the side both of the king and the people; and in proof thereof, that provision of the old regal oath which forbids the king of Sweden to alienate or diminish the property of the crown was omitted, from the form of warranty pronounced by the young Gustavus Adolphus.

King Charles IX. had not confirmed the privileges of the nobility. There exists a sketch of a projected confirmation which that sovereign, after his coronation, laid before the council⁵; but they refusing to decide upon it without the participation of the nobles, the king summoned the order to send deputies from every province to Stockholm upon the tenth of June, 1608, to declare their opinion touching the privileges. The convention appears to have met, but without results; for in the king's answer to the memorial presented by the nobility it is set forth, that the privileges offered, which had been conceded out of especial grace and good liking, and not out of obligation, should rather have been accepted with thankfulness, particularly as they were more advantageous than those of king John; but as the nobility was not content therewith, the king repeats his offer, once before

made, to confirm the privileges of king John. But neither was this carried into effect⁶. The charter of privileges offered by Charles, if not fully matching those of Sigismund, yet actually contains, compared with John's, greater advantages, nay, new liberties for the nobility. Such, for example, is the right of themselves choosing the marshal of the kingdom, or commander-in-chief, from three lords proposed by the king to the order. We find, moreover, what we should not be apt to seek in such a document—a project for a new arrangement of the government itself, by the distribution of the council in various departments. Besides the five high officers of state, the steward, the marshal, the admiral, the chancellor, and the treasurer, who have the custody of the ensigns of royalty, there were to be twenty more councillors (which seemed to the nobility too few); of these four (one the academic chancellor) were to be placed over the university of Upsala and all the schools of the country, two were to submit to the king all capital causes, and four were to be councillors of the treasury. Further, an equerry was to have the superintendence of all the king's cavalry, and an ordnance-master of the artillery and ammunition, though these, as well as the councillors of the treasury, might be taken from among deserving noblemen out of the council. These proffered advantages appear all to have been regarded as doubtful, as the king wished to make the amount of horse-service by the nobles the subject of a new valuation, the yearly rent on which it was to be performed being left open in the project; and this circumstance, contrasted with the king's former offer to abolish the horse-service for ever, upon the nobility engaging to pay for their estates an equal proportion of taxes with others, shows that Charles can only be called an enemy of the nobility, in so far as he wished that their obligations should be correlative to their rights.

In truth, he himself paid strieter homage than any one else to the views of his time anent the nobility, according to which the nobleman was before all others the born servant of the king and the crown. Every nobleman, knight or squire, must appear in person at the yearly weaponshow upon his gallant steed, with full armour "both for body and limb," ready at his own cost to follow his sovereign to the borders, and fourteen days beyond them. This was the custom and law of Sweden⁷ for every nobleman alike. For it is worthy of remark, that just as the old assessment imposed equal taxes on every so-called well-bested yeoman, without regard otherwise to the larger or smaller extent of his landed property, so too the ancient law knows no difference, beyond the personal knight-service by which exemption from taxes was gained, between the richer and the poorer noble. To this alone regard was to be had, that he who desired to earn his freedom by such means, should possess property sufficient to find furniture for himself and his horse. Doubtless inequality of property would make, in respect to the horse-service, a considerable difference, in times when the power of a baron was usually measured by the number of people with which he rode about the country. This power had shown itself formidable too often to be unknown;

⁵ The confirmation exists in writing, but was not issued.

⁷ Land's Law, Section of the King (Konunga-Balken), c. 11

but with how great a train a baron should present himself for the service of the crown at the muster, seems to have been a matter left to his individual sense of honour; at least we are acquainted with no determination of the point supplied by elder times. Such, according to the letter of the law, was the knight-service of the nobles for their own estates. Scarcely better does the right of the crown to that which was to be performed in respect of fiefs appear to have been satisfied; since a competent witness declares that the horse-service in general, and consequently also that for infeudations, before the time of Gustavus I., was performed "at will and convenience."⁸

GUSTAVUS VASA first in Sweden redressed the old wrong-doing in tallages and immunities; the one by assessment after the extent of land, the other by settling the horse-service according to a fixed rent, both from inherited estates and fiefs⁹. This the nobles seem never to have forgiven him¹. Nor did they submit obediently to his behest; for the king's complaint, that knight-service was "very defectively performed," continues throughout his whole time. He was obliged to devise other expedients; and that he ascended the throne with the notions of a Swedish nobleman, is shown even in the method he took of aggrandizing his kingly power. Thereto appertain his endeavours to become himself the largest landed proprietor in Sweden, and his many breeding-farms in all parts of the country, on which he maintained an armed force of his own, as the nobility did the same for their own behoof upon their manors. It is related, that still in his day the lord Steno Ericson Leyonhufvud had eight or ten noblemen in his own household, and rode out with a hundred horse, and that others of his peers, as Suanto Sturæ, Peter Brahe, Gustave Johnson (Roos), and Gustave Olson (Stenbock), never came to a diet without having all together a strength of six or seven hundred horse. These statements we take from the treatise, ancient "what advantages the old families erewhile had above the common franklins or gentry"². It appears to belong to the period when Charles IX. completely broke the power of these families; but this lamented change, which was properly the con-

version of the old king-nobles into a monarchic nobility, first appeared in full operation with Gustavus Vasa and the hereditary settlement, although the principle had been acted upon from the time of Magnus Ladulas. The transition shows itself in manifold guise, and not least in the augmentation by the kings of the so-called "common gentry" (*gemena frälset*), which was a nobility by royal patent. But even the higher nobility was transformed after a like fashion; for this was the intent of the degrees of count and free baron by royal grace, first introduced by Eric XIV.; wherefore it was long the mode with the great families to look upon these dignities with indifference, and instead to talk of the ancient parity of the Swedish nobles³. The kings took them at their word, maintaining on their own side that nobility enjoyed its privileges solely because every Swedish nobleman was born to the service of the crown, and had no right to shrink from performance, which Gustavus Adolphus called "to lie at home among the sweepings"⁴. Therefore we find from many patents of nobility in this period that he who was raised to this order gave a written engagement to let himself be employed in what the king charged him withal. The less the equestrian service answered its object (complaints touching its negligent performance are continually repeated), the more stress was laid upon these wider maxims. They concerned indeed the military service more especially, but they received within that field an extended application. King Johu III. declared in 1573, that every nobleman, who was more than seventeen years old, and unable to discharge his horse-service, behoved, if he would retain his shield of nobility, at least to serve for pay; since in the service of the crown he must be⁵. Charles IX. required that all sons of noblemen when they had reached the lawful age, even those whose fathers had been beheaded or banished, should come to the weaponshow and follow him to the war⁶; wherefore we hear henceforwards of noble volunteers and "younkers of gentry⁷," who served as common soldiers, even on foot and for pay. The right of earning exemption for gavel-lands

⁸ Compare above, c. xii.

⁹ This settlement was made at Westeras in 1525, and several times afterwards during the same reign.

¹ See count Brahe's complaints, l. c.

² *Palmisk. MSS.* t. 152, p. 277. This armed following of the magnates (*de Storas*) may explain the custom of appointing several castellans, or commanders, to one fortress. It increased the garrison by the retinue or servants of each, and they besides kept watch on one another. This usage still existed at the commencement of the reign of Gustavus Adolphus.

³ An expression of Axel Oxenstierna in this sense, when afterwards Christina offered him the rank of duke, is well known. In the council he said (1640), "The nobles and knights (*adeln och ridderskapet*) of Sweden have equality of privileges, and are peers in their own right (*jure proprio aequalis*), although we may fall down and rise up. Even so have the Poles (the Polish nobles) equality of privileges; the least of them brags of this, that he is a Polish knight (*eqnes Polonus*), in the stirrup from his mother's womb." *Palmisk. MSS.* t. 190. (The magnanimous reply of the great chancellor, and of count Brahe, to the proposal of queen Christina, alluded to by professor Geijer, is thus given by Arckenholtz: "Both the one and the other thanked her majesty very humbly for the honour she wished to confer on

them and their families, and entreated her to consider that all this sort of titles were so great a charge to the state, that they thought, in place of multiplying them, it would be more fit to suppress them all, namely, those both of the counts and barons, replacing the order of nobility on the footing where it stood when the monarchy was elective; that it was solely virtue and personal merit which made a difference between men; that no jot of this was to be found in vain and unknown titles; that they believed the services they tried to render to the state brought them enough of honour, and that they hoped their children would endeavour to make themselves useful to their country, without needing to be incited thereto by any other recompense than the glory of fulfilling their duty."—*Mémoires concernant Christine*, i. 405. T.)

⁴ Register for 1626, p. 214. (Perhaps with reference to a Swedish proverb, "They that lie among the sweepings (*sopor*), are cast to the swine." T.)

⁵ Hallenberg, i. 153.

⁶ "Ye may tell the sons of Gustave Baner, and others of the nobility who have sons, of the lawful age and able for our service and the crown's, to come hither along (*att de ock komma hit med*)."⁷ Minute for some of the Councillors of State, Ap. 24, 1611.

⁷ Hallenberg, i. 156; iii. 7, note a. (*Adelsbussar* is the word in the text. *Buss*, Ger. *bursch*, is lad or fellow. T.)

Charles extended, through his shield-bearers, to those likewise who served on foot at their own cost for equipment⁸. The equestrian service for estates or rents of the crown granted out in fief was performed also by public officers, who, noble or not, were all paid in this manner; and we find that Charles exacted it even from the bailiffs, assessors of hundreds, and prefects⁹. This was a relic of that barbarism, in which all service to the crown was war-service, and all clerkdom (as studies were formerly called) was confined to the church. After the Reformation the sphere of view in this direction widens; and when Charles wished to enact in the law of Sweden that a nobleman should forfeit his freehold (*frælse*) if he did not make his son, by arms or learning, fit for the public service, he plainly enough declared what he expected from the nobility of the realm.

We have considered it of moment, to unfold the view under which Gustavus Adolphus comprehended the nobility of Sweden. Within its ranks were included all having command, whether civil or military, and almost all the public servants of the realm in the secular departments. Hence the nobles looked upon their claim to offices of state as their highest right¹; as their body also received, by ennoblement, all the ability that was qualified to fill these; a point which they did not neglect to urge against the yeomanry, although not always with success, when the latter complained of the increase of the nobility². At the same time, it was properly a military order; for every noble was at least a common soldier, if nothing else, and thereto born. Charles had strengthened the in-

⁸ "In the times of king Charles IX. many a man was called noble and well-born who was not of the nobility; and all soldiers who demeaned themselves gallantly were then held for noblemen." The high marshal count de la Gardie in the council, 1648. Palmsk. MSS. t. 190. (*Sköld-knektar*, Ger. *schildknechte*, *armigeri*, is the term I have rendered shield-bearers. T.)

⁹ Hallenberg, i. 160. (The *härads-skrifwäre*, or clerk of the hundred, adjusted the quotas of taxes paid by each. *Länsmän* is generally used as prefect or governor of a district. Fogd is bailiff. The terms appear to be mistranslated in the German version. T.)

¹ "It is the highest right (*jus*) we possess, that we are *capaces munerum publicorum*, which is an onerous right," said Axel Oxenstierna in the council. Palmsk. MSS. t. 190.

² When at a diet the high chancellor said in reply to the complaints of the yeomen anent the increase of the nobility, "It is your own sons who are ennobled," one of the crowd made answer, "You bring us little joy, by swelling the numbers of the heathen." Hermelin, *Apophthegmata Sveonum*. Nordin MSS.

³ From the diet of Söderköping in 1595. At the diet of 1611, when Gustavus Adolphus mounted the throne, the body of officers was forgotten in the first writ. But this was compensated by a special summons, according to which every captain of horse (*ryttmaster*) and of foot (*böfvidsman* or headman) was to attend with some of his officers. We find otherwise that every company sent its delegates. To the diet of Helsingfors in 1616 were summoned the captains of horse and foot, with one of the officers and two private horse or foot soldiers. Hallenberg, iii. 486, note a.

⁴ "Sweden hath made, *ex necessitate temporum*, the military class to be an estate of the realm, which nowhere else is found." Declaration in the council, 1642. Palmsk. MSS. t. 190, p. 483.

⁵ Among the demands of the nobility at the accession of Gustavus Adolphus, was, that before each diet they should be made acquainted with the most weighty matters to be discussed thereat, for the purpose of considering them at

fluence of the army, by summoning to the diets a number of officers as its representatives³, a practice which continued long afterwards. Axel Oxenstierna remarks this as a custom peculiar to Sweden⁴. The military, who sent deputies both of the officers and the privates (though having no votes), strengthened the nobility at the diets, where every nobleman came to lawful years was bound to give his attendance⁵. Add hereto longsome and prosperous wars, and the military monarchy is complete. Such Sweden had now become; and under this aspect it was regarded by its greatest statesmen⁶. The military spirit pervaded all; and Swedish diplomatists and literates, persons who lived with the pen in hand, speak with small respect of foreign unwarlike princes: "Old lords, reared away from war, in easy lives, who are themselves no soldiers, and have no soldiers in their council, but only a heap of economists (*oconomos*) and literates." Such is here the common evil, writes Adler Salvius concerning the estates of Germany⁷. With such a spirit, and a young hero wearing the crown, we may not wonder at claims which so nearly coincided with the reality, but first after the death of the hero were more distinctly heard, that the nobility was pre-eminently the estate of the realm of Sweden, that the nobleman was immediately, the peasant (under him) only mediately the subject of the realm⁸; claims which, finally, under administrations of guardians, led to the formally expressed assertion of the nobility, "that they could not be out-voted at the diets by the other estates⁹."

home, in order that every one of their number might not be compelled to attend the diet. Afterwards the presence of military officers at the diet was ascribed to Gustavus Adolphus. The knights and nobles speak, in 1664, of that monarch's "good intention, which, not to mention other benefits he had conferred on the nobility, had given them the deputies of the army for their assistance, who, without votes of their own, should stand by the aforesaid order, so that in conjunction with the councillors of state, they might be able to balance the other orders." Adlersparre, *Historical Collections* (Hisor. Samlingar), iii. 383.

⁶ "That Sweden cannot be long without a war, the natural position of the kingdom (*situs regni et loci*) proclaims, and hereof our kings, or bull-heads, as some say, have noways been the causes." Axel Oxenstierna in the council, 1636. l. c. 392.

⁷ "They decide according to the civil law, when only the law of cannon is necessary." So wrote at this time a Swedish juris utriusque doctor, himself the son of a burgher, Alder Salvius, respecting the court of Celle, to the council. Lubeck, Jan. 20, 1631. Palmsk. MSS. Ministerial Letters. Yet we may remember that he was long secretary to Gustavus Adolphus, and so versed in military affairs, that he himself drew up military plans when Swedish minister in Hamburg.

⁸ "We are all *subditi regni*, the peasants *mediate*, we *immediate*." The high steward, count Peter Brahe, in the council. "In reason we ought highly to estimate the privileges of the baronage (*Ridderskapets*) here in Sweden, since they are more excellent than the privileges of the German noblemen, who are not immediate estates in the Roman empire, but little more than slaves of the princes." Axel Oxenstierna, in the council, 1636. Palmsk. MSS. t. 190. The steward, Peter Brabe, highly desertful else, changed in 1642 his forecited opinion, when he maintained in the council, that the king's majesty should not in his rescripts entitle the nobility subjects, since that was *servile*, and the higher the lord, the higher the servant. Adlersparre, *Hist. Collections*, iv. 115.

⁹ Extract of the protocol passed in the council chamber, 1664. Adlersparre, id. iii. 362.

For this rising influence any aristocratical plan was hardly needed. Yet such did exist among the magnates of the time, of whom Axel Oxenstierna was the most enlightened and high-minded. To the notions, proper to old Swedish freedom, of the limits on regal power, as they were understood by his order, he paid absolute homage, and, albeit he concealed not his way of thinking¹, remained the friend of Gustavus Adolphus. Thus do great souls understand one another.

There is a story current in Swedish annals, of the conflicting political principles of the parties of OXENSTIERNA and SKYTTÉ; a strife of aristocracy and democracy, at the head of which on the one side is placed the high chancellor, on the other John Skytté, tutor of Gustavus Adolphus, and afterwards councillor of state². Conformably with this assumption, some remarkable sayings are ascribed to the king, which do not contradict what is otherwise known to us of the persons and affairs of this time³. In the year 1613, we find John Skytté complaining that he had been disturbed in his repose, and removed from the king's person by other charges; that such was done by the king's will, and that there had even been a question of dismissing him from the king's service; he entreats Axel Oxenstierna to counteract these designs⁴.

¹ "This is disreputable,—speaking of commotions of subjects. If you yield, then follows intestine revolt. If in such cases you deny subjects leave to speak, then men agree to bring tyranny into the commonwealth, and confusion of all things. In such cases, where one sees his country oppressed, all rights of majesty overturned, and the whole kingdom reduced into the form of a province, shall he let himself be persuaded to silence? That is an undertaking, which costs many heads. Had our forefathers under Engelbert and old king Gustavus not plucked up good resolution, we had at this day been lying (*vi hade i denna dag legat*) under Denmark in the same condition as Norway." Axel Oxenstierna, in the council, 1640. Palmisk. MSS. t. 190. (As a curious specimen of Swedish diplomatic language, or jargon, at that day, I subjoin the first part of this passage: *Det är disreputertigt att tala om subditorum motibus. Nekar man subditi uti sadana fall att tala, sa bifalla man och indrager tyrannidem in rempublicam et rerum omnium confusione, &c. T.*) Compare his language to Whitelocke upon the revolution in England, in his journal of his embassy to Sweden in 1653. Yet he required a strong government, and was not favourable to republican institutions. "Every man knows, what beast a republic is. Sweden cannot be governed without kingship. In Sweden the people is powerfulest, if it be not curbed by kings," he said to the council in 1650.

² A lampoon written against Charles, asserts that he was a natural son of that king, whom he is said to have resembled in appearance and shape of body. When Gustavus Adolphus made Skytté a baron, he took his place in the Swedish hall of harons next after Gyllenhielm, the natural son of Charles IX.

³ "Master John Skytté was secretly at political rivalry with the chancellor, the lord Axel Oxenstierna. Skytté wished quite to make cabbage of the old leading nobility, whose arrogance Charles IX. had so potently broken. The king believed that it was now no longer so dangerous, and that if his majesty cajoled and held short both parties, it might well be that they would keep watch upon each other, without either getting the upper hand. The king had, besides, his own thoughts of Skytté's idea, and mistrusted its consequences to be more threatening to his regal power than to present projects of the old nobility. He declared to the sagacious lord Steno Bielké, in whom he had great confidence: 'The Skyttians may well have the notion of reigning without a king, while ye others would at least keep one for seeming. The nobility is a middle order, and

Afterwards we hear of sharp words exchanged between the two statesmen⁵. Skytté, though he continued to be employed in high and weighty affairs, was yet more a man of theory than of practice, and appears not to have possessed the untiring activity of the chancellor, which was the surest course to the favour of Gustavus. For this he had at length, as governor-general of Livonia, to submit to somewhat severe rebukes from the king⁶. On the other hand, the chancellor rose in the confidence of his sovereign, nay, enjoyed such a friendship, as nobler was never known between a monarch and his subject⁷; yet Gustavus, though his aversion to popular rule is known from others of his sayings⁸, kept himself independent of his ministers in political opinions; for proof whereof may be alleged his sentiments in respect to the privileges of nobility.

Between the privileges offered by Charles and those issued by Gustavus Adolphus on his mounting the throne, although the latter are the more ample, the difference is smaller than might be supposed. Even the determination of the trooper-service to one good horse and one able-bodied man for 400 marks' rent (about 266½ rix-dollars specie), remained the same as in king John's privileges

especially the rich among them, that may balance the Skyttians, and so hinder them from scratching the king with their coaxing cats-paws. Ye others are of too high cast by nature to go to work so; we must only fend ourselves from you, that ye come not to rule under the name of a king; for aristocracy is hard-handed. But yet I hold with the chancellor, that the democrats, again, are blood-thirsty when they get into power. Besides, no glory shines on their eternal grudges and quarrels; such the annals of all time prove this party's manner of governing to be; and pitiable the king that lets himself be fooled by their dainty meats, worse than the hard gripe of others." Remarks upon king Gustavus Adolphus the Great, in the Memoirs for the History of Scand. viii. 10. The unknown author did not write before 1739. He gives his account as traditional, but traces its origin from a man of note, who forged himself his own fortune, the count Lindsköld, royal councillor in the list of 1689, who derived it from the times of Gustavus Adolphus. We find the same tradition in the well-known *Anecdotes de Suède*, which are of Charles XI.'s days.

⁴ Litteræ Joh. Skytté ad Ax. Oxenstierna. Gripsholm, d. Julii 26, 1613. Palmisk. MSS. t. 371.

⁵ Skytté once coming late into the council, Axel Oxenstierna remarked that he had probably been detained by reading Machiavel. "You know him by nature," was the reply of Skytté. When, after the king's death, Oxenstierna came back from Germany, and sat at Skytté's table, the host's little grandson asked, "Is this one of the five kings?" Skytté reprimanded the boy; Oxenstierna smiled, and said, "The young pig grunts after the old sow." "*Rem acu tetigisti*," he said once, when Skytté held an opposite opinion in the council—an allusion to Skytté's father, the burgomaster of Nyköping, who was called Bennet (Bengt) Tailor. Hermelin, *Apophthegmata*. Nordin MSS.

⁶ "All the draughts you transmit are stuffed with a heap of excuses and arguments. We beg you will take example by others, who stand in much greater difficulties, and yet find means to come to our help; whom if you will emulate, opportunity will hardly fail you." Gustavus Adolphus to John Skytté, Stettin, March 1, 1631. Register in the Archives. Another letter of reproof is dated Usedom, June 28, in the same year. *Ibid*.

⁷ See especially the well-known letter of Dec. 30, 1630.

⁸ "For in it (the populace) is no counsel, no reason, no judgment, no diligence." Gustavus Adolphus to his brother-in-law, the elector of Brandenburg (the letter is manifestly to him), Jan. 25, 1620. Palmisk. MSS. t. 36. 903.

which Charles had offered to confirm. Personal relations made the greatest change. The young king's good inclination towards the old families persecuted by his father; his gentleness, which compensated many hardships and dried up many tears; his gratitude for the harmonious settlement of the succession; his righteousness, which first abolished the arbitrary confiscations that were the most terrible arms of his father and grandfather; his bounteousness, and the hopes so universally fixed on him; his very youthfulness, which took and required counsel, all this operated reconcilingly. His ascension of the throne was as the atonement of longsome civil distractions in Sweden. It was solemnized in haste, amidst ingruent dangers, without closely chaffering about conditions. This important diet, which now regulated the succession, the footing of administration, the defence of the country, the taxation, and decided on the complaints of the estates, took up the space of three weeks⁹; and the same day when Gustavus Adolphus confirmed the privileges of the nobility, he set out for the wars.

A brief experience was sufficient to change the tincture of his thoughts. Highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the nobles in declining the horse-service, and with many encroachments on his rights repugnant to the import of their charter, he caused a declaration to be drawn up after the close of the Danish war in January, 1613, for the right understanding of the nobility's privileges, which he committed to the custody of John Skytté¹. Out of grace and thankfulness, it runs, for that the nobility of Sweden, with other dwellers of the realm, had elevated his family to royal dignity, and lately elected and chosen him to be their sovereign lord, he had conceded to them such privileges, as hardly any king of Sweden before; he had perceived that many of them made little acknowledgment of such liberality, but contrariwise misused the privileges conferred, especially in this war-time; wherefore they might know that he could revoke what he had given, and define the true sense of their privileges, that every man might not turn and twist them as seemed good to him. But these privileges should be so understood, that although it was therein provided that tax-free estates should not fall to the crown, unless the nobleman bore arms against his king, yet the law of Sweden should also hold, which among other cases when freehold was forfeited, enacted generally, that tax-free estates might be laid under scot, if service were not performed therefrom; wherefore those of the nobility who neither themselves bore part in the Danish war, nor fulfilled their horse-service, but slunk away, while the king himself lay a-field against the enemies of the realm², should lose their baronial

freedom, unless they had lawful excuse, and of grace obtained a new confirmation. They are reminded that heritable estates as well as fiefs are subject to the burden of horse-service. It is noted as an abuse, that the nobility released their peasants, not only within the free-mile round their mansions, but generally upon their lands held in fief from the crown, from portages, lodgment, and other works of succour (hjelp); that they built as many seats (sätessgardarna) as they pleased, and claimed for them the same immunities as for their individual place of abode; thus also withdrawing a large number of persons from conscription; that whereas the houses of the nobles in the towns were free from all civic burdens, they unlawfully, either themselves or by others, pursued civic callings, maintaining even in some cases tap-rooms and places of dissolute resort; that they abused likewise their toll-free right for inland traffic and foreign commerce as well on their own as others' account; with much else to the same purpose. Touching the restitution of property forfeited by nobles to the owner's family, it is laid down that the conditions on which such a favour might be granted must depend upon the king; "for if the sovereign were to be bound continually to give of the rents and property of the crown, without the case ever occurring that such tax-free estates should again fall to the king and crown, occasion would thereby be given for the king to retake by force of law what the crown had in this manner lost of its rents, as the fifth article of the king's oath expressly declared and allowed." It was this article of the old royal oath which had been omitted from the warranty of Gustavus Adolphus. At his coronation in 1617, he caused it to be again inserted in the oath. That he knew his rights is also shown by the statute passed in his second diet, of the year 1612, to the effect that all fiefs conferred during pleasure should be revoked till the investigation of the grounds of tenure was completed, "since, in a word, the largest portion of the income and rents of the realm was bestowed in fiefs³."

This statute remained on the whole without effect, and naturally enough, seeing that in such infusions, however great the inconveniences they entailed on both governors and subjects, consisted from of old the payment for the entire service of the state; and the remedy of the evil would thus have required a new regulation of stipends in every department. For this the wars that had broken out left no time, and the confusion of the finances no means. We see the king for the most part reduced to the necessity of giving with one hand what he had taken back with the other. Great merits and brilliant proofs of bravery

⁹ The diet of Nyköping was from Dec. 10, 1611, to Jan. 1, 1612. The charter of privileges is dated Jan. 10, 1612. On the same day the king began his journey to the army.

¹ Draught of an explanation of the privileges of the baronage (ridderskap) and nobility, in the Palmköld MSS. t. 153. Subjoined is the remark, "This sketch of an explanation of the privileges before-mentioned was found among the papers of Master John Skytté, upon which the wor. deceased wrote with his own hand, 'This shall be narrowly observed: it treats of the abuses practised by sundry of the nobles, and was delivered to me by his majesty's self. The late Michael Olofson (then secretary of state) penned it.'"

² "God knoweth," writes one of the king's followers in

the war, Aug. 2, 1612, "what support his majesty hath had; more than eight persons of the nobility have not been with him during this whole expedition." Hallenberg, ii. 447.

³ "There had been for long and up to this time, abuse with the fiefs, which may properly be called no other than the ordinary revenues of the crown of Sweden, and were distributed among those who were employed in the king's service. All such fiefs were recalled by public edict, till his majesty should have examined what enfeoffment every man held, and what persons possessed them, as also what service they discharged for them." Widekindi, Life and History (Historia och Levernbeskrifning) of Gustavus Adolphus, p. 116. Hallenberg, ii. 745.

called for rewards which he least of all men could refuse, and the conquests of the Russian and Polish wars supplied new channels for his generosity. Even the promulgation of the royal minute respecting the privileges of the nobility was dropped. But that the king did not forget it, is plain from his own remarks on this subject composed before his coronation. In consequence of these the council altered some points, and the king, having erased his signature to the privileges of 1611, and caused the seal to be broken, issued a new charter⁴. If this differs in little from the former, yet the whole transaction indicates, that much of the privileges was only to hold good until a further arrangement. In the king's complaints as to the conduct of the nobility made at the diet of 1617, our attention fixes especially on the third point; "that we have no clear knowledge of who are rightly franklins (frälsemen), whether those only who are called noblemen and have shield and helm, or those also who may make their estates freehold under certain conditions." Herein lay an inducement to the erection of the Swedish House of Barons (Riddarhus), which took place in 1625. The king gave his assent to the petition of the nobility on this subject, in recompense of the readiness wherewith they had received the royal proposals respecting the maintenance of a standing army, made to the estates at the diet of that year. At this point the horse-service virtually ceased to be the ground

of freedom of nobility⁵, and the old contest regarding it became at least of smaller importance. Nobility, as completely hereditary, was separated from the other gentry, although left open to merit of every kind; but its destination mainly for warlike objects continued the same, and hence in Sweden a standing army and a permanent house of barons were contemporary institutions. Whatever may be objected against the first strong aristocratic preponderance in this house of barons (whence afterwards arose within it those dissensions, which under Charles XI. broke the power of the nobility), this on one side is a result of the precedence once ordinarily enjoyed by the great families over the inferior gentry, and still supported by public opinion; and on the other a proof that this warlike prince, though reigning in a military monarchy, yet did not strive after absolute sway. What he, looking into the future, designed by the great dignities wherewith he surrounded his throne, what he purposed by the nobility of Sweden, is for the rest as uncertain as what he intended with Sweden itself. Every where we find the tracks of greatness, but no end of the way, scattered premises to a conclusion cut off by death. That he held control over his work (which without him became something entirely different in character), is certain. After his time it was common to seek in the course of his government grounds for upholding the claims of the nobility. In this respect, the aristocrats of

⁴ "Animadversions by king Gustavus upon the baronial privileges, written with his own hand, repositied in the Archives." Copy (made about 1672) in a collection of records belonging to the prefect Järta. The original was lost at the burning of the castle in 1697. The first remark points at sect. vii., which lays down that no nobleman is to be bound, fettered, or imprisoned, but always have free conduct to and from the justice-seat; whereupon the king writes, "This strengthens insolence and unright, the chief matter which I am bound by my kingly oath to guard against. If I should swear to this point, which strips law of its authority, it would follow therefrom that I promised to suppress all wrong, and yet punish no nobleman for his offence, which were two contraries that fit but ill, and would make such an oath grievous for me. For this reason a change is needful." The council and nobles bind themselves to alter this, so that a nobleman should have no safe conduct, or bail of nobility, when he was caught in open and grave delinquency. In the same manner servants and peasants of the nobility, taken in the fact, might be apprehended by the king's officers and lodged in the royal prison, if they were taken without the jurisdiction of the castle where the husband (or master of the house) inhabited; if within it, they were to be committed by the king's bailiffs to the prison of their master until the next court-day. "Now if change be admitted in this point," adds the king, "it may have place in others; as herein, that I shall be bound to reveal what is said to me in confidence;" meaning secret complaints and charges against the nobility. This was altered to the effect, that the king should not leave unpunished those who spoke any thing against a knight or nobleman which touched his honour and good repute. As matters fit to be changed the king further notes, abuses with the grants of crown fines, whereby many offences, even such as concerned life, were concealed for the sake of fines; land-trade and fisheries which the nobility unlawfully pursued; the extensive right of patronage (jus patronatus) by the nobility in the appointment of ministers; the erection of new seats by the gentry, with illegal protection for artisans and exemption from portage and lodgment; crimen læse majestatis, referring to the plots of Sigismund's party, which before the coronation were particularly rife. He adds, lastly, "that privileges must only be granted salvo jure tertii." All these points the council pass by, but comment on the nine-

teenth section of the privileges, that although the peasants of the nobles, settled within the mile round their mansions, should have immunity from portage and lodgment, such should not hold with respect to the peasants on their fiefs. The Attestation of the Council and Nobility anent these changes was issued on the 26th October, 1617 (Widekindi, p. 431), but they did not receive the seals or confirmation of the council separately before July 17, 1619 (Palmsk. MSS. t. 153). It is therein stated that after they had given up their earlier privileges, his majesty had for these alterations promised them another charter, revised and improved, which they were to obtain under his majesty's secret sanction, whence we should conclude that the new privileges were not yet subscribed in 1619. Meanwhile, the alterations first solemnly confirmed by the council in 1619, were literally introduced in the charter of 1617, as printed at Stockholm in 1634 by Ignatius Meurer. This is dated at Upsala, Oct. 8, 1617, which cannot be correct. On this day the king was not at Upsala, whither he proceeded on the 10th Oct. from Stockholm to his coronation, which took place on the 12th Oct. (See Widekindi, 431; Hallenberg, iv. 628.) The privileges thus appear, when the royal signature was afterwards attached, to have been autedated, and a mistake made as to the day; for it is not an error of the press, as in the charter of Christina that of 1617 is cited with the same date. The dispute as to whether the charter of 1611 was actually subscribed (see Widek. 23; Hallenberg, i. 252), is decided by a copy, preserved in the collection above-mentioned, of a statement by secretary Eric Simonson Wynblad, that the king had transmitted to him, through his chancellor, the privileges of 1611, to which he had set his name. Before the burning of the castle, Palmsköld had seen the cancelled privileges, with this testimony, in the Archives. MSS. t. 116.

⁵ To the house of barons all fines for neglect of horse-service were awarded. This had been lowered in 1622 to 500 dollars rent; of the poorer nobles two, or at most three, might join to keep a horse. A new ordinance respecting the horse-service was issued in 1626. In the same year the king wrote to the lieutenant of Livonia, that noblemen who were not rich enough to ride for their estates, should place themselves in his own company of body-guards, that no one might escape from his service; it was such court service he desired, but no waiters. Hallenb. v. 451.

that day are not always trustworthy witnesses; his courtiers did not entertain the same view. Even from the better of them we hear, that "he was a heroic prince, of such a humour, that to subdue others and aggrandise his own power, he laid hands on the privileges of others⁶." The only harsh and deliberate wrong-doing against a subject which can be laid to the king's charge, was in the case of a young nobleman who was proud enough to refuse personal attendance upon him, which he considered as beneath his rank⁷.

In the charter of Gustavus Adolphus, for the council of state, the baronage, and nobility, to erect a house of barons in Stockholm⁸, the chief points to be noted are the following:—The whole baronage, as well old as new, in Sweden and Finland, shall be enrolled and divided into families, after three orders or classes; the first comprehending those who have been elevated to the rank of lords by the titles of count or free-baron, according to priority of creation; the second those who can prove that any one of their ancestors was a councillor of state, whereupon their position shall be determined once for all by lot; the third all others who serve for their freeholds, and of whom the elder shall take their places by lot, the younger according to their patents of nobility. Every family shall have a seal made for itself, with arms, and without name, that shall be used only for statutes of the diet and the sealing of public acts. The council of the realm to have the foremost seat in the hall of barons, but without voice, and every family one vote by him whom it shall choose or constitute to be its head for the diet; all others (since in the whole baronage he who has come to lawful years, and has no lawful excuse, must attend the diet) stand in the hall, to listen and be silent. He who takes the first place in each class, collects the votes in a covered vase, counts them publicly, and delivers them to the land-marshal. The plurality of voices in each class to constitute its vote, "so that the whole baronage shall consist of three votes," according to the classes. The land-marshal to have the right of convening the baronage, of bringing before it the propositions of the king, of conducting the deliberations, of receiving the votes, and of drawing up the statute by the secre-

tary; he is to be nominated by the crown. Singularly enough, to this office very extensive powers are generally ascribed, for it is said, that "what with our permission is enjoined and resolved by the baronage, the land-marshal is to execute, and no one venture to set himself up against it; wherein also our lieutenants in the provinces shall lend help and hand." The preponderance of the old families is clear from the reckoning of the votes by classes, just as that of the nobility generally in the reserved summons, requiring every man to repair to the diets⁹. It was also the land-marshal, who with two nobles of each class had to deliver to the high chancellor the statute of the diet.

The officers of the army continued to be called to the diets. The statutes were passed in the name of the "council and estates, counts, free-barons, bishops, nobles, clergy, military commanders, burgesses, and common folk (menige allmoge) of the realm of Sweden¹;" but the military commanders, although not named in the ordinance for the house of barons, were reckoned of the nobility. The spokesman of the nobility spoke as well for his own order as for the higher and lower delegates of the army. In the deliberations which preceded the king's coronation, "the nobility and war-folk" made conjoint remarks in reference to the warranty which was to be required of the king, and the oath of the nobility to Gustavus Adolphus was sworn by "Sweden's baronage and nobility, military commanders and common war-folk²."

With all this enhancement of the influence of the nobility, the king yet possessed, in respect to all the estates, the power requisite for a ruler, of having the last word in deliberations and resolutions. This may best be inferred from the Ordinance for Diets, passed in 1617, nine years earlier than the ordinance (ordning) for the house of barons, because much disorder had heretofore been at the diets, and many had attended unsummoned. When the diet shall begin and the estates assemble in their hall, the king's chair is to be set foremost, duke Charles sitting on his right, and duke John on his left; thereafter to the right along the wall the five high officers of the realm, to the left the remaining councillors; further to the right, on

well as Oxenstierna, highly esteemed him. Adlersparre, *Hist. Collections*, i. 151.

⁸ June 6, 1626. "Thereby to defend their privileges, and for the holding of conferences, weddings, and other solemnities; as also there to institute a school and college for youth; likewise that the baronage may assemble at diets and congresses in their hall, there to consider and deliberate in order on the affairs proposed to them; as also that in their ordinary meetings may come together, as upon a bourse, those who have disputes between them, which are to be settled not by course of law but by compact, or who have somewhat to handle among themselves."

⁹ Axel Oxenstierna finds herein an accessory precaution. Among the grounds which, under the government of the guardians in 1642, the chancellor stated in the council against the request of the nobility to send their committees to the diets, is mentioned, that it interests their dignity to maintain their votes, which is a great dignity and liberty of the realm, and that they come together to avert much evil that might befall. *Palmisk. MSS.* t. 190.

¹ So long as the hereditary princes lived, and the queen dowager was guardian to her younger son, their names appear first in the statutes of the diet.

² See the oath in Stiernman, *Resolutions of Diets and Meetings*, i. 728.

⁶ Words of count Peter Brahe in the council, 1636. *Palmisk. MSS.* t. 190, p. 449. So too the old hero Jacob de la Gardie expressed himself; "It was commonly the nature of king Gustavus Adolphus, of happy memory, that he gladly augmented his regalities and kingly grandeur, but diminished and cut down the privileges of others."

⁷ "Our subject Eric Brorson (Ralamh) hath shown disobedience to us (he writes to the council, Höchst, Nov. 19, 1631), and in such sort set at nought our will and command, that while we sat at supper yestern even with divers foreign princes, and no other was present who might go to the table and give us due attendance at such a feast, and we commanded himself, in order that all might not end indecorously, to come to the table, and there perform the ordinary foretasting, he gave so little heed to our order, in the presence of such princes and lords, and being in such need, when no other was at hand, that on the instant he left the room, and rendered no further service to us during this repast." The king commanded him to be sent home and tried; but the youth escaped, which so incensed him that he wrote home to order the deposition of Ralamh's father, Bror Anderson, then president of the court of Abo, and the sequestration of his fiefs, for not having better trained his son. Eric Ralanh died young at Paris in 1635, in the house of Grotius, who, as

certain benches thereto appointed, counts, free-barons, nobles, and next these last the officers of the army; to the left, next the councillors, the bishops and clergy, then the burgesses, and lowest, in the middle of the hall, the order of yeomen. Only deputies might be present at the diets, except the younger nobles, who stood at the door. After the king, accompanied by the estates, shall have entered the hall and saluted them, first every prince of the royal family, himself or by deputy, then one of the baronage (the land-marshal after the ordinance for the house of barons was made) for the nobility and army, and lastly, the archbishop for the un-noble estates collectively, most humbly offer to the king their congratulations. Thereupon the king eumerates the points which the estates have to consider, and with the same escort returns to his chamber. Thereafter the estates come again into their hall, whence each estate repairs to its chamber, to consult upon the points and reduce to writing its answer and opinion. This, "if it cannot be done in one day, may be done in two, three, or more," during which the estates may also, if they so wish, assemble for common deliberation. For the preservation of secrecy, sworn clerks are appointed to the yeomen, and for the same end no one was permitted to take home the king's propositions (the only subjects of deliberation), but the estates were to peruse, consider, and advise upon the same at the place appointed. When the answer is prepared, the estates again assemble and occupy their places. Then will the king's majesty again come to them and hear their reply, which every estate shall separately deliver in writing by its deputies, explaining the same with reasons. Now if his majesty be contented with the answer, well and good. If there be any hesitation thereupon, then his majesty rejoins either in writing or orally, according as the importance of the affair demands.

Where any difference is found between the resolutions of the estates, each estate may in presence of the king's majesty set forth and defend its opinion, in order that, when the reasons are heard, they may the better be able to uphold them against one another, and to discern which has the best grounds; so long as until a reasonable understanding is brought about, or "the king's majesty selects therefrom what is best."³ This ordinance was received by the estates as "good, fit, and seemly."

Simple forms these, the first appointed for a Swedish diet of estates; and yet in fact little different from the oldest, in which the king spoke to the laud's army, and acclamation decided the

adoption of the statute. Nor was the plan of representation by estates yet fully developed. This can properly be said only of the first estate, which outweighed the rest. Much was yet indeterminate. The presence of all the nobles (unless hindered by years, sickness, or the public service) was, though required by law, hardly possible. Of the clergy were commonly summoned the bishop of every diocese, with a member of the chapter, and a minister from every hundred; of the burgesses, the burgomaster, and one of the council or the commonalty in every town; of the yeomen, one or two from every hundred⁴. Frequent and short diets, bad roads, war, and other hindrances led to the absence of many deputies, especially from remote places. Thus no one from Finland attended the diet of Örebro in 1614, which lasted somewhat more than a month; wherefore at a congress in Borgo the king caused some of the estates of Finland to confirm the resolutions of those of Sweden, and obtained the subscriptions of the others in their own districts⁵. In the year 1616, during the Russian war, the king held with the estates of Finland a separate diet of a week, at which was granted a tallage of equal amount with that of 1613. The Finns thereupon exhorted the Swedish estates by a special letter, to be in like manner ready for the defence of their father-land, which they expected the rather as they had themselves suffered most by the war. This admonition was first answered by the estates of Smaland, who, assembled at Calmar, thanked the Finns for their zeal, and promised to pay the tax with the same readiness, which the king forthwith levied over the whole kingdom, excusing himself on the ground, that the time allowed of no other course⁶.

We consequently here find provincial estates in some sort making enactments for the whole kingdom; and the examples referred to show us likewise how aids were granted while their amount was left undetermined. The tax above-mentioned was the so-called "landtöggärd" or war-aid, for the support of the army. At the diet of 1612, the yeomanry engaged to assist his majesty with their contributions for this purpose, "according to their ability and the matter;" whereupon the king's commissioners were to negotiate with them further in their various districts. This was usual with taxes which were paid in produce⁷. On the other hand the notion began to prevail, that money-aids must be granted and fixed at general diets⁸. Yet

Sweden, and that of the estates of Smaland to the Finns in Widekindi, l. c. 339. 341.

⁷ Final declaration of the commonalty respecting the aid (hjelp) they have granted. Stockholm, Nov. 25, 1612. Stiernman, l. c. i. 678. At the same time the yeomanry charged themselves with a fixed benevolence of four dollars (2½ rix-dollars, specie), for every crown and seat farm, and two substantial peasants of the nobility were to be reckoned for one crown or seat-peasant.

⁸ In the year 1614 the council of state could devise no other means of carrying on the Russian war, than negotiating for supplies with the yeomanry; a money-aid it was not in the power of these to give, nor could the king enjoin such without a general diet, which again could not conveniently be held during his absence; the yeomanry could most easily be persuaded to a considerable war tax, and for that reason the council of state had drawn up a project for it. *Puncta Senatus Consulti*, in Widekindi, 240. The tax was levied.

³ Ordinance which shall be observed in assemblies of the estates of the realm, and in the collection of votes at the diets, made at Örebro, Jan. 24, 1617. Stiernman, l. c. i. 706.

⁴ At the diet of 1611, on the accession of Gustavus Adolphus, the first writ of summons was changed in such sort, that whereas only two clergymen (besides the bishop and member of the chapter) were first called from each diocese, it was now added, that from every hundred, "as had formerly been usual," one clergyman should come. To the same diet of 1611, as to that of 1617, two yeomen from every hundred were summoned. On other occasions, (as in 1635,) only "one discreet and prudent *danneman*," or goodman, was summoned from every hundred.

⁵ Resolution of the estates of Finland, in Helsingfors and the government of Borgo, July 30, 1614. Stiernman, l. c. i. 698. Compare Hallenberg.

⁶ See the letter of the estates of Finland to the estates of

to this rule necessity induced some exceptions. When in 1613, after the peace with Denmark, the ransom for Elfsborg was to be defrayed in money, the king, in order that the land might not so often be burdened with diets, convened instead a Committee of the Estates, consisting of two noblemen from every province, the bishops and one clergyman of every chapter, with the burgomaster and council of Stockholm on behalf of the towns⁹, which in conjunction with the council was to deliberate upon the matter. It is indeed stated in their proposal, that "they wished in nowise to prejudice any of the other estates who were not present, or, to deprive them of their right of advice and assent;" but the proposal was enforced as a statute; and the heaviest tax which had ever heretofore been paid in Sweden, was granted in no other manner¹. The silence observed upon the subject at the two following diets was regarded as an express consent. So it came to pass that one million rix-dollars were paid in six years, at a time when a rix-dollar was worth a tun (four bushels) of rye². This was in the extremest public emergency; wherefore the king and the council sent the silver to the mint for the ransom of Elfsborg, and the nobles had no exemption for their vassals³.

The Ordinance of Diets did not put an end to informalities of this kind. It contains no particular provision for the manner of granting the taxes, and herein law and custom were partly indeterminate and partly contradictory. We have remarked that at an early period several of the public contributions had changed their original character of casual benevolences and become standing imposts⁴. Paid in a multitude of dissimilar circumstances, according to the various conditions of the provinces (a disparity, which exists at the present day), they collectively formed what are called the yearly rents in the oldest ground-rent books of the crown, which have been preserved from the days of Gustavus I. New branches were constantly grafted on the old stems. Thus we find, at the time when the land's law was promulgated, general complaints current which this code itself does not name, and the provincial laws occasionally forbid. During the union, when in so many respects might passed for right, many such grievances appear to have arisen from the conduct of the foreigners who held the prefectures, as building aids and day-service at

the castles (which however are partly older), quartering of soldiers and imposts under different names for their support, with the foddering of horses on account of the king and his officers⁵. Charles Canuteson's prefects were no better than the foreigners. The rule of the Sturés brought some alleviation of the burdens of the people, which is true especially of the administration of Steno Sturé the elder, but the state of war continued unremittingly from his last days to the end of the union, and in the general disorder the magnates appear, as possessors of the crown fiefs, to have taken due precaution that the new burdens should not fall into desuetude. Thus had the old popular right of self-taxation become more and more a subject for the arbitrary disposal of the governors. These relations suffered little change under the first kings of the Vasa family; especially as, according to the land's law, supply was not yet a question for the diet in the later sense⁶, and the representation long continued to oscillate between provincial and general estates. The crown, with augmented power, naturally intervened; and thus we see Gustavus I. sometimes laying on heavy taxes, with no reference except to the consent of the council. His sons were not more scrupulous in this respect, and the irregular reign of John III. in particular, with few diets and almost incessant wars, is marked by a crowd of high taxes arbitrarily imposed; albeit those granted by the estates were higher than ever. On the deposition of king Eric, for instance, every fifth penny on moveable and fixed property, and in 1573 every tenth penny on all moveable property was paid⁷. We find taxes levied at will,—the so-called war tributes or others resembling them, almost yearly⁸. The numerous diets of Charles IX. in part changed this relation, and at that of 1602 we observe even the amount of a tax granted was fixed, although it was to be paid in wares⁹. Yet this was not the rule. In the statute of the same diet the estates say: "As touching portages, tendance and lodgment of travellers (which be very heavy burdens), also the manifold small payments which subjects have yearly to make, as well as the clearing of fields and meadows, we have referred all that to our gracious prince and lord; and what herein his princely grace, in unison with his council, shall

⁹ Compare Hallenberg, ii. 665.

¹ Stiernman, i. 689.

² The ransom money for Elfsborg was payable in four years, but the last payment was not made till the 20th January, 1619, when the aid yielded a surplus of 200,000 Swedish dollars (133,333½ rix-dollars, specie), which was applied to the discharge of the other debts of the crown. L. c. iv. 810. For the ransom of Elfsborg, according to the statute of July 22, 1613, the baronage and nobility paid for every horse, which the trooper service obliged them to keep, 32 rix-dollars yearly, a bishop 40, a chamberlain or secretary 40, a superintendent, or a minister in town or country, 16 (the bishop, however, settling the payment of each as was fair), a professor or schoolmaster 8, a chaplain of a town 4, in the country 2, a rentmaster, mintmaster, or officer of the customs 50, a bailiff or clerk 10, an under-justice and law-reader 12, every captain, lieutenant, or cornet of cavalry 20, of infantry 12, privates on horse and foot, apparitors and such like possessing a farm, with burgesses and peasants, freeholders and unfree without difference, 2 rix-dollars (besides burgesses and miners according to their means); every lad of fifteen 1, every girl half a rix-dollar. The tax

was to be paid in rix-dollars of full weight or good silver, one ounce and a tenth reckoned to the rix-dollar. He that possessed no rix-dollars, either Swedish or foreign, was to pay in current Swedish coin, not less than half-dollars,—six marks or one dollar and a half being counted to the rix-dollar,—or in copper, iron, and grain, the pound of copper being valued at 1½ rix-dollar, the skeppund of iron at 4, the tun of wheat at 1½, the tun of rye or malt at 1 rix-dollar. See the statute in Stiernman, i. 684, and Hallenberg, ii. 671.

³ That is according to the statute. The king complains of frauds in the execution.

⁴ Compare p. 88.

⁵ Compare queen Margaret's excuses as to this matter, p. 62.

⁶ It was decided in the cases where the law permitted it, (compare p. 89), by agreement between the different provinces.

⁷ Statement of John Skytté in the council, 1627. Palmisk. MSS.

⁸ According to notes in the archives of the treasury, obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Bergfalk.

⁹ Mandate in respect to the aids granted by the yeomanry, Stockholm, June 17, 1612. Stiernman, i. 541.

further do and ordain, to the benefit of the realm and his subjects, we will fully accept, guiding ourselves thereby as obedient subjects, and it may be at convenience entered in the law-book." Although the last words aimed at settling the point by law once for all upon the occasion, we see that the estates referred the decision to the government. The economic legislation which in Sweden to this day appertains solely to the king, is thus shown to have formerly included a somewhat extensive right of taxation.

Over the grave of Gustavus Adolphus it was said: "He received his kingdom with two empty hands, yet deprived no man of his own by violence; but what the necessities of the realm required, that did he let his people know on their days of free assemblage, that they might consider the matter, and give tribute to the crown according to its need¹." In comparison with earlier times this judgment may be viewed as correct, and it belongs to the undying renown of this king that he, the greatest warrior of the Swedish throne, was of all the rulers of his house the least given to violence. Those who speak so much of the weight of taxes with which he loaded the country, should at least reflect that what under him was done by the law, was before him often done against law, and that arbitrariness, heretofore almost the rule, now appears the exception. The times were difficult and trying; legal forms, as we have seen, indeterminate. Hence the dissimilarity in their application, even after the issue of the ordinance for diets. The committees or commissions of estates (Utskotten), which afterwards assumed a part so important in the history of the Swedish legislature, begin with that most important, of themselves enacting statutes, as a diet in miniature, with the right of the entire body; for sometimes the collective estates, sometimes again, when circumstances demand speedy resolutions, only "some of the chief men among the estates of the realm" are convoked. Howbeit, the diets were frequent; for Gustavus Adolphus governed, like his father, in unremitting concert with the estates of the realm, even as to affairs belonging to the foreign policy of the kingdom². In the year 1617 general diets were held both at Örebro and Stockholm, where the estates granted for the Polish war the war-tax before-mentioned, the amount being now fixed. In the year 1620, some delegates of the nobility, the bishops, with deputies of some towns, were convened at Stockholm, in order to consider the disputes with Denmark in common with the council and the lieutenants of the provinces; and this commission ordained the levying of the so-called cattle-money, which was to be paid for two years according to the number of the horses, the large and small cattle, and the amount of land sown. It was a property-tax, which the peasants of the nobility paid in the proportion of half against crown and tax-peasants, and from which the clergy with the towns freed themselves through a separate benevo-

lence. In the year 1621 a general diet was held, at which the war-tax was renewed; and again in 1622, when "the little toll" and the excise were introduced, and the impost on cattle was prolonged, the king remitting half of the aid for the public buildings. The diet of 1624 doubled the cattle-tax for two years; and in 1625 all the estates granted the mill-toll, for the maintenance of a standing army. The year 1627 saw two diets, in February and December; the former of which again renewed the cattle-tax, the latter commenced a change of the mill-toll into the poll-tax, called *man-tale-money* (mantalspenningar). At the same time a secret committee of all four estates was by the king's wish elected, in order to declare their sentiments, as with the right of the collective body, upon the religious war in Germany. The Opinion of the Committee is dated January 28, 1628, and was approved by the estates when they reassembled in 1629. This was the last general diet of his reign. In the years 1630, 1631, 1632, only commissions of estates, including delegates of the nobles, clergy, army, and burgesses, were called together, although these conventions were sometimes styled diets. At the first of these the king made a proposal (since there was a sufficient force of soldiers in the country to watch the frontiers, and he could employ mostly foreigners abroad), that his subjects should ransom themselves with money from the levies. "But forasmuch as it falls somewhat hard upon us (was the reply) to grant this time such a sum of money, especially as the commonalty (or yeomanry), on whom it most presses, have not themselves been present; so it may please his majesty to appoint commissaries, who shall travel until the harvest in every province, convening noble and nnoble, to concert with them fully what they are willing to do in this respect." The king's own letters hereupon to the commissioners of the provinces are dated from the fleet, in which he was upon the point of sailing for Germany³. At the onset of the following year the council informs him that neither this levy-money nor the cattle-tax could be collected, on account of the bad harvest, although the latter impost had again been voted for two years at the diet of 1629. The king, albeit at the moment reduced to the greatest straits, remitted both. "We will rather lose the aid," he writes, "than give occasion to slander, and let unjust stewards lard their pockets with the sweat and blood of the people, paying us and the army with disputes⁴."

On the elections to the diet the king did not bring to bear all that influence which was exercised by the government after him. We find that the bishops, for the most part, selected the representatives of the clergy⁵; and that the burgo-masters of the towns were regarded as summoned in right of their office, we may conclude from the writs of convocation. It may be noted, that the

¹ Funeral sermon on Gustavus Adolphus, in Stockholm, June 22, 1634, by Johannes Botvidi.

² "While Gustavus Adolphus lived, he inquired of the estates collectively, if he should go hither or thither, *nam quod populus vult, Deus vult*; but how he should take the matter in hand he by no means communicated to the estates, but to some of the council, *sub fide silentii*." Axel Oxenstierna, in the council, 1630. Palmisk. MSS.

³ Elfsnabben (a haven in the island of Muske, on the coast of Sutherlandland), June 9, 1630. Reg.

⁴ To the diet, New Brandenburg, Feb. 3, 1631. Reg. On Feb. 18, 1632, the commission of estates determined for the continuation of the cattle-tax for two years longer.

⁵ Before the diet of 1621, letters were sent to the bishops, that they should take with them to the diets the most discreet and intelligent of their clergy, who could comprehend the dangers of their country, could give some counsel, and might be spoken with confidentially. Hallenberg, v. 135.

king sometimes evades the presence of the yeomanry, and rather, especially when he himself is absent, convenes a commission of estates. Yet in the general diets of his time the peasants had perfectly free right of speech. This most clearly appears from the measures of precaution against it which the government of Christina's guardians found it convenient to take⁶.

We have mentioned all the diets of Gustavus Adolphus, after the adoption of the Ordinance for Diets, and likewise all the imposts which after his day became permanent. As we perceive, they were not yet so under his reign, but were mostly renewed by the estates from time to time. They were first converted into standing taxes by the continued wars. In their distribution he sought as much as possible to conform to the principle of equality for all orders according to their means, a rule often inculcated as well by the king as the estates. In the statute for the introduction of the little toll (or customs) they declare: "To this we will all of us, without distinction of rank, excepting none, submit ourselves, that by the exemption of one and the other great frauds may not be occasioned, and thus the crown be deprived of what we have well resolved and promised for the pursuit of the war; yet if the said toll should in future, after some time, be found pernicious and unbearable to us, then will we humbly expect from the king's majesty that it should not be continued."⁷ At the diet of 1625, when the mill-toll was adopted, the ground was stated to be, "that the aids and indeterminate tributes which now weigh upon the land will not bring in much, forasmuch as the chief and richest men of estate in the land with their hinds (hjon), land-renters and folk are exempt therefrom;" wherefore "we have considered, approved, and agreed, that a toll may be laid by the crown upon all the grain which comes to the mill to be ground, belong it to noble or un noble, learned or unlearned, no one excepted who is settled and resident under the crown of Sweden." The nobles especially bind themselves to its payment by reason of the love which as true subjects and patriots they bear to his majesty and their country. No Swedish king before Gustavus Adolphus demanded and received greater sacrifices from the nobility. The hardest remained in the abolition by the diet

⁶ Before the diet of 1635 the administration of guardians instructed the provincial prefects that, as they themselves well knew how hard it was to get to an end with the commons at the diets, since the hundreds mostly used to appoint for their deputies "such as are outspoken and have little wit in them;" therefore they were graciously entreated to work to this end (yet cautiously and in secret) that such persons should be appointed diet-men, who were "well-affectioned and serviceable by intelligence and spirit," to consult with the other estates regarding the high and weighty affairs of the realm; which the prefects should in such sort "perform with management and discretion." Stockholm, Sept. 3, 1635. From the Nordin MSS. We find afterwards the crown bailiffs choosing the representatives of the yeomanry, and sending those who undertook the office on the lowest terms, drawing themselves to the highest amount the wages paid for attendance. This was forbidden by resolution, on the complaint of the yeomanry, in 1672 (compare Stiernman, Resolutions of Diets and Meetings, ii. 1649); so that in future, the justice of the hundred, with his nœmnd, should choose fit and discreet persons to be diet-men. But in 1680 Charles XI. declared: "The king's majesty totally disapproves that the justices of the hundred should choose and

of the year 1627 of all exemptions from conscription previously allowed. "Because the kingdom is best defended by native Swedish warriors," say the estates, "we have all conjointly agreed that we, for the most humble service of his majesty and the relief of the realm, should respectively set on foot and undertake a general levy, by which every tenth man, be he dweller upon crown or taxed lands, upon freeholds (whether a franklin or not), upon the farmsteads of priests, bailiffs, clerks, and other persons exempted, shall be taken for the service of the crown as soldiers⁸. In like manner every tenth man shall be levied in the towns for the service of the fleet. Yet may this, because it is contrary to the privileges of the nobles and other immunities, by no means be turned to the prejudice of their successors." Thus the matter remained until the death of Gustavus Adolphus. At the same time the nobility consented that their peasantry, like those of the crown and taxed estates, should pay the impost on cattle. From such incontrovertible tokens of magnanimity we may learn the spirit which then animated the estates of Sweden.

Howbeit, complaints of the pressure of the public burdens were not unknown; and the new were not introduced without disturbances. In 1620 representations were made, that the contributions which were heretofore wont to be paid to the crown had occasioned discontents, and must often be lowered, seeing that the poor and indigent paid equally with the rich and prosperous, whereby many were impoverished and their farms made waste⁹; therefore the cattle and field-tax, which was now ordered, was to be paid according to every man's ability. But as for the ascertainment of this, ministers, bailiffs, and the six-men of the church in each parish had to enrol the cattle and seed-corn of every yeoman, it was soon found that this brought with it great inconveniences. The land-tax and excise imposed bonds hitherto unknown in Sweden on the industry of the country. Barriers with gates and toll-houses were built to every town, and inspectors¹ appointed; the same forms being observed at the market-places throughout the country. The most ordinary household business, brewing, baking, or killing, could no longer be pursued freely in the towns. All this caused in the outset great discontent. The king

appoint diet-men from among the commonalty; and therefore graciously wills that the people themselves elect and appoint their diet-men at their own mind and pleasure, only the prefects to see that good and fit men be chosen thereto. But for what concerns the review of their petitions to be proposed, which the prefects pretend should first be made by themselves, it cannot be refused the yeomanry at the general diets, to allege all their grievances and complaints which they may have to prefer;" l. c. i. 1839.

⁷ The nobles were, however, personally exempted from the little toll.

⁸ Although bound to war service, the nobles (and even their domestics) were yet personally exempted. Their vassals had otherwise in general only furnished to the levy half the quota of the other peasantry.

⁹ See the statute of the diet. A difference was indeed made between the full-stead, or full-taxed, and the half-taxed yeomen, (two of whom were sorted in the scale with one of the former, and two cotters with one of the half-taxed, as appears from the statute for the war-tax in 1617), but all full-stead peasants, without respect to the difference of their means, paid alike. (Compare p. 89.)

¹ Brokikare (bridge-keepers), they were commonly called.

complaints that in Stockholm an unruly mob had fallen upon the toll-men, making "horse-play and mockery" with the ordinance for the toll and excise, wherefore such peace-breakers and law-contemners are threatened to be punished, upon trial and judgment, with death². A miller was afterwards beheaded upon the market-place of Upsala, because he had excited the peasants at the fair of Elfkärleby to refuse the toll, as if it had not been granted by the estates. In West-Gothland, where the peasants at the fair of Hofva drove away the inspectors, and tore down and burned the toll-house, two of the ringleaders were condemned to death; and the Vermelanders, who at the fair of Bro (afterwards Christinelhamn) had committed similar disorders, were only pardoned because the revolt had arisen mostly out of their ignorance of the ordinance issued³. The mill-toll, afterwards separately introduced, was a burdensome impost⁴, the rather that, to preserve the needful superintendence, all the smaller superfluous brook or windmills, and at last even the hand-mills, which the poor chiefly used, must be destroyed. This was soon found to be a harsh and useless measure, and led to tumults⁵, which caused the king to write from Germany, that "the querns might be suffered to remain in use; he held it a sufficient mill-toll, when a man worked so that his hands should burn⁶." We have already mentioned, that this impost was converted into the so-called *man-tale-money*, by which was again introduced a personal scot that had been formerly paid with the same name for some time under Charles IX., by the un noble estates for the maintenance of the army, but had been abolished by Gustavus Adolphus as oppressive to the poor⁷.

The rigour of the levies was most keenly felt during so long a period of war. "In these," says Axel Oxenstierna, "different methods have been followed in the times of former sovereigns; sometimes all farm-servants have been taken; in the times of king Eric and John all cotters⁸, and where more than one peasant are found on a farm, the rest are enrolled; sometimes they went by the number of men, sometimes by that of farmsteads⁹." In order to illustrate the procedure under the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, we will quote an extract from the royal warrant for the Commissaries of Levy¹ over the whole kingdom in

1627, after the diet held at the beginning of this year had for the most part abolished the former exceptions. The yeomanry shall be warned from the pulpit to assemble by their hundreds, with an exhortation for every man to attend, as also ministers, household servants, officers and soldiers of the army, boatmen, bailiffs, farmers of crown revenues, clerks, bailiffs' men and servitors of the tribunals. The ministers shall first, with the help of the vergers and the six-men of the parish, make out a list of all the male inhabitants of fifteen years and upwards, for the accuracy of which they are responsible. The justices and bailiffs of the hundreds shall see that this is done. On the day of the levy the commissioners first of all cause their warrants to be read, and demand whether all be present. Thereupon they take the minister's roll, and when the nämnd (the same twelve peasants who sit in the hundred-court) is seated, they divide the commons into "rotes" or groups, ten scot and crown peasants, and ten freeholding yeomen in each. These are to be arranged not according to the number of farmsteads, but the tale of heads². In conducting the levy care is to be had, that he who is taken for the military service from every rote, shall be fresh and sound, strong of limb, and, so far as can be discerned, courageous³, in years from eighteen to thirty and upwards; that where there are servants in the rote, they shall be taken before the peasants, yet so that the son of parents who have already one son in service, or have lost one in battle with the enemy, shall be spared, if any other help may be found; the situation of the farms shall also be taken into consideration, so that he who possesses a large farm may be the rather spared in the choice. The commissaries are to count in the rote both absent and present persons, the latter being made responsible for the former. If any one be kept concealed, the minister, verger, or nämnd, whoever has been privy to it, is to be mulcted, and the person hidden is noted as a vagabond. Abuses in hiring recruits⁴, neither officers or commissaries were to permit, but the matter was to rest with the masters of the array named by the king; afterwards the practice was abolished⁵. From the levy no one was exempt, excepting the house and farm-servants of the nobility, though not their retainers, with the needful attendants of ministers whether in town or country.

tax paid by the clergy is mentioned in the statute of the diet. The mill-toll was again levied in the large towns in 1655.

² *Torpäre*, from *torp*, a small allotment of ground. T.

³ Axel Oxenstierna in the council, 1641. *Palmisk. MSS.* t. 190.

⁴ Feb. 12, 1627. Reg. for this year.

⁵ "Mantil." This however means here, not the number of individual males, but the number of households, without regard to the possession of a larger or smaller portion of land (comp. Hallenberg, iv. 546, note a); so that not ten males, but ten households furnished one soldier; though there are also examples of the former.

⁶ Gustavus I. and Charles IX. (the latter of whom made it his boast) were great physiognomists in this and other points, and Gustavus Adolphus did not yield to them.

⁷ See complaints touching the "thievery," which occurred in this and other matters during 1616, in Hallenberg, iv. 547. In 1618, a captain, with his lieutenant and ensign, was executed, because they had forced a levy in Smaland, and allowed illicit hiring; *ibid.* 726.

⁸ In the year 1628. Sketch of a history of the regiment of Sutherlandland, II. 45. (Utkast till en historia, &c.)

² Warrant for the defence of the toll-servitors. Stockholm, Nov. 26, 1623. The sea-tolls (or great customs) were old. The duty was levied on goods between Sweden and Finland, and between the east and west coasts of Sweden, which latter practice was abolished in 1649.

³ This happened after the king's death. See the Reg. for 1635.

⁴ A tun of rye was now worth one and a half rix-dollar, specie. The toll on this came nearly to one-sixth rix-dollar; that is, a ninth went to the crown, besides the mill-owner's dues.

⁵ As in the hundred of Oppunda in Sutherlandland. Reg. for 1627.

⁶ To the council of state. Werben, August 5, 1631. Reg. On this however Axel Oxenstierna remarks: "When the king exempted the hand-mills, the tax was lost, and did not produce 50,000 dollars in the whole kingdom."

⁷ Under Charles IX. *man-tale-money*, as well as *marriage-money* and *fuk-money*, was granted for the last time in 1610, for one year. The first diet of Gustavus Adolphus abolished them. Stiernman, i. 662. The conversion of the mill-toll into the poll-tax began in 1627, though in 1624 a separate poll-

In mines and saltpetre works, factories of arms, and ship-wharfs, only superfluous hands were to be subject to the levy, and all new settlers on land were to be spared as much as possible⁶. Vagabonds were not to be counted in the "rote-ring," but to be pressed as such to serve in the wars; yet they who had forfeited their honour, notorious offenders, murderers, homicides, and adulterers, must not be received⁷. In the same way the levy of sailors was to be made in the towns, for which end lists were to be drawn up by official persons with the burgomasters and council. In the country the lists of the ministers were to be examined, and deposited in the archives of the hundred. The repugnance of the clergy to take part in such arrangements was mitigated by the weight which their word carried with the government, which admitted the maxim that it was their province to look to the weal of the flock. Gustavus Adolphus himself regarded the clergy as a kind of tribunes of the people, and paid high respect to the order⁸. The justice of the hundred and the bailiff were to watch over the rights both of the public and of individuals in the levies. The presence of the nämnd for the same purpose gave a popular aspect to the whole rigorous institute; for this jury was to examine who should be levied, and their absence made the whole proceeding illegal⁹. Sometimes they outstepped the limits of their functions. Thus we find the Dalesmen in 1614 refusing to allow the officers to hold a levy, and proceeding to do so themselves. Herewith the king for the time professed himself satisfied, in order to quiet previous disturbances¹, arising partly from the weight of the taxes for which the Dalesmen accused the nobility², partly from the punishments inflicted on their deserters who had returned home. A revolt of more consequence broke out in 1624 on the borders of Blekinge, in Smaland, where the soldiers mutinied against their colonel, Patrick Ruthven, a Scotsman. The ringleader now, as formerly in the Dacké feud, with which the king compares this insurrection, was a foreigner, but it was immediately suppressed by the punishment of its instigators. A number of the insurgent peasants were removed with their households to Ingermanland; upon the promise of the rest to remain tranquil, the king ordered the inquiry to be dropped. In like manner he treated the insurrectionary movement of 1627, in the parish of Orsa in the Dales, at the head of which was a tailor. The instigators were condemned to death; four of them sent to Ingermanland, then the Siberia of Sweden; and the remainder pardoned, the king issuing a letter

that no one should reproach the Dalesmen with the misconduct of this rebellious company³. In the following year the hundreds of Kind and Redveg in West-Gothland refused to pay the poll-tax. The king wrote from Prussia, that this was caused by the "unreasonable dunning of the inspectors," wherefore, "since the people were willing and good in themselves," these must cease their barbarous proceedings by stroke and thrust, or be punished; in case of need, troops, "yet not of the same province," might be employed against the revolvers. The peasantry returned to their obedience, on a written representation from the king, that the war was waged for the defence of their Christian religion⁴.

On the issue of the levy just described, light is thrown by some remarks of Axel Oxenstierna. "When king Gustavus Adolphus set about the great Prussian war, a levy was voted by the tale of heads (mantal), and the crown at first obtained by one year's conscription over the whole kingdom 15,000 men; from that of the next, 12,000; but afterwards, when every man had time to think of some evasion, not more than 6000 or 7000." He adds: "Levy by the tale of heads was the old custom, and the king vainly endeavoured to persuade the people to allow it to be made by the number of farmsteads (gardetal), so that the occupants might have to agree upon a man with one another⁵." The frauds alluded to were, doubtless, of various kinds: we will mention but one, since it certainly contributed to that inequality in taxation which formed, in respect to the scot-farms (skattehemman), a subject of complaint. It consisted in the owners of small allotments returning themselves as proprietors of full yeomen's holdings, since it was a principle in conducting the levy to take the smaller landholders before the greater⁶. The view of Gustavus Adolphus, that several farmsteads should combine to furnish one conscript, was thoroughly carried out by Charles XI. through the contracts for soldiers, pursuant to which the farmsteads furnished and maintained the soldiers without diminution of the crown revenues. If we consider the Swedish system of conscription as an obligation attached to the soil, and allocated according to the provinces, for raising and maintaining the army, Gustavus Adolphus is the founder of the work completed by Charles XI. It was new in Europe, and peculiar to Sweden. "Some kingdoms are of such a constitution," said Axel Oxenstierna in the council in 1650, "that landed estate

⁹ See the complaints of 1613, when this sometimes occurred, in Hallenberg, ii. 715.

¹ Hallenberg, iii. 331. It is mentioned on this occasion, that in the Dale parishes there were chosen presidents of twenty-four communities, who were called Oath-sworn.

² The provost Elof Terserus, of Leksand, known for the reverence paid to both himself and his wife (called by the people "grandmother") in these parts, caused a defence of the nobility to be read in the churches, by which, however, the Dalesmen appear to have been little edified.

³ Reg. for 1627.

⁴ To the council of state. Dirschau, July 24, 1628. Reg. On Sept. 4 he exempted the Dales, partly to the half, partly to the whole amount, from the poll-tax.

⁵ Axel Oxenstierna in the council, 1642. Palmsk. MSS. t. 190. (*Gardetal*, yard tale.)

⁶ Compare Frosteri, *Krigs Lagfarenhet* (Legal Practice in Military Concerns).

⁶ In the Register for 1627, under Feb. 10, is preserved a special letter of the king in regard to such exemption for new settlers in Vermeland, Nerike, West-Gothland, and Dalesland. It states that the king had himself ordered these new settlements, with which good progress was made.

⁷ Reg. for 1618, quoted in the History of the Sutherland Regiment, ii. 43. Those of each rote paid what was called rote-money to the person on whom the choice fell.

⁸ "King Gustavus Adolphus kept the clergy constantly in good humour; for they are as it were tribunes of the people," said old count Jacob de la Gardie in the council, in 1645. Palmsk. MSS. t. 190. Several of the magnates therefore looked on the clergy with little affection. "In England," said count Peter Brahe in the council, in 1650, "all men have been made as it were swine-feet at the instigation of the clergy."

is their prime necessity, so that its uses could not be supplied by money, even if we had it. This most plainly appears from our military institutes. How might the soldiers have their sustenance and equipment if these were not furnished from the land? And this is one of the main institutes which king Gustavus Adolphus, to his great renown, planted in the realm; this have other nations sought to imitate, but thus far without success⁷. "The same monarch," he adds, "disposed the soldiery throughout the provinces⁸." Charles IX., who arranged the lodgment and stipend of the cavalry⁹, conceded to the recruit the eighth part of a hyde, free of all intermediate imposts, and a rent of one dollar from some particular farmstead. Gustavus Adolphus extended this concession generally to all regiments, though with some variations¹. Superior and inferior officers, even to the corporal, with the chaplains (four to a regiment), clerks, servitors of the military court, barber chirurgens, and provosts, obtained additional lands and pay². Even in his time provinces occasionally made contracts with the crown, to avoid the levies. Thus the Westerdales petitioned in 1629, that their prior contract of February 14, 1623, might be continued. The Easterdales made a like request in 1630, which was granted with the addition, that if they would pay the rote-money to the king, he would instead supply their soldiers, like others, with victuals and clothing³. But the dreaded levies did not generally cease until the days of Charles XI.; the militia contracts then entered into with the provinces were made yet more burdensome by the frequent returns of the conscription under Charles XII. The sufferings of Sweden in those times and during wars of such long continuance pass our conception.

The resources of the country appear to have been little answerable to its great undertakings. The state of the year 1620⁴ makes the revenues of the crown in money and produce (the latter, however, not fully detailed) amount altogether to 1,286,652 Swedish dollars, equivalent nearly to 853,768 rix-dollars specie, or 2,276,714 of the present rix-dollars banco⁵. They indeed consider-

ably increased at an after-period of this reign, as well by the new imposts as by the reversion of duke Charles Philip's principality (Sutherlandland, Nerike, and Vermeland), and other fiefs which fell to the crown by deaths in the royal family⁶, though against this are to be set the losses of the country by pestilence⁷ and dearth; but the inadequacy of the income is best shown by the extraordinary means to which the government was compelled to resort, especially to procure ready money, whereof was great want for carrying on the war, while the crown revenues (which on that very account it is difficult to calculate in money) were mostly paid in produce, or consisted in the performance of personal services, as well without as within the titles comprised in the public accounts. Thus a crowd of different burdens are mentioned, among which post-carriage and purveyance were doubtless the heaviest on the country, and besides voluntary aids, day-works, and portages of all kinds, which the king excuses by saying, that "the subject must look to the circumstances of the time." The extraordinary means were:—

I. Loans. Gustavus I. had paid off the public debt; Eric XIV. contracted a new one, and it increased under his successors. Gustavus Adolphus makes complaints on this head from the beginning of his reign. The queen dowager, to whom he applied in 1615 upon this subject, consoled him by telling him that it was impossible at once to wage war and to pay old debts, advising him to acknowledge none older than the year 1598, when Charles IX. had issued his public notice to the creditors of the crown, to give in their accounts on pain of forfeiting their claims⁸. New loans were negotiated. For money borrowed in Holland, interest was paid at the rate of six and a quarter per cent⁹; for domestic loans, ten per cent. and upwards, the crown being besides obliged to give security¹. For a loan of 200,000 Swedish dollars the queen dowager received in 1624 the ordinary crown revenues of Nerike in mortgage for the interest. For another loan of 50,000 dollars she received twelve per cent., although she paid the sum not in money but in cop-

⁵ Equal to 189,726*l*., taking the Swedish rix-dollar banco at 1*s*. 8*d*. T.

⁶ Charles Philip's duchy, the last possessed by any Swedish prince, lapsed to the crown by his death in 1622. The same had already happened with East-Gothland, Daleland, and four hundreds of West-Gothland by duke John's death in 1618. When Catharine Stenbock, the last wife of Gustavus I., died in 1621, and Christina, mother of Gustavus Adolphus, in 1625, their dowers also fell to the crown.

⁷ In the years 1620, 1621, and 1622, the southern parts of Sweden and Finland were so ravaged by the plague, that the levies had to be intermitted, or, as in 1621, boys of fifteen and sixteen were taken for military service. It came to Stockholm towards the end of 1622, and carried off twenty thousand of the inhabitants during the following year, when it also raged in East-Gothland. In March, 1625, it again showed itself in Stockholm, and anew in 1629 and 1630, when the court, as in 1622, quitted the capital. Several of these years, as 1621, 1623, and 1630, were marked also by dearth.

⁸ The counsel appears to have been followed. In his reference to the queen dowager the king includes no debts older than 1605. Hallenberg, iii. 335.

⁹ Hallenberg, iv. 875.

¹ In the Register for 1627 the following letter appears: "Because our true subject and prelector of Upsala, the learned master O. Laurelius, hath advanced to us and the crown, for the carrying on of this so longsome war, 532

⁷ Palmsk. MSS. t. 190.

⁸ Ibid. Observations in the council, 1647.

⁹ His successor regulated the system anew. (Compare Hallenberg, iv. 730.) The militia of the horse-service was partly incorporated with the cavalry thus distributed. A captain was invested with a fief, and was bound to render service for four horses, a lieutenant and ensign for three, a chaplain and clerk for one.

¹ "Since the privates of foot in Finland are not so well provided for with an eighth of a hyde as those in Sweden, and humbly entreat some immunity, let them be freed from the cattle-tax, and clear as much wild land as they will, with exemption from rent for a certain number of years." Letters of the king, April 23, 1627. Horsemen may hold their farms free of portage and purveyance. Letter of April 26, 1627. Reg.

² See the distribution of the Sutherlandland regiment in 1632, in the history above cited.

³ See the king's letters of February 5, 1629, and Feb. 13, 1630, in the Registers for those years. In 1624, one division of Westmanland, to avoid the levy, entered into a contract, agreeably to which every six households were to furnish a soldier, to maintain him so long as he should be stationed at home, and supply provisions when he was sent abroad. Hallenberg, v. 122.

⁴ See an extract therefrom in Hallenberg, iv. App. No. iii.

per². Nay, for the capital invested in the Trade or Copper Company, government bound itself, in 1628, to pay twenty per cent. if the crown might have the use of it for four years³.

II. Sale and hypothecation of the crown estates, with mortgages on its revenues. The sales were made to the nobility, with perpetual exemption from taxation⁴; mortgages were given to others equally, especially rich burgesses and merchants, often foreigners by birth. Thus Finspang with its territory in East-Gothland was mortgaged⁵, as well as almost all Smaland and Oeland, the whole of Gestricleland and Aland, a portion of West-Gothland, all Dactsland, Salberg, Nora, Linde, and other mining tracts, royal estates, mines, and other lesser appurtenances. Some of these mortgages were afterwards converted into leases for a term of years, embracing tolls, mines, and the rents of whole fiefs and provinces⁶.

III. Monopolies, by which the government, in its own name or in that of different companies, sought to engross the trade of the country. Its sovereigns had even before assumed the right of pre-emption in both domestic and foreign wares. As so great a portion of the imposts was collected in produce, the government was compelled to engage itself in traffic; its concerns being managed by a functionary called the crown-factor, under the superintendence of the high treasurer and his council. On their representation, at the commencement of this reign, that they were unable to despatch the business pressing upon them, a special officer subordinate to them was added in 1612, who, with the assistance of the crown-factor and a clerk, was to receive all commodities entering the storehouses of the crown, and procure in return whatever was required for the behoof of the crown, having likewise the oversight of tolls and trade in general⁷. This was an office which carried great temptations to unjust gains; and accordingly its first holder, the historian Eric Göranson Tegel, was accused of heinous frauds⁸. From the year 1614 the field of operations for this trade on the part of the crown was extended, the diet having then resolved that the supplies collected for the ransom

of Elfsborg should be employed in the purchase of copper, and rix-dollars procured in exchange. The crown thus became the only buyer at the copper-mines, although it often ceded its right, and generally the export of the wares, to other parties. The product of the Falun mine had risen from 3000 skeppunds, which in king John's time was thought much, to 12,000. Copper was, as Axel Oxenstierna called it, "the noblest staple of which the crown of Sweden could boast." The government were reluctant to let slip their chief means of procuring ready money, but appear, when the aids set apart for the ransom of Elfsborg ceased in 1619, to have been unable to make any outlay on the mines. For this reason they in the same year transferred the copper trade to a company, which also obtained, in respect to trade generally, all the rights of the Commercial Association incorporated since 1615. This Copper Company, as it was called, whose privileges were several times renewed, was however in 1629 obliged to restore the copper trade to the crown, having made vain attempts to keep the prices too high—of which the copper coinage first introduced into Sweden in 1625 formed part—and finding itself eventually, from the nature of the undertaking and the agency of government, unable to fulfil its engagements⁹. Some more prosperous years, and the example of foreign countries, had raised the king's expectations from such commercial societies, and he intended to commit the whole iron trade of the kingdom to the management of a company, whose privileges were actually drawn up. In 1624, on the proposal of a Netherlander, a "General Commercial Company, to Asia, Africa, America, and Magellania," was chartered. This project he discussed in 1627 with the estates, and wrote respecting it to the bishops¹, the rather that the company was to labour for the conversion of the heathen. The enterprise was not wholly fruitless², although the conjecture expressed in the charter, that it might "furnish means for the defence of the state," may have awakened apprehensions in many of the partners, which, after their losses, found vent in complaints³. Thereafter, when the

⁶ Hallenberg, vi. 877. v. 129.

⁷ Ordinance of Gustavus I., March 16, 1552; and king John's Articles of the Customs, May 12, 1586. Stiernman's Ordinances, i. 127. 343.

⁸ He was condemned for them in 1614 by the Palace Court (Hallenberg, iii. 265), but escaped lightly enough.

⁹ Compare the treatise, "On the old Copper Company and the Copper Coinage in the time of Gustavus Adolphus, by Master Wingquist." Scandia, vol. iv. In 1626 the proceedings of the company excited disturbances among the miners.

¹ To the bishops, regarding the India Company. April 27, 1627. Reg.

² It led to the establishment of the colony called "New Sweden," at the mouth of the river Delaware in North America, which is stated to have been intended in this reign, though the execution appears to have been postponed. Permission to found the colony was given by the government in 1640, and lieutenant-colonel John Printz was appointed the first governor, Aug. 15, 1642. Pro-memoria touching New Sweden. Palmsk. MSS. t. 74.

³ Some verses of the day are preserved, turning on the admonition addressed to the clergy to encourage investments in the company, and engage in it themselves. They begin, "Poor parsons, place not out your money
In the bags of the new Trade Company;
The cash you advance is *your* share of proceeds,
The winnings, if any, are for their own needs."

Nordin MSS.

dollars, 24 öre Swedish money, we have in return granted to him and his heirs to possess and enjoy a scot-farm belonging to us and to the crown, Svedja, in the parish of Vaxala, as a secure mortgage, free and quit of all payments, certain or uncertain, for his interest, namely, ten per cent. in the year, binding ourselves to pay to him or his heirs the sum due, without deduction, either now or in future, of the rent of the farmstead from the capital." Stockholm, April 26, 1627. A mortgage in nearly the same terms to Dr. Wallius, a professor at Upsala, for a loan of 800 dollars, is in the Register for 1628, under the 18th January. The interest for loans in Sweden amounted before and after the time of Gustavus Adolphus to ten per cent. Compare Hallenberg, v. 201, n.

² Hallenberg, v. 131.

³ Assurance for the partners in the trade company. Stockholm, April 28, 1628. See Register, and in Stiernman.

⁴ See examples in Hallenberg (v. 134), of 1621, 1623, 1625. The king also issued in the year of his death an ordinance on the sale of crown-lands. Nordin MSS.

⁵ To William de Besche of Liege, but really to his surety Louis de Geer, in 1618. This man, remarkable in the annals of Swedish mining and industry, is said to have first come into the kingdom in 1628; but in a letter from Gustavus Adolphus to Axel Oxenstierna, dated Nov. 6, 1627, the king says, "Louis de Geer has now arrived in this country;" and on the 24th Dec. he obtains permission to use Prosthölm, by Norrköping, for building ships." Reg. for 1627.

towns had engaged at the diet of 1629, to maintain a number of vessels for the defence of the country and the furtherance of trade, a shipping company followed⁴, which in 1630 was united with the former. Lastly, the crown reserved to itself in 1628 the salt trade, and in 1631 the corn trade: yet both were soon thrown open, under high duties⁵.

These enforced expedients of supply are to be reckoned among the most aggravating measures of this reign. They multiplied what the Swede sees with impatience—middle powers in his relations with his rulers. All that possessed influence through property became—as lenders, holders of land-fiefs, farmers, managers of profitable enterprises—intermediate powers, on which the government, no less than the subject, was dependent. Hence the powerlessness of this government, otherwise in many respects so energetic, in realizing the aims it ever cherished for the welfare of the lower classes. Therefore it often begged and exhorted where it ought to have commanded; and our wonder that repeated letters of reproof had no effect vanishes, when we find that they affected some powerful feudatory or rich partner in the trading company, on whose assistance the crown counted⁶. Justice however must acknowledge that the wars were of so long duration, that no one in the end could escape the burdens they entailed.

On the other side no administration evoked more abundant energies; in this respect the reign of Gustavus Adolphus forms an epoch for Sweden. This is visible not less in reference to the industry and education of the people, than in the executive and legislative functions of the state; and it remains to consider this part of our subject from these points of view. We begin by quoting the judgment of a foreigner upon the land and its inhabitants at this day. "This kingdom," observes William Usselin⁷ of Sweden, "has many advantages above other countries in sea-ports, timber, victuals, the wages of labour, copper, iron, steel, pitch, tar, shot, and other munitions of war. The inhabitants of the land are a hardy folk, who can endure cold and heat, docile, active, quick. They are, besides, obedient to their rulers, and little bent to sedition and revolt, wherein they excel many other nations and peoples. They want for nothing, if they would but exercise themselves, to become ex-

pert seamen; for they have no defect of intelligence, dexterity, and courage; and if they had a little practice, they would easily become good ship-builders, the rather that almost all know how to handle the axe. In respect to various manufactures of fine linen, cloth, worsted, baize, bombazine, and others, there is little of this kind done in the country, partly because impulse and materials are wanting, and partly as well because there are no outlets for uttering their wares. But of skill and shrewdness they have no want, for we find peasants able at all sorts of handiwork. They are carpenters, joiners, smiths, bakers, brewers, weavers, dyers, make shoes and clothes, and the like, wherein they overpass all other nations of Europe, forasmuch as in other countries hardly any one will attempt to put hands to any craft that he hath not learned. Their wives and daughters make many curious devices in sewing, weaving, and other pleasant arts, whence it appeareth that they are very knowing and wise-minded. True it is that they cannot arrive at the perfection which is found in other countries, where a man ever remaineth in one trade, and becomes inured to it by long time, man after man, from father to son. But it is not to be questioned he that hath wit and memory to learn in haste, and thence himself to invent, would also be perfect and complete, if from his youth upward he practised one thing and kept constant thereto. Some," adds the author, "are of opinion that this nation is given to intemperance in eating and drinking, as also to sloth, and therefore will not apply themselves to any steady labour. But how this may be, I remit to pronounce."

The natural capacity which this foreigner ascribes to the Swedes had, indeed, directed itself especially towards war, but the impulse thereby communicated was also deeply felt in the movement of national industry. It has been assumed that the native infantry of Sweden amounted in the year 1624 to 40,000 men⁸; perhaps too high a number, as we find from the testimony of Axel Oxenstierna, that the king at first requested a standing national force of no more than 25,000⁹. It is at all events certain, that its strength varied with the varying products of the levies. At the same time the native cavalry without the horsemen of the nobility came to only 3500 men¹; which seems to have been partly occasioned by the want of good horses, at that time a subject of lament². Foreign

⁴ This was rigorously followed out. The deputies for Gotenburg engaged, in 1629, to equip and maintain two armed ships for the service of the kingdom. The lieutenant received orders to enforce the fulfilment, and powers to place those who opposed it under sequestration, and bring them to punishment. Upon a complaint that this was contrary to their privileges, a change was made, and the matter remitted to the magistracy. Granberg, Göteborgs Historia, i. 26.

⁵ The former in 1629 (Stiernman, Ordinances, i. 985); the latter before the end of 1631, as appears from a letter of the king to the Palsgrave John Casimir, Nov. 1, 1631. Reg. Several financial projects were brought forward, among them the king's proposition in 1619 for the formation of a bank in every town; but little confidence in them was shown.

⁶ Hallenberg tells us much of the ferocious count Steno Lejonhufvud, who, the king complains, gave him more trouble than half Finland, as well as of Joachim Bernides, notorious for his atrocities in the government of Viborg. The latter was one of the chief shareholders in the Copper Company, and the king needed his whole influence, as for example in 1622, to maintain an undertaking important to the royal designs.

⁷ A native of Antwerp, the same who was the author of the project for the South Sea Company in Sweden. He came with favourable testimonials from Maurice prince of Orange and the States-general of Holland, where he originated a West India Company. The above passage is from his "Memoir on the Australian or Southern Company in Sweden," printed in Stockholm in 1626, and published the same year in a Swedish translation by Eric Schröderus.

⁸ Hallenberg, v. 119.

⁹ Remarks in the council, 1647. Palmsk. MSS. t. 190. Yet even in 1610, according to the statement of Charles IX. in the diet of that year, the army consisted of 40,000 men, including the foreign troops. At the same diet the yeomanry agreed that in Sweden alone, without Finland, 25,000 infantry should be levied. Hallenberg.

¹ Hallenberg, v. 114.

² "The yeomanry and clergy had good horses in earlier times; now they have not. The cause is, that in Charles IX.'s time they were obliged to work their horses, whereby they were so exhausted, that the race failed." Axel Oxenstierna in the council, 1646, l. c.

troopers also were preferred in the recruitments. But the changing strength of the army is here of less consequence than the circumstance, that it was for the most part clothed, armed, and furnished with every requisite from the country itself. Of uniform there is yet no mention. The only order of Gustavus Adolphus on this head known to me is that of the year 1621, enjoining "the soldiers to provide themselves with serviceable clothes, such as befitted a warrior, not looking to the material so much as that they should be decently made."³ Yet so late as the Prussian war the Swedish soldiers are styled unseemly peasant-lads, from their indifferent clothing; and the sheep-skins with which they protected themselves against the cold, were until 1532 still furnished by a separate skin-tax. The Swedish soldiers and officers performed their most brilliant achievements, the one in his peasant's garb, the other without the decoration of an order.⁴ Manufactories of cloth for the supply of the army (the first in Sweden) were set up in Jönköping, Nyköping, Calmar, Arboga, and Kongsör;⁵ and foreign cloth is mentioned as having been imported, mostly for the foreign troops; but the clothing of the native soldier, and his arms also, were mainly the produce of home-born thrift. The forging of arms was in Sweden at this time a kind of land-staple. Muskets, the procuring of which in foreign armies was then attended with so much difficulty, were here prepared in the hamlets of almost every province by pipe-smiths as they were called, peasants in their homesteads, the taxes on which they paid by their labour. Otherwise they received their wages in money and produce, as well as their materials, from the crown, and were placed under certain factors, according to royal ordinance.⁶ This art was probably communicated from the "arm-factories" of the crown,⁷ and was not confined to these weapons alone; harness and pike-heads were also prepared in these rural forges,

and the latter were required to be hard enough to penetrate the harness, if the smith would have his labour rewarded. A gun-foundry was erected in the capital; cannon, from forty-eight-pounders to one-pounders, were cast at the melting-house in Stockholm and at Finspang; powder, although not in quantity sufficient for the demand, was made at Nacka and Vällinge, and twenty-six saltpetre-works existed in the kingdom.

In close connexion with this activity of warlike preparation stood the mining concerns, from the materials which they supplied. Necessity and hope combined to magnify representations of the profits to be drawn from this source. The belief of the inexhaustible metallic riches of Sweden spread to other lands, and attracted foreigners with their capital into the country.⁸ The king bestowed the greatest attention on this subject, invited miners from abroad,⁹ opened new works, issued new ordinances for the mining tracts,¹ and visited them himself in the intervals of his campaigns. With Louis de Geer's acquisition of Finspang, to which were afterwards added, under Christina, the works of Danemora, carried on by Walloon smiths brought over by him, a new drift was communicated to this branch of industry.² Several foreigners invested money in the Swedish mines, and the Copper Company has the merit of having introduced the art of refining in Sweden, the first copper being thus prepared at Säter. The mines were placed under a separate board of administration, who, in their memorial to Christina, take notice: "that Gustavus Adolphus, who not only excelled all the princes of his age in military science, but also had no equal in civil prudence, had perceived that the mines were not so improved as they might be, since the metals were exported in coarse assortments, which the German towns bought up at a low price, and worked up in their manufactories, to be resold to us at the highest; so that what was hard, the

³ History of the Sutherland Regiment, ii. 31. In respect to the cavalry he was more precise, but chiefly as to their arms. The king's guards had yellow lace on their clothes. With the rote-money the soldier was bound to buy himself armour and clothing, since the crown allowed him no clothes until he had served a year. Yet afterwards the clothing was not seldom furnished by the voluntary contributions of the yeomanry, upon which the king in 1622 directs his lieutenants to agree with them.

⁴ Knighthood was conferred indeed, but sparingly and not in the more modern sense, as is clear from the proposal made in the council in 1648, "to erect an order of knighthood, such as was every where throughout the world in use; for in Sweden there was none." Many wore an effigy of Gustavus Adolphus in silver or some other metal on their breast, yet not as a distinction granted by the king. "At the victory by Oldendorf in Hesse in 1633, under the command of George duke of Lüneburg, all the Swedish officers and soldiers who took part in the action wore the image of Gustavus Adolphus on their breast." George duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg. Contributions (Beiträge, &c.) to the History of the Thirty Years' War, from Original Sources in the royal Archives of Hanover, by Fr. Count von der Decken, ii. 180. Hanover, 1834.

⁵ The oldest, commenced at Upsala in 1612, appears to have failed. In Jönköping a large sheepfold was constructed, and the peasants were encouraged to procure the German breed, introduced by Charles IX. There were flocks of sheep on many of the crown estates.

⁶ See it in Hallenberg, v. 127. According to this, every pipesmith was to deliver yearly 52 large muskets with their

appurtenances. Yet foreign arms were also ordered from Lubeck and the Netherlands, as in 1623 through Louis de Geer. Ibid. 112.

⁷ Of these the first under this sovereign are mentioned at Arboga and Finspang, where muskets with spring-locks, pistols, harness, and swords were made; afterwards others were added at Jönköping, Norrköping, and Söderhamn (or South-Haven).

⁸ Skytté related how Louis de Geer had said, "that we had an India here in Sweden, if we knew to use the mines rightly." The chancellor repeated what Saxo Grammaticus observed of the "treasures" in the northern lands; also what the lord Charles Bonde had said of Verneland, "that it might countervail a kingdom with its wealth of ore." Protocol of the Council for 1636, in the Nordin MSS.

⁹ Among these came about the year 1629 from Germany, the brothers Christopher and Charles Geijer, both appointed mine-masters.

¹ As the ordinance for the Kopparberg in 1625, for Gärpenberg in 1624, several royal letters and rescripts touching the silver mine at Sala from 1621 to 1630, and others.

² How much this was needed is shown in the extracts from the accounts of several crown mines given by Hallenberg (Appendix to vol. ii.). The iron works of Danemora (the best in Sweden), as Löfsta, Österby (Easterby), Gimo, which Louis de Geer acquired in 1641, delivered in 1613 from 300 to 400 skippunds of bar-iron to the year, with an unprecedented consumption of materials. In 1635 Axel Oxenstierna observed in the council, "Whereas we formerly shipped our iron and copper to Dantzic and Lubeck, and purchased tools and nails in return, these are now made at home."

Swedish kings were formerly reduced to draw all their stores of ammunition from foreign countries. Therefore his majesty had found it advisable to procure the erection of refineries, forges, and factories of all kinds. Thereafter, when the wars took up more and more of his time, his majesty first appointed colonel Siegroth to be captain of the mines, giving him for his mine-master George Griesback, and for his secretary Jost Frank. But as soon as his majesty had gone to Germany, he directed the council of state to form a complete board of mines, which should superintend these affairs³. The improvement of the mines influenced the commerce of the country, to which they furnished the principal article of export. The care bestowed on the development of industry and trade in the towns (perhaps at the expense of the country) is best shown by the fact, that in this warlike reign no less than seventeen were founded or privileged⁴. Among these was Gottenburg, which, destroyed with New Lödöse in the Danish war, but rebuilt by Gustavus Adolphus, now received the burghers of both towns, together with Scottish, German, and Dutch immigrants. It was visited in 1624 by the king, and several decrees made for the benefit of the town. By the ordinance of 1619 the administration of the towns was regulated, and the ordinance of 1614, on commerce, introduced the distinction between upland and staple towns. This occasioned repeated complaints, springing partly out of old abuses, and partly having their ground in the too narrow limitation of municipal freedom. The old towns remonstrated against the formation of the new; those of Norrland especially, founded at former fair and fishing stations, where the burghesses of Stockholm, and the other places on the Mælar, had hitherto possessed the traffic exclusively, were objects of jealousy. The ports which obtained the right of trading to foreign countries were little grateful for the distinction, at a time when Stockholm did not possess a single ship for foreign commerce, and the town obtained from the

government the loan of two vessels for the purpose. The capital, of which the principal trade lay with the inland mining tracts, complained most loudly; and when, to appease its burghesses, the Finnish trade was confined to Stockholm, the others complained. The queen dowager, the princess, the nobility, demanded exclusive privileges for themselves⁵. The prohibition of country trade, with the attempt to confine the exercise of handicrafts to the towns, met with peculiar hindrances in the physical condition of the land. The government reproached the trading class with their want of enterprise, and their dependence on foreigners⁶; these again seemed little inclined to exchange it for a still greater dependence on government. It is certain that this period established in Sweden the principles of the prohibitive system. The most powerful motive to it was the necessity for the government itself engaging in commerce, of which we have already pointed out the effects. Yet it powerfully furthered internal activity. The high roads, of which the king says, that in most parts "they were so narrow and stony that they should rather be called footpaths," were widened. The Hielsingar Canal, begun by Charles IX., was continued by Gustavus Adolphus⁷. In this and other respects great plans were mooted, which a distant future was to realize⁸.

Sweden first under this reign learned to know in what the rule of officials consists. In earlier times we see but the contest between the power of the magnates and the arbitrariness of the kings; it was the former of these which obtained the sanction of law in the Swedish middle age. The old order, or disorder, of administration was by a polycracy of feudatories. This barbarous notion of a public functionary began to be abandoned, but at first only by the employment of violent and illegal means. These were, in immediate connexion with the king, what we have called the secretary-government, and under it, in the country, the creation of the office of bailiff, both confided, out of

³ Representation of the Department of Mines, November 10, 1648. Palmisk. MSS. t. 80. The Mine Office was established in 1630, confirmed in 1634, received a governor and assessors in 1637, and began in 1640 to be called the College of Mines.

⁴ They were, Gottenburg, Hernösand, Söderhamn or South-Haven, Umeå, Luleå, Piteå, Torneå, Norrtälje or North Telje, Sala, Alingsås, Borås, Falun, Säter; besides Old Carleby, New Carleby, Nystad, and Kexholm, in Finland and Russia. In the privileges of Gottenburg, dated June 4, 1621, exemption from customs and taxes is guaranteed to the town for sixteen years, a condition, however, not very exactly observed. On his visit to Gottenburg in 1624, the king proposed to the town to form a trading company to Vermeland, which was to buy up all the iron ore and forge it into bars, as also to enter into the timber trade. Of this however nothing came.

⁵ On all this compare Hallenberg.

⁶ "That in Sweden the burghesses are beggars, proceeds from their extravagant living in all manner of food, clothes, and dwellings." Axel Oxenstierna in the Palmisk. MSS. The king complains that "for a little gain, for a beggar's penny, they will let themselves be used as servants by foreigners." Among the hindrances of the prosperity of Swedish towns, Oxenstierna, in 1636, enumerates, 1. The Kopparberg (probably the extensive trading privileges of the former Copper Company); 2. The crown farms, which took the best burghers out of the towns; 3. The late king's levies, which had drawn off the sons of many burghesses, who, ad-

vanced to be officers, enticed others; 4. The king's granting nobility to many burghesses in Stockholm, with the view of encouraging the trading class, while these, when ennobled, invested their capitals in landed estates, and thus quitted traffic. Even the Norrland towns, he remarks, were founded partly with a view to military uses, "that the soldiers might have town-quarters there, and men might people the land, where before bears and wolves had housed."

⁷ According to a remark (communicated to me by Mr. Secretary Bergfalk) from a letter of Charles IX. of July 17, 1610, the cutting between the Hielsingar and the Mælar, which his majesty considered expedient, had then been nearly completed by the peasantry with the help of the soldiery. In the Register of 1629, under the 22d March, appears a letter of Gustavus Adolphus to the peasants of Åkerbo, and the hundred of Glanshammar, respecting the continuance of the channel of the Hielsingar to the stream of Arboga, for which they are promised exemption from the levy for three years. (The Hielsingar canal unites the lake of that name with the Mælar. T.)

⁸ "Hereon depends a great profit for the realm, which may be in connecting the navigable lakes by sluices with the Baltic and with each other, so that we might pass across the Hielsingar to Stockholm, across the Wetter to Norrköping, across the Vener to Gottenburg, across the Sfilan to the Kopparberg; which the government and council will not forget." Opinion of Axel Oxenstierna for the Government and Council of Sweden. Frankfort-on-the-Main, October 8, 1633. Draught by his own hand in the Library of Upsala.

mistrust of the council and lieutenants (*stathalarna*), to persons of mean condition, dependent on the king alone, who though often inculcated, were yet a necessary evil. Thus matters remained under the first princes of the house of Vasa, until Charles IX. broke the old power of the lieutenants, those "kings in their districts," as he himself named them; and after him Gustavus Adolphus ventured to collect around his throne great but subordinate legal authorities. The tension which the kingdom felt in all its members required the reins of government to be tightly drawn. We discern a stricter unity of power in the highest place, with its inevitable condition, a greater division of labour in the administration, so far as the preponderant demands of military affairs allowed, for the tendencies these impressed on its course overpowered all other influences. These arrangements, afterwards developed by Axel Oxenstierna in the form of government of 1634,—a complete gradation of offices, with powers in several respects even impairing the old political rights of the people, the five high officers of state at the head of as many departments, assisted by royal councillors appointed thereto, and standing boards or colleges, now first brought into intimate connexion with the prefectures,—all belong to the period of Gustavus Adolphus, and were already for the most part reduced by him to practice. The council again obtained a legal influence⁹, which the sovereign kept within due limits. New life was infused into the management of the war by the erection of the war college¹. The chancery, which Axel Oxenstierna calls "the soul of the kingdom," was first regulated by that chancellor², who also founded the state registry³. The collection of the taxes was carried on under more precise direction⁴. The bailiffs, who had hitherto stood in several respects immediately under the central government, were now placed under the prefects (*landshöfding*) or lieutenants. Yet we still find traces of mistrust in regard to the latter functionaries, partly in the shortness of their administration and the accounts demanded from them, partly in the

powers with which there was a disposition to invest, independently of them, the provincial secretaries and treasurers⁵. The prefect had yearly in the month of May to summon all the bailiffs of his province to render their accounts before himself and the treasurer, who at Midsummer gave in the acquittances to the royal treasury at Stockholm. In 1623 a state account book began to be kept. Suits in exchequer matters, which in the outset were decided by the palace court, were in 1624 referred to the board of treasury.

For more than half a century the want of a supreme court had been recognized. The attempt of Eric XIV. to frame such a tribunal from the king's naemnd fell to the ground with him, and was viewed by the nobility as one of his offences. The old courts of inquest and error (*Råfst, Rättare-Ting*) in the provinces had ceased to be held. Charles IX. sought to revive them as a supreme court, and exercised his judicial functions with the aid of provincial judges, called alternately to his court. Thus was prepared the institution of the palace court, which was the work of his successor. In the ordinance for process of 1614, on which the king requested the opinion of the estates at the diet of Örebro, it was laid down that, since the king could not always take part personally in the decision of suits, a palace court should be created at Stockholm, consisting of fourteen persons, namely, the high steward as president, four councillors of state, a vice-president, and four assessors of noble rank, with four learned and experienced lawyers. The new court, in the chancellor's inaugural address denominated the parliament, was solemnly installed in the castle of Stockholm, May 19, 1614. This was the Palace Court of Sweden (*Svea Hof-Rätt*); a similar tribunal for Finland was established at Åbo in 1623, and by the form of government of 1634 a separate court was erected for Gothland. "What benefits these courts have conferred," it was remarked after the death of Gustavus Adolphus⁶, "all the indwellers of the land, high and low, rich and poor, can testify."

called by Gustavus Adolphus to Stockholm, where in five years, without assistance from others, he arranged the Chamber of Archives "from the scattered accounts which lay heaped up in two large vaults of the castle, like hay in a stable." *Palmisk. MSS.* During the middle age the Registry was called the *Häfdegömma* (Repository of Chronicles), as we learn from the treatise, *On the Government of Kings and Princes*.

⁴ Ordinance after which the crown-rents shall be collected, July 24, 1624. It is to be noted that the peasants had the right of electing sworn parish clerks, who were to control the bailiffs in respect to the just assessment of the taxes, and also of again depositing them. The tax-receiver who demanded or accepted of taxes already paid, was to be punished with death, and the prefect had power to execute the doom without further question.

⁵ Such was at least Oxenstierna's opinion, "that the provincial administration should consist of a triumvirate, the prefect, secretary, and treasurer, of whom the two last should not depend on the prefect, but immediately on the government; yet that they, other things being equal, were to regard the prefect as a vice-king in the province." (*Referente Cancillario Aulico coram Senatu, 1636. Nordin MSS.*) The first instructions for the prefects are of January 8, 1635. Each had to give an account of his administration at Stockholm, yearly about Epiphany tide, was not to hold office longer than three years, and was afterwards to give a general account.

⁶ See the personal anecdotes to his funeral sermon.

⁹ "King Gustavus Adolphus did nothing without the advice of his council; *ideo amatus venerabilis* :—yet he did this more in order not to appear the cause of any misfortune that might befall, than out of necessity." Oxenstierna in the council, 1642. *Palmisk. MSS.*

¹ Instructions for the War College, 1630; but it was earlier in operation, and was called the King's Council of War. The College of Admiralty was organized under the high admiral Charles Carlson Gyllenhielm, in 1619.

² Ordinance regarding offices in chancery, 1612, and further Nov. 1, 1619. Ordinance for the chancery in 1620. Another, undated, is conjectured to be of the year 1626. For inquiring into old records and memorials, Andrew Bureus was appointed antiquary and searcher of chronicles, and received his instructions, May 20, 1629. His instructions as mathematician were dated April 4, 1628; Fant incorrectly ascribes his appointment to that office to Charles IX.

³ In former days the chancellors generally kept the records in their own custody. Charles IX., during the feud with Sigismund, took them with him to Nyköping. In the year 1613 the historiographer royal, John Messenius, received the "old records and secret papers of the chancery," which upon his disgrace in 1614, were made over to the Secretarius Regni Michael Olofson, who died in 1615, and after him to Peter Magnusson Utter, who received his instructions in 1620, and commenced the arrangement of the documents on the plan followed out in the state registry under Christina. The master of the school of Nyköping, Benedict Ingolfson, was

Nevertheless, many apprehensions were at first excited by this institution. These were indeed alleged in the name of the queen dowager, but the fear of the magnates to see their power curtailed is apparent. It was part of the inheritance of the Swedish middle age, that the judicial power was the property of the nobility; and albeit the land's law declared that "the king had from God highest doom in his realm over all earthly judges," yet this power was by no means assured in practice. Most clearly is this evinced by the reservation to the nobility in their charters of their rights to judicial offices, the revenues of which they regarded in the light of their other possessions, so that these were even sometimes drawn by women⁷. In the observations upon the ordinance for process, it is declared to be inexpedient that the old courts of inquest and error should be replaced by a single royal court. But these had now been long abandoned, and among the causes of their cessation it was doubtless to be reckoned that in these provincial judicatories the magnates had more influence than the king. Hence that personal interference of Gustavus Vasa and his sons with the course of law, so often apparently repugnant to order. It was a smaller evil against a greater—irregular attempts to enforce royal authority, which in this department also Gustavus Adolphus was at length enabled to establish on the foundation of law⁸. According to the primary scheme of institution, the palace court was to deliver the king's judgment; there are even in the outset occasional instances in which it punished those who ventured to lay their complaints before the king. The ambiguity of its instructions on this point was amended, and it was left open to parties to seek the king's revision; but of all treasonable or capital offences the palace court was only to take cognizance *ad referendum*, and to bring them under the king's notice.

We have had occasion to peruse several of these cases referred to the king, which contain much that is remarkable. Notorious homicides the king punishes with death, ordering the prosecutor to restore the manbote if he had received it. In less serious cases a pardon issues, if the prosecutor does not insist on the life of the accused, and in respect to the manbote, the parties are often enjoined to settle it by agreement. Adultery, the king declares, is to be judged, as had been usual in the realm of Sweden, according to the law of God, but mitigation and pardon lie with the crown, or in his absence, with the royal court⁹. Examination by torture we find was sometimes ordered by this tribunal¹. In a doubtful case of assassination the king enjoins that the accused shall be exhorted by the clergy, and then threatened with the torture, yet not actually subjected to it. Enforced labour

is mentioned as a punishment, "carrying the lime-hod," as it was called, or "work at the galleys." To four thieves of the mines the king granted life, but "to be relegated to Livonia, to the nobility, to be their serfs and chattels¹." The king's love of justice sometimes led him into the use of phrases that might have seemed fitter for a sultan. Thus the minute to the palace court, Nov. 5, 1618, runs: "His majesty advises and exhorts the royal nämnd, to show favour in their doom to no party; and if any of the judges give wrongful sentence to the boot either of his majesty or of another, the king will make such an example of him, that he will have his skin flayed and nailed to the doom-seat, and his ears to the pillory²." The king's personal interference with the course of law continued, despite the new forms. The people refused to abandon their custom of preferring their complaints immediately to the king himself, who often decided the whole case without further question, or gave orders for its examination, or employed advice, injunctions, or threats. Persons who stood in dread of violence, received a royal letter of protection; those who could not obtain satisfaction of their demands, an admonitory letter to the debtor, and the like. What is most singular is, that even the new court did not scruple to issue such letters and mandates. The Fiscal of the palace court was called the State Fiscal, and acted as public prosecutor; previously this functionary, who answers to the chancellor of justice in later times, had been also entitled State Provost.

Through the example of the palace court written proceedings before the tribunals became more usual than formerly; yet it was sought to uphold as much as possible the old principle of a dispensation of justice independent of advocates. Axel Oxenstierna declared that procurators ought to be forbidden, because they corrupted the course of equity. For this reason an intelligible law was the more urgently required. The old land's law having been printed by order of Charles IX., like publicity was now given by the solicitude of Gustavus Adolphus, to the town law, which appeared in 1618³. The king's absence, occasioned by the wars, too often hindered his own watchfulness over the judicatory. The council of state was in fact the supreme tribunal, as it had often been before the establishment of the palace court. In a period so unsettled, so small an amount of litigation is not a little wonderful. The regulation by which the inferior courts were to give in their judgment-books to the new tribunal, led to some embarrassment, inasmuch as during the whole year they had often not a single cause to decide. Such a fact lays open to our glance the inner moral life of the people, and indicates at the same time that hidden fund of strength which somewhere in the

⁷ See an instance in Hallenberg, iii. 123, note a.

⁸ So long as there were duchies, that is until 1622, palace courts existed in them, not permanent, but constituted by Charles IX. on particular occasions. There was an appeal from these to the Royal Palace Court, so that the inhabitants of the duchies had one resort the more. So also in counties and baronies, there was an appeal from the count or baron, as superior judge, to the Royal Palace Court.

⁹ Hallenberg, iii. 271.

¹ Soldiers who quitted their wives, and consorted with loose women, the king condemns to death.

² Referred causes, 1619-20. Palmstr. MSS. t. 118.

³ The oldest Swedish town-law was the so-called Bjarköa-Rätt. A more copious code was promulgated under king Magnus Ericson, which bore the same name, as appears from a writ of king Albert's, printed in Björner, De Stockholmiæ antiquæ Situ, Nomine, et Legibus. It is to the inhabitants of Ulfsby in Finland, "ut jure civili, dicto Byarköalagh, seu libro legum per carissimum in Christo avunculum nostrum, Dominum Magnum, Dei gratia, Sueciæ et Norvegiæ regem, pro utilitate civitatum et villarum forensium in regno nostro Sueciæ nuper edito, uterentur. Dat. apud Castrum Aböense, A.D. MCCCXLV. feria sexta post fest. beatæ Agathæ virginis."

country must have existed, to outlast exertions so great, distress and quiet so trying. Such a fund lay in the public morals; and in this respect as in others, the era of Gustavus Adolphus presents the true transition from the middle age of Sweden. The old blood-feuds disappeared before the power of law; but the ties of kindred still retained all their natural freshness and force, purged of violent excess, and operating only to beneficent ends. No one was lonesome; for all might reckon upon a home, a kin, and help in need. Much was borne, but borne in common, and Sweden was as one man. Nor was the condition of the people at the king's death by any means such as might be imagined after so many years of war. D'Ogier, who visited Sweden in the winter of 1634, in company with the French ambassador, count D'Avaux, says in his journal, that he did not remember to have seen in the whole country any one naked or in rags. Peasant lads and lasses sprang gladly about the sledges, and though he had free portage, the yeomen showed themselves not at all slow in forwarding him on his way, probably (he adds) because in other matters they are not heavily taxed. On a journey to the Copper-mount, he saw the people gathered at a church in the Dale country, and exclaims; "These countryfolk are neither ragged nor hungry, as with us⁴." And yet they were people with whom it was no uncommon thing to mix bark in their bread. They felt no unhappiness. A great present, a great future, quickened the spirit of all.

This trust in the future GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS himself showed in nothing more clearly than in his immortal institutes for general education. This subject may properly be treated in connexion with the church. John III. had augmented the authority of the bishops. They claimed the right of filling up all benefices, even those formerly in the gift of the crown, and were accused of ordaining, from corrupt motives, more clergymen than were necessary⁵. For this cause Charles IX. ordained, that when the bishop wished to present a minister to a vacant cure, the parishioners should first give their consent to the reception of the candidate as their spiritual teacher, who, provided with proof of this consent, was then to solicit the royal confirmation; as also that no one should be consecrated a priest before the king had given permission thereto, and had been informed as to the place where his ministrations were needed. When Gustavus Adolphus mounted the throne, the bishops had obtained the revocation of this ordinance. At his coronation he promised generally to protect the rights of the church; and when the nobility and officers of the army requested an explanation of this, he answered that he understood thereby the ordinances of the church, and his obligation to maintain churches and schools to God's honour and the good of the congregation. Taking a large view of all things, he wished also to give unity to its constitution; but in the attempt to define the relations of the church, hitherto indeterminate both to the secular government and within its own pale, he encountered difficulties.

On this head the records which remain concerning his proposed General Consistory are full of information⁶. According to the first instructions of 1623, this was to consist of six ecclesiastical and six lay members; the former were the archbishop, the bishops of Strengness and Westeras, the king's chaplain, the primary professor of theology at Upsala, and the primary minister of Stockholm; the latter were the high steward, two delegates of the council of state, and three of the palace court. This consistory was to assemble yearly, on an appointed day, in the capital, under the alternate weekly presidency of the steward and the archbishop. Before this body all complaints regarding cathedral chapters or other ecclesiastical matters, referred to the king's majesty, and requiring redress, were to be laid. They were to revise the Ordinance for the Church, and when it should have been confirmed by the king, to see it carried into execution; as also to have the superintendence of the whole clergy of the realm, of colleges and schools, hospitals and orphan-houses. Among the matters which require redress it is mentioned, that dissensions and contests often occur between the bishops and the parishes subordinate to them, respecting the choice of ministers; the congregations complaining that these are intruded upon them by violence, or the bishops alleging the disobedience of the congregations; whereupon one party or the other attempts by false information to procure a royal warrant in their own behalf⁷. In future therefore the party complaining was to cite the other before this consistory, and there the suit between them should be adjudged. A catalogue was also to be made of all benefices called regalia, to which the king's majesty had special right of patronage. The general consistory was yearly to appoint certain persons, of their own number or others, to visit all the schools of the kingdom, and likewise to hold, in conjunction with the bishop of the diocese, public examinations; it was also to watch over purity of doctrine, and to have inspection and censorship over printers and booksellers.—At the diet of 1624, the clergy delivered their opinion on this proposition of the king, in which they declared that they would willingly see such a consistory erected, if it were indeed to be and remain a true ecclesiastical consistory, so that the spiritual and temporal jurisdictions might not be confounded. The position of the controversy might be stated in the question, Whom had God enjoined to pasture and to rule his flock? Although all men, and the magistrates most, were bound to watch over its weal, yet God had committed this office especially and above others to the clergy, who, when any troubles had broken out in his congregation, had composed them, according to the nature of the case, by councils, synods, and pastoral conferences; and albeit such assemblies had been called together by emperors and kings, yet these had not adjudged the cause, but had left it to the authority of the bishops and clergy, and when their decision was pronounced, lent their assistance to carry it into effect. Whoever is acquainted with the proceed-

⁴ Plebs illa rusticana neque lacera neque jejuna est ut apud nos. An ergo est clementiore et beatiore situ Suecia quam nostra Gallia? Ogeri Ephemerides, Paris, 1556, pp. 156. 193.

⁵ Hallenberg, i. 199.

⁶ Nordin MSS. No. 67, Qu.

⁷ The extensive rights of patronage claimed by the nobility often occasioned disputes between them and the bishops.

ings of the synod of Upsala in 1593,—where the largest portion of the bishops and clergy had but to excuse their own defection, while the minority, with the schoolmasters and the temporal estates, established with duke Charles the work of the Swedish reformation,—must be astonished that they should now venture to quote that assembly among the examples of exclusive judicature by the clergy in the congregation. They add that “*others*” might rather be termed defenders, directors, patrons, or the like, because they were present only for outward fitness and commodity, and the spirituality without them would possess perfect consistency and entity.”—“The same grounds apply in like manner to the consistories, which may be regarded as lesser and ordinary councils for matters of daily occurrence; whence it might well be useful to appoint some political person of authority to protect and assist the clergy in case of need; but that he should generally dispose of all cases would serve no good end. Else he would be virtually the same as a priest and chief bishop, and thus the highest voice in both spiritual and temporal government, after the king, would fall to one person.”—“If laymen took part in the consistory, ecclesiastics might demand the same with respect to the palace court, and other secular judicatories, before which were often brought subjects affecting the clergy, churches, and God’s congregation. It were best that every matter were treated in its own place. In the consistory no other matters are desired to be handled than such as appertain thereto by divine right and the usage of the church; and a general consistory might be held when the clergy were summoned to the diet.”

The king, who avers himself to be the “defender of the church,” and bound as such to have inspection over the congregation of God in his realm, made two new propositions on the same subject to the diet of 1625. According to the one, the General Consistory was to consist properly of ecclesiastics, with some political persons competent to the office, who should attend on the king’s behalf, yet without the right of voting. In the other no mention is made of these, but only that “his majesty would take to his aid sundry discreet and learned theologians who had the fear of God;” the new college to consist of three of the royal chaplains, the leading professor of theology at Upsala, and the minister of Stockholm, as the bishops could not easily be spared from their dioceses. But the bishops were found to be as reluctant to submit to a judicatory of the inferior clergy, as the ecclesiastics in general to acknowledge one of laymen. The whole proposition fell to the ground, not with-

out the king’s great discontent⁹; and when it was again brought forward by the administration of the guardians under Christina, became a mere party question between the clergy and nobility.

In the University of Upsala the dissensions among the teachers, especially Messenius and John Rudbeck, with their factions among the students, continued under the first years of this reign. The scenes thus occasioned were so scandalous as to elicit a royal letter to the professors, in which the king says: “If we did not ourselves know by experience what use and profit learning brings with it, we should have small reason to interest ourselves in the least touching this academy, or to show any special favour or grace to those who are there stationed, and attend not to the functions of their office more diligently than serves their own ambition, envy, and hatred; yet that this shame may not have the upper hand, and we may be once for all spared such trivial matters, we will by this our royal mandate have it strictly enjoined, that the professors shall forthwith choose by their suffrages a rector, and neither the last elected nor the former rector shall intermeddle in the direction of the academy, until we shall have found it convenient to despatch some men in whom we repose trust to inquire thereinto¹.” On this account the mode in which he restored order, as well as the wisdom and bounty which marked his care of the university, redound the more to his honour. Messenius and Rudbeck, men both as hot-tempered as they were able, were removed,—but to honourable and weighty charges²—and the work of instruction continued to be a main object of the king’s solicitude. In the year 1620 he proposed to the bishops the question, in what manner art and knowledge might be furthered in his dominions? taking notice that the university and the schools were ill-conducted, so that there were few fit for the office of the ministry, and none at all for affairs of government; the magistrates of the towns were so ignorant that they could not write their names; the students were hindered from making progress by their poverty, and instruction at the university by too many holidays. The teachers were ecclesiastics, whence the instruction in religion might be passable, but as the clergy themselves did not understand matters belonging to government and civic life, they could not teach these to others; so that however hard the times were, there was a yet greater want of competent persons, especially for war and the court, than of money. Therefore the bishops should state, how many royal schools and seminaries were needful in the kingdom; what course of education was most desirable to be given there; how good

⁸ Consequently kings likewise.

⁹ “King Gustavus Adolphus declared to the bishops, when they would not consent, that if they transgressed or committed any misdemeanour, they should be brought before the palace court, and there be amerced as the matter required. The principal end designed by the general consistory was to bind the bishops to give an account of their administration.” Jacob de la Gardie, in the council, 1636. —“His majesty wished to be relieved from the great weight of business that oppressed him. If one came in a matter of justice, the king referred him to the palace court; in a matter of finance, to the exchequer; but whether he should refer the complaint of a clergyman his majesty was uncertain, and therefore he wished to erect the sixth college.” Gabriel Oxenstierna, in the council, 1636.—“The intention

was to preserve concord among the estates, but the bishops sought only an augmentation of their jurisdiction, and the contraction of that of the magistracy. Dr. John Rudbeck, bishop of Westeras, spoiled the general consistory, and was also the cause of all this confusion and opposition in King Gustavus Adolphus’ time.” Axel Oxenstierna, in the council, 1636. Palmisk. MSS. t. 190.

¹ Hallenberg, ii. 766.

² Messenius was appointed Historiographer Royal and Assessor of the Palace Court; Rudbeck, first the king’s chaplain, afterwards bishop of Westeras. Suspicions as to the religion of Messenius had doubtless a principal part in creating the contention. He was secretly a Catholic, suspected of connexions with Poland, and ended his life in prison.

teachers might be obtained, and one general method of instruction be introduced; how the so-called parish-rounds (sockne-gaugar), by which the students begged their sustenance in the hamlets, might be abolished, and in their stead a fixed contribution, to be collected by the ministers, be established. They were to declare how many professors were required in the university; and as there was a want of learned men at home, from what places these should be invited,—how the professors should be paid, since the manner now in use, by the church tithes, was ineffective, yielding more one year, another less,—how the community of the students, the privileges of the university, and the rendering of accounts by the professors, might be arranged. Lastly, the king required their opinion respecting the hospitals, especially as the grievous infection of the disease called leprosy was beginning to spread, chiefly in Finland; what the crown expended upon hospitals was embezzled, and the poor were treated worse than dogs.

The reply of the bishops is fantastical and silly. But the king put his own hand to the work, and to his individual liberality the university of Upsala owes its existence. By his donatory warrant of August 31, 1625, Gustavus Adolphus granted to the academy of Upsala, from the Gustavian hereditary estates, now united in his tenure, three hundred and fifty manors, declaring at the same time, that as these estates were his own heritage, he bestowed them on the university "to remain in its possession for ever." Besides his donation, the king assigned to the university the crown tithes of several parishes in Westmanland and Helsingland, with prebendal benefices to the theologers, and a yeoman's grange to each of the other professors in augmentation of salary; gave 3250 dollars yearly for the community or common house of the students, a fund in addition for the purchase of furniture, with a salary for a manager and servitors; further, 2500 dollars yearly for the maintenance of exhibitioners³, with 100 dollars for prizes to them. He likewise transferred to the university his own printing-house, founded its library by a grant of his own collection of books, and the appointment of a yearly revenue, and erected the edifice (afterwards enlarged by Charles XI.) which is still called the

"Gustavian Academy." Gustavus Adolphus is also the originator of our gymnasia; for although, with regard to cathedrals, an institute anciently subsisted, by which certain readers were supported out of the church tithes, he was the first who, upon this base, established regular seminaries, with several instructors, and larger revenues. The first Gymnasium in Sweden was erected at Westeras in 1620, and enlarged in 1623 and 1627; the second at Strengness in 1626; the third at Linköping in 1628. The same year Finland, which had possessed that of Viborg from 1618, obtained another at Abo.

Thus was this great king in the midst of his wars the founder of Sweden's system of education, manifesting thereby that his arms were wielded in the holy cause of man's civilization. Therefore did he sacrifice upon that altar what others would have expended on the preparations of battle. And in what a time was this! No hopes are nobler or more elevating than those which Gustavus Adolphus opened up by his institutes to a future generation. They were not less important for their political than for their scientific results; for if Sweden from this time continually saw men rising by their knowledge and merits from the hut to the highest dignities of the state, it was the work of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

The sovereign's example stimulated the grantees. The councillor of state John Skytté founded at Upsala, two years before the royal donation of estates, a new chair of politics and eloquence, which still bears his name. He was the first regular chancellor of the university, whose privileges were confirmed in 1626. Charles Carlson Gyllenhielm established schools, with adequate funds for their maintenance. To the house of barons was at first attached a college for the instruction of young nobles, which was dissolved by the plague in 1629. Notwithstanding the ravages of the contagion there was a great paucity of physicians, a want which appears to have been little felt. Memmickhof, a foreign officer in the Swedish service, who fell at the siege of Augdow in 1614, used to extol Sweden for three things: "it had one king, one religion, and one physician, which was some sign of health⁴."

³ Or stipendiates. T.

⁴ Jacob de la Gardie, in the council, 1645. Palmk. MSS.

CHAPTER XVI.

GUSTAVUS II. ADOLPHUS. THE DANISH, RUSSIAN, AND POLISH WARS.

MILITARY POSITION OF OLD SWEDEN. THEORY OF THE WARLIKE MEASURES OF GUSTAVUS II. CAMPAIGN OF 1612 AGAINST THE DANES. DANISH INVASION UNDER CHRISTIAN IV. AND RANTZOU DEFEATED. PEACE OF 1613 WITH DENMARK. ALLIANCE WITH HOLLAND. CONTINUATION OF THE RUSSIAN WAR. TREATY OF SEIGE IN 1617. STATE OF RUSSIA IN THIS AGE. PERSONAL RELATIONS OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AND SIGISMUND OF POLAND. ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMIES OF GUSTAVUS. INVASION OF LIVONIA IN 1621, AND SIEGE OF RIGA. REDUCTION OF LIVONIA AND COURLAND. MILITARY OPERATIONS IN PRUSSIA. MILITARY OF FRANCE. SIX YEARS' TRUCE WITH POLAND.

A. D. 1612—1620.

A new generation finds it difficult to conceive the situation of the country in times when Blekinge, Scania, Halland, and Bohusland were not Swedish possessions, when Sweden was shut out from the Sound, and almost completely from the North Sea. Therein is implied a whole antiquity of darkness, weakness, and barbarism, exclusion from Europe, and the direction of the first Swedish conquests to the East. With the increase of power, after Gustavus Vasa, this confinement became in all respects intolerable. Gustavus Adolphus broke through its bounds; and this by an attempt which, if we consider the circumstances, appears almost desperate. The hero who ended by dictating laws to Europe, began by what was in the strictest sense a course of self-defence against a predominant enemy in the heart of the land, and had the keys of his own kingdom to recover in Calmar and Elfsborg, in order, as he himself said, to save his crown by a hard peace⁴.

"Sweden, ever unvanquished by external enemies," has become a standing phrase in modern Swedish eloquence. Our forefathers, who averted the danger, were far from not acknowledging both its possibility and reality; it had gone too near the life for that. So long as Denmark, as they themselves used to say, could "bite Sweden in the heel" at her pleasure, Sweden was lamed. In recent times not a few have wondered that the Swedes did not begin by shaking off the nearest foe—nay, reproached Gustavus Adolphus and his comrades with passing by Scania, Halland, and Blekinge, to seek conquests on the other side of the Baltic. Fortunate wisdom, which, placed without the orbit of events, sets laws to its course!

Gustavus Adolphus concluded his peace with Denmark, not as he wished, but as he could; he fought not from choice, but necessity, against Russia and Poland; at last he crossed to Germany in a cause vital to Protestantism and to his own crown. But if we suppose that he forgot what his age had many reasons to remember better than ourselves, we either know not or forget that on the Swedish side there was more than once a question of a change of front of the German war against Denmark; that Gustavus Adolphus considered it, that Oxenstierna after him carried it into effect, and that the work of Charles Gustavus was accomplished on a plan inherited from both. Besides, is

it forgotten that a foe may be outflanked? and that out of Germany, by the invasion of Jutland and Zealand, Scania, Halland, and Blekinge were won? Conquests were never made at Denmark's cost in another mode. Thus it came to pass, that Sweden first fully established herself within her natural limits, after she had planted her advanced posts beyond the sea, by the occupation of the Baltic coasts lying over-against her own, which in the politics of Gustavus Adolphus' age were styled "a bastion for the crown of Sweden⁵." Now the outworks are taken, and we philosophize in the citadel itself.

All the hilly region of Smaland was formerly a frontier tract between Sweden and Denmark, and like borders in general, full of insecurity. Homicides, peace-breakers, and smugglers, escaped easily from one kingdom to the other; and the frequent prohibitions against the export of wares were continually set at naught. The neighbours on both sides were at feud during peace, and held together in time of war, the border parishes then often mutually entering into a so-called peasants' peace. The Smalanders and Dalecarlians were reputed at this time to be the most unruly of all the Swedes⁶. The dangerous revolt of the former under Dacke in the time of Gustavus Vasa extended its roots on both sides of the borders, and Gustavus Adolphus had once during his reign cause to fear a like rebellion. The country was also the scene of conflicts arising out of the forays of robbers. The wild habits and stubborn hostility of the foresters of Scania and the Blekingers, long preserved even after their union with Sweden, had their source in similar relations. Calmar was now in the power of the Danes, and Smaland lay open to the enemy. On the western side Danish Halland and Norwegian Bohusland encompassed almost entirely Swedish West-Gothland, a province which, bountifully endowed by nature, was cut off from all the rest of the kingdom, in the north by duke Charles Philip's, in the south by duke John's principality, both under separate governments. These were inconvenient neighbours; for the queen dowager, who governed for her younger son, was more than reasonably bent on her own gains, and the administration of duke John was an example of bad economy. West-Gothland extended to the sea

⁴ According to Axel Oxenstierna's statement in the council, 1643. Palmisk. MSS.

⁵ Pomerania and the sea-coast are like a bastion for the crown of Sweden; therein consists our safety against the emperor, and therein lay the chief cause of his late majesty's taking up arms. The respect which we now have from

Poland, we have by reason of Pomerania, because it lies by the side of Poland." Axel Oxenstierna, in the council, 1644, l. c. Of his plan in the Danish war, herewith connected, more in its place.

⁶ "Those of Smaland and the Dales are ticklish folk." The steward, Peter Brahe, in the council, 1645. Palmisk. MSS.

only at the mouth of the Göta elf. Here Charles IX. had founded Gottenburg, "a thorn in the eye of the Jutes," as was then a current phrase in Sweden. The newly-built town was razed by the Danes in the course of the war, and the main object of Christian IV., after Calmar fell, was to make himself master of the fortresses of Elfsborg and Gullberg, which here on the Swedish side defended the river.

The young sovereign hastened from his first diet to the war, but immediately offered peace, and laid aside at the same time the disputed title of king of the Lapps. The herald who was the bearer of the proposals of peace was turned back by the Danes at the frontier, and in a subsequent negotiation respecting an exchange of captives, the Swedish king received only the title of duke. The campaign of 1612 was begun by the Danes in the middle of winter. In January they sallied out of Calmar, laid waste a great part of Smaland, burned the town of Vexjö with the castle of Kronoberg, and threatened Jenköpings. At the same time king Christian himself made an attempt from the Norwegian fortress of Bohus on the Göta, to surprise that of Gullberg in the night. An assault five times repeated was so valiantly repulsed by the lieutenant, Martin Krakou, and after he was wounded, by his bold wife Emerentia, Paul's daughter⁷, that the king was forced to retire with loss. New Lødesse had shortly before been taken by the Danes, and all the male inhabitants slaughtered. Now West-Gothland was harried; Old Lødesse, Skara, and more than three thousand granges were destroyed⁸.—At the same time a division of the Swedish army, under duke John and field-marshal Krus, was engaged in a similar inroad upon Halland, where eighteen parishes were plundered. Considerable loss, upon the retreat, not far from Falkenberg, was caused to the Danish king, who was near being taken, but rescued by Christian Barnekou with the sacrifice of his own life. Spots upon a great stone by the way-side are still called by the peasants "Christian Barnekou's blood." With another division of the Swedish troops Gustavus Adolphus had broken up from Ryssby scone near Calmar, and invaded Scania to draw away the enemy to the defence of his own territory. The province was found unprotected, and twenty-four parishes were desolated. On the retreat, the king, who had sent forwards the greatest portion of his troops, was attacked not far from the border in the parish of West-Göinge, by the Danes returning from Smaland. Battle was joined on the ice of Lake Vidsjö, on the evening of the 11th of February. The number of the slain and drowned was great; the king himself fell with his horse below the ice, but was saved by his chamberlain Peter Baner, and a gallant trooper who followed the banner of Upland, Thomas Laurenceson by name, who received for this service a yeoman's holding, Igelstad of Romfertauna parish, still occupied by his descendants. The report that Gustavus Adolphus had fallen was spread both within and without

the confines of Sweden. Thus was the war, full of adventure and ruthless, carried on by both sides with equal exasperation. In the summer the fields of Smaland remained unsown, and there was such a scarcity of horses, that even those who travelled upon the weightiest affairs of the king could never obtain post-horses. All the males of Smaland and a portion of West-Gothland had been summoned into the field.

Preparations were made for the summer campaign, by Denmark with united, by Sweden with divided power, for hostilities continued with both Russia and Poland. The Danes too were earlier ready. Their army, consisting in great part of foreign levies, marched out of winter quarters in the beginning of April, was mustered at Helsingborg, and divided into two bodies, the more numerous under king Christian's own command destined against West-Gothland, the other under field-marshal Gerdt Rantzou against Smaland, Oeland, and East-Gothland. A squadron of the Danish fleet, so fairly equipped, that "the ocean," says the Frenchman Peleus, "would have admired them, if it had had eyes," sailed to Calmar, while another squadron blockaded Elfsborg. Christian himself commenced the siege of the latter place in the beginning of May, before Stiernsköld, according to the order of the Swedish king, could reinforce the garrison, which numbered only from four to five hundred men, under the command of the lieutenant Olave Stralé. This important fortress capitulated on the 24th of May, after an investment of nineteen days. Forty cannon, besides other military stores, with six Swedish ships of war, fell into the enemy's hands. Gullberg, occupied by a garrison of which the most were foreigners, surrendered on the 1st of June almost without resistance, with eighty cannon, five hundred muskets, and provisions for a whole year. About the same time the Scottish and Irish soldiery stationed at Linköping themselves plundered the town and drove out the inhabitants, making off on the approach of the Danes. For now king Christian entered West-Gothland with an army of thirty-two battalions of foot and eleven squadrons of horse. Against this Gustavus Adolphus could oppose but a force of eleven battalions⁹ and eight squadrons, wherefore he at first avoided an action. When at length reinforced by duke John from East-Gothland he offered battle¹, Christian, whose men suffered from hunger and the field-sickness, marched back after a three weeks' inroad to Gullberg, and thereby gave Gustavus Adolphus an opportunity of turning against Rantzou. The latter had on his side opened the campaign by taking the fort of Ryssby, and thereafter reducing Oeland, on which the Danes had already during the winter made fruitless attempts. Now the fortress of Borgholm was taken, the whole island harried and wasted with fire; all the clergy (they had incited the peasants to resistance) were carried prisoners to Denmark. Returned from Oeland, Rantzou marched along the coast, turned off at the Em river into the country, dispersed at Hoegsby the last feeble remains of the

⁷ In this the soldiers' wives assisted her.

⁸ Hallenberg, from Danish testimonies, i. 303. 308.

⁹ The size of the *fana* (standard) or battalion was various. Peleus reckoned it, in the Swedish and Danish armies, at six or seven hundred men. According to this computation, the Danish force would be at least twenty-five thousand,

and the Swedish towards eleven thousand. Jahn (History of the War of Calmar) states Christian's army at twenty-two thousand five hundred men, and the whole strength of the Danes in Sweden (including that of Rantzou) at about forty thousand.

¹ Hallenberg, ii. 429.

Swedish troops which had garrisoned Ryssby fort, and marched to the town of Wimmerby, which he found deserted by the inhabitants. Thereafter he turned again to the coast, burned Westerwick, and extended his ravages to Söderköping, which met a like fate. He was now compelled, with an army almost broken up by disorders, want, and the insubordination of the German soldiers, to retire with all speed; and Gustavus Adolphus, though he did not effect his purpose of cutting off his retreat to Calmar, inflicted on him a severe loss. It was during this expedition, his great personal exertions in which subsequently cost the young king an illness at Jenköping, that he heard of king Christian being again on his march against this town. Jenköping, after the fall of Elfsborg and Calmar, was the most important place in the south of Sweden, "the key of the lower country," for which reason the works of its yet unfinished fortifications were being forwarded with all zeal. Gustavus Adolphus feared from the outset, that the hostile armies would select it as their point of junction; and such indeed appears to have been the plan of the campaign. How highly the royal youth surpassed his subordinate generals, is shown in nothing better than by the proposal of his two lieutenants at Jenköping, George Magnusson Stiern and Steno Claesson Bölja, to blow up the fortress and retreat. In general he was but ill served during this war; and in the beginning of a period so fertile in great warriors, there are loud complaints of a want of leaders². In Jeuköping not more than eight of the nobility were with the king. Duke John's secretary writes; "God better it; no man will obey another, and therefore things go as they do³."

In this last great peril of Sweden from the Danish side, it was Gustavus Adolphus personally and the Swedish peasantry who saved the kingdom. The yeomen (excepting those of some parishes in West-Gothland, and the border tract of Dalsland, which submitted to the enemy), animated by the greatest zeal for the defence of the country, themselves laid waste their farms, rather than they should become the prey of hostile ravages. They retired into the forests, where they made intrenchments, fell wherever they had an opportunity upon the enemy scattered in the pursuit of plunder, and occasioned them constant losses. To these proceedings the king gave them encouragement, and it was the little war which here paralyzed great plans. To the frustration of these contributed also the fact that the foreign mercenaries of this day ruled their leaders, rather than were ruled by them. Rantzou had retired on the news of his sovereign's first recession. Christian himself broke up from Jenköping on the news of Rantzou's retreat, and made by the shortest way for Halland, within his own frontier.

Lesser occurrences of this war are the movements on the side of Norway, and king Christian's last attempt upon Stockholm. At the commencement of hostilities Gustavus Adolphus had issued a summons to the Norwegians to unite with Sweden. They answered by inroads into Dalsland and Ver-

meland. Of twelve hundred Netherlanders and Scots who had been levied on Swedish account, the greatest portion were brought over from Scotland by Mönnickhof, a Dutch officer, who made with his ships for Trondhem, but being repulsed there, landed at Stördal, where he met with no opposition. Thence he marched across Norway to Jemteland and Herjedale, both districts having been occupied during the war by the Swedes, after which his people were quartered in Stockholm and the seamounts. Another division of the same levy, under the command of colonel Sinclair, which landed at Romsdale in Norway, was cut to pieces by the Norwegian peasantry in a narrow pass upon the road from that point to Gullbrandsdale. The Swedish fleet under the high admiral George Gyllenstierna, had performed nothing during the whole war, to the king's great dissatisfaction; nay, when Christian himself, after his return to Copenhagen, embarked in his fleet of thirty-six sail, and having taken on board at Calmar the remnant of Rantzou's troops, sailed into the islets off Stockholm, Gyllenstierna retired under the guns of the fortress of Waxholm. The Danes followed, king Christian landing at Waxholm, and cannonading the fortress. The tidings spread rapidly over the whole country. The Dalecarlians rose unbidden, and marched to the defence of the capital. Gustavus Adolphus hastened night and day from Jeuköping, came at three o'clock in the morning of the 10th of September, to Stockholm, and repaired to Waxholm two hours afterwards at the head of Mönnickhof's troops. He hoped to be able to destroy in the narrow straits the Danish fleet, which was detained by contrary winds. But the same day the wind changed, and the Danes sailed away.

On both sides the want of peace was felt. Even Christian, now in appearance the stronger, had exhausted his own, if not Denmark's, resources. His power was very limited. The Danish nobles had no inclination to continue the war, because their king "might thereby become arrogant, and keep down them and their privileges," as the Swedish council of state wrote to Gustavus Adolphus⁴. A conference respecting the exchange of prisoners led to negotiations for peace under English mediation. Axel Oxenstierna and three other councillors were the Swedish plenipotentiaries. On the 19th January, 1613, peace was concluded with Denmark after nearly two months' negotiations, in the church hamlet of Knerød, on the Laga stream in Halland. Sweden renounced claim to the fortress of Soumenburg on the Oesel, the superiority over the sea Lapps, from Titis Firth to Wanganger in Norway, and restored Jemteland and Herjedale, which had been occupied in the war. On the other hand, it recovered Calmar and Oeland, and Elfsborg conditionally after six years, if it were ransomed in the mean time with a million of rix-dollars; if not, it was to be ceded to Denmark for ever, with the seven hundreds subordinate to it, and the towns of New Lødøse, Old Lødøse, and Gottenburg. This was the second time in forty years for which Sweden redeemed, from the hands of the Danes, its then only place on the West Sea, and now at a price six times dearer than before⁵. It

² Id. ii. 441.

³ Id. ii. 455. A national failing of the Swedes, according to Axel Oxenstierna, who said in the council, in 1636: "There is an old proverb of the Swedes, 'Ordinant, reordinant, et tamen sine ordine vivunt.'" Palmss. MSS.

⁴ Hallenberg, ii. 485.

⁵ By the peace of Stettin in 1570 Elfsborg was ransomed with 150,000 rix-dollars.

was a point vital to the kingdom; and the people paid for it withal, in the hardest times, the heaviest subsidy which had ever been raised from the country. Among the conditions of peace were also freedom from the Sound toll for Swedish vessels, and free commerce between the subjects of both realms.

The United Netherlands had likewise offered their mediation, but Christian rejected it out of disgust with the States-general. These refused to acknowledge Danish sovereignty in the Sound, brought objections against the toll, and drew closer to Sweden. The negotiations in this view, opened during the war, occasioned in 1614 an alliance for fifteen years, by which Sweden acceded to the league already formed by Lubeck and the States-general for the protection of trade; "albeit without prejudice," it was added on the Swedish side, "to Sweden's superiority and lordship over the Baltic," thenceforth a standing maxim of Swedish policy. We remark that by this treaty it is provided that the States-general and the king of Sweden shall in future maintain permanent legations each to the other, a custom now first established. In the following year a special embassy from the Netherlands arrived in Sweden. In the envoy's account of his audience it is stated, that his majesty stood before the royal chair with uncovered head, clad in black embroidered satin, with a mantle of black silk, by reason of the mourning for his maternal uncle, the duke of Holstein, who was lately dead; above his head was a canopy, on his right the regal emblems on a marble table with silver feet; the king was slender of body, well shaped, of pale complexion, and somewhat long in the face, with light hair, and a beard inclining to be brown; he was, as men said, full of courage against the enemy, not vindictive, but very kind-hearted, acute, vigilant, active, remarkably eloquent, and worthy of being loved in his converse with all men; from his youth great things might be expected⁶. By this embassy the States-general also offered their mediation in the Russian war.

The contests regarding the succession to the throne, which preceded the elevation of the house of Romanoff, brought Russia to the brink of ruin. There has been a time when the Swedes ruled Neva and Novogorod; the Poles possessed Smolensko and Moscow; and when, after Warsaw had seen a deposed Czar led in triumph⁷, Stockhohn beheld a Russian embassy requesting a Swedish prince for their grand-duke. This was at the death of Charles IX. Novogorod had solicited from Jacob de la Gardie either Gustavus Adolphus or Charles Philip to be its ruler; the choice, upon the news of the accession of the former to the government of Sweden, fell upon the latter; and the greatest part of Russia united, from hatred of the Poles, in this election. Gustavus Adolphus showed little alacrity to procure this dignity for his brother. It is evident that he wished to keep the opportunity open until, after obtaining peace with Denmark, he could turn it to the profit of Sweden. Therefore, as well as from the apprehensions of the

queen mother, the sending of the prince was deferred; and when the young Charles Philip at length arrived, in the commencement of July, 1613, at Wiborg, the Russians had already elected at Moscow Michael Romanoff, then in his sixteenth year, to be Czar. This, after the overthrow of four pretended Demetries, was so perilous an elevation that he wished to flee, and his mother burst into tears and wailing at the news. The adherence of Novogorod to the Swedish election was now only one of semblance and compulsion.

We observe about this time some coldness between the king and the hero of the Russian war, Jacob de la Gardie, who, left without support from Sweden, but long exercising princely power within the circle of his conquests, was near giving Russia a ruler, and saw this hope vanish from his eyes. The caution with which Widekindi speaks of this misunderstanding⁸ shows that the matter concerned the king's person. Discontent seems to have been awakened by the fact, that De la Gardie had devolved, without consulting him, upon Charles Philip an election for which Gustavus Adolphus himself was first in question. If this were so, his displeasure was but momentary. In his own frank manner the king wrote to De la Gardie⁹, acknowledging that his first view of the matter was grounded "on ignorance, and an opinion of the position of affairs caught up in haste." Before all he must look to the security and advantage of Sweden. He expected little for Charles Philip, and distrusted the Russians; "they all nourish a rooted hatred against every foreign nation, together with a coarse insolence." "As soon as our troops are gathered in the country there," he writes in another letter to the Swedish plenipotentiaries for the negotiations, "we will no longer, as hitherto, let ourselves be drawn about by the nose, but know whether they are foes or friends." De la Gardie is ordered, if the enemy were an overmatch for him, to abandon Novogorod, and attempt a junction with the king, but first to make the town and castle useless to them; "we depend more upon you," adds the king, "and our good folk, than upon Novogorod¹." He had now, against the repeated representations of the queen dowager and the council, firmly resolved to conduct in person the Russian war, crossed from Finland to Narva, and thence proceeded to invest the fortress of Augdow, which after two assaults surrendered to him by capitulation on the 10th September, 1614. Ten days after the reduction of the fort, he writes to his beloved Ebba Brahe: "Especially do I thank the Divine Omnipotence, which hath granted me this honour, that I in your favour have overcome my foes²." Ebba Brahe, daughter of the high steward count Magnus Brahe, was the first love of Gustavus Adolphus. So much of their correspondence as has been preserved shows incontestably that the king intended to make her the partner of his throne. Love-songs by his hand remain, written even during this campaign³. Gustavus Adolphus loved music and song, and himself played excellently on the lute⁴. The severity of

⁶ Journal der Legatie ghedan 1615 ende 1616. Gravenhagen, 1619, p. 123.

⁷ Wassily Schuisky with his two brothers.

⁸ Historia Belli Sueco-Muscovitici, pp. 337. 344.

⁹ From Stockholm, April 29, 1613.

¹ Hallenberg, iii. 50. 183.

² Ibid. 258. He used in his letters to intertwine the initials of her name and his own.

³ Several such are contained in the library of his excellency count Magnus Brahe, at Sko Cloister.

⁴ Non solum musicum valde amplexus est, sed ipse illi operam dedit, dum nempe fidibus testudinis, reginæ quasi

the queen dowager interposed between the two lovers. She first effected a postponement of their union for some years, the event of which confirmed her prediction, that fidelity to a hopeless passion was not among the young hero's attributes⁵; and afterwards wedded Ebba Brahe to Jacob de la Gardie.

This rival of Gustavus Adolphus in youthful renown and youthful love, maintained himself victoriously in Novogorod, until he, upon repeated solicitations, obtained leave to return home; and Ewert Horn took his place in that town, whose inhabitants, harshly treated by the Swedish soldiers, now showed themselves more refractory than before, and said to Horn, that they would rather die than separate from the Muscovite dominion. Gustavus Adolphus returned to Sweden, with design to begin the campaign of the coming year by the siege of Pleskow, if the Russians did not sooner accede to a peace advantageous for Sweden. The negotiations on this subject detained him during the spring of 1615; but on the 8th of July he was in Narva, and left there Jacob de la Gardie, who was afterwards employed in the negotiation for peace conducted under English and Dutch mediation. Gustavus Adolphus himself sat down before Pleskow with field-marshal Ewert Horn⁶, who fell in the first sally of the Russians from the fortress,—a man, after Jacob de la Gardie, the greatest in this war, wise in affairs of state, valiant, of cultivated mind, and deeply lamented by the king. The siege of Pleskow proceeded slowly. Scarcely had the king arrived before the place, when the bearer of the English mediation, John Merich (Meyrick?), threatened to break off the negotiation if the siege were continued. As the discussions regarding the peace, in which the Russians contended as stubbornly for the smallest as for the most important points, made no progress in the mean time, the siege was resumed, but again interrupted by new remonstrances from the king's own plenipotentiaries. Between whiles he kept the town invested by five strong camps, and the works of the siege more and more nearly approached the walls. Two towers had been battered down, but as an assault finally hazarded by Gustavus Adolphus was repulsed, and his army was much weakened by sickness, he raised the siege, after it had lasted nearly two months; and went at the end of October from Livonia to Finland, where he passed the winter, held a diet with the estates of that country, and attended to the Russian negotiations. The Swedes had begun by asking for Novogorod, but lowered their demands to Ingermanland and the government of Kexholm, of which the Russians would not hear. The negotiations, which were broken off in February, 1616, when the Dutch convoy returned home, were re-

opened in October of the same year by the English commissioner. Of the last-mentioned demands Gustavus Adolphus would abate nothing. "The fortresses of Kexholm, Nöteborg, Jama, Koporie, and Ivangorod," he writes to the queen-mother and the council⁷, "were as the key of Lifland and Finland, and barred the East Sea against the Russ. If the Russ should get back Nöteborg or Ivangorod, or both, and should in future learn to know his power, the convenience of the sea, and the many advantages of rivers, lakes, and coasts, which he could not yet discover, nor rightly use, then he might not only attack Finland on all hands, and better indeed in summer than winter, which hitherto he had not understood, but even in view of his great power, might fill the East Sea with ships, which for Sweden were a continual danger. He had himself at Neva, on his journey, observed the convenience of the site, and found how necessary a secure frontier was against Russia." It is Russia's greatest adversary on the Swedish throne who here speaks, as if he had divined the plan of Peter the Great. A hundred years afterwards Charles XII. had it before his eyes, and divined nothing.

Here matters rested. Four months of new negotiations made no change in their aspect. On the 27th February, 1617, the treaty of peace was signed at Stolbova⁸, by which Kexholm and its territory, with the four fortresses of Ivangorod, Jamburg, Koporie, and Nöteborg, and all the land pertaining to them, were assigned to Sweden⁹. The Czar was to give to the king of Sweden the title of Ingermanland and Carelia, to confirm the renunciation of the Russian claims on Livonia, and to pay 20,000 rubles. On the other hand, Novogorod and all the other Swedish conquests were restored; but Augdow with its government was to remain in the hands of the Swedes, until the Czar had ratified the peace and adjusted the boundary. Jacob de la Gardie had the honour of subscribing the peace which ended the ten years' war with Russia. It is, remarked Gustavus Adolphus in his speech to the estates after the peace¹, "not the least among the benefits which Divine Providence hath conferred upon Sweden, that the Russ, with whom we had lived from of old in an uncertain relation and critical posture of affairs, must now let slip for ever the robber's nest, whence he before so often annoyed us. Of a truth he is a dangerous neighbour; his landmarks stretch from the Baltic to the Northern and Caspian, coming nigh to the Black Sea; he hath a powerful nobility and numerous peasantry, populous towns, and can bring great armies into the field; now cannot this foe launch but a boat on the East Sea without our leave. The great lakes of Ladoga and Peipus, the river of Narva, thirty miles of wide

et principis omnium instrumentorum, optime cecinit. Petri Joh. Ungeli Encomium Musice, habitum Upsalie in Aud. Gust. d. Maii 21, 1638.

⁵ In 1616 the beautiful Margaret Cabelian, daughter of a Dutch merchant settled in Sweden, bore the king a natural son, Gustave Gustafsson, afterwards count of Wasaborg.

⁶ Jacob de la Gardie, while commander-in-chief in this war, is styled Feltherre (generalissimo), Ewert Horn sometimes field-marshal, or first lieutenant of the generalissimo, answering to the lieutenant-general in later times. Hallenberg, iii. 401.

⁷ From Abo, April 26, 1616.

⁸ A village between Tichwina and Ladoga which no longer exists.

⁹ Kexholm, originally founded by the Swedes, at the mouth of the stream Woxen in the Ladoga; Ivangorod, formerly also called Russian Narva, over the stream against Narva; Koporie, Jamburg, still towns of the same name in Ingermanland; Nöteborg, now Schlüsselburg, at the outlet of the Neva from the Ladoga.

¹ At the diet of Stockholm in 1617. Compare his speech to the diet of Örebro in the commencement of the same year. The speeches are given, from the king's own draughts of them, in Widekindi, Gustaf Adolfs Historia.

morasses, and strong fortresses part him from us; Russia is excluded from the Baltic; and I hope to God, the king adds, it will henceforth be hard for the Russians to leap over that brook." The ground on which St. Petersburg now stands was Swedish. On the frontier a stone was raised bearing the three crowns of Sweden and the following inscription in Latin: "Here Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, set the limits of the realm. May his work, under a Gracious Providence, be lasting ²."

Never afterwards did he neglect to keep a watchful eye on Russia. He was careful, in the midst of his career of victory in Germany, to procure intelligence of its internal condition, and three separate memoirs upon this subject, presented to the king by the three sons of the councillor of state John Skytté, still exist. The reigning grand duke, these allege, was unwelcome; his father, the patriarch, in fact exercised the highest power. The higher nobles, or knesses, had been diminished by the tyranny of the dukes to some few families; the inferior nobles, or boyars, on the contrary, were very numerous; both were obliged to serve from the lowest grades upwards, and all were bound to yield property and life to the grand duke. All the nobility was martial, but had a common jealousy of the foreign troops in the service of the grand duke, who lived in abundance. There were two main causes of the weakness of Russia; one was the corruption of the clergy (for where a crime was committed, a monk had part), whence the education of the people was wretched, so that gluttony and bloodshed were vices made matters of boast; the other was the foreign soldiery. For the Moscovites, although they hated every thing outlandish, could effect nothing against foreigners without foreign aid. All that they accomplished was done by treachery and superiority of numbers. The indigenous soldier received no pay, wherefore he robbed; in the defence of fortresses he had always shown himself stout. The nobles were obliged to defray their own charges in embassies and military expeditions; for with respect to taxes there was no definite law, but the lieutenants extorted what they could, or took bribes for their remissness. The condition of the lower class in the Russian dominions was miserable from four causes, through slavery, through the multiplicity of races, through the weight of imposts, and lastly the number of festival days, which were consumed in debaucheries. The safe-guards of laws were unknown. The peasants, who must labour five days of the week for their lords, had only the sixth and seventh to themselves. The revenues of the grand duke arose from several sources: I. From the coinage, which formerly had been good, but now was depressed by the foreign coins to a lower value, on which the grand duke gained every third penny: II. From grain, the prices of which were fixed arbitrarily by the grand duke: III. From liquors; for all drinks saving water, especially the so-called quass, could only be sold throughout the whole realm of

Russia in the grand duke's taprooms; even the use of baths, of which the nation was particularly fond, was forbidden to the people in their own houses, and they must pay a stiver for one in the crown-baths: IV. From sable-skins, which as a monopoly of the grand duke were so high-priced, that they might be bought cheaper in Livonia and Germany than in Russia: V. Otherwise from trade, which the grand duke now pursued through his own agents, to the great loss of the English trading company in Russia; of the wares he selected the best for himself; what could not be sold, he usually made over to some rich merchant for payment, who must give thanks for it as for a favour. Thralldom was regarded by the Muscovites not as a shame, but as an honour. All boasted of being the serfs of the grand duke; his will was law, even if he should command a man to slay father or mother. That such a condition of things might be maintained, egress from the kingdom was forbidden them, out of fear that if they came to foreign princes and nations, their civilization might make slavery abhorrent to them. The Swedes (continues the relation) were loved by them before others, but also more feared; and they were of opinion that with these none were to be compared for the art of war, especially since they had heard of his majesty's successes, passing all conjecture, in Germany against the Papists, whom they detested ³.

After the peace with Russia, the fame of Gustavus Adolphus began to be spread throughout Europe. Councillor John Skytté, who in 1617 departed on an embassy to Denmark, Lubeck, the Netherlands, and England, to counteract the projects of Sigismund, writes home, that he every where heard his sovereign extolled, and therefore deemed his country fortunate ⁴.

The war with Poland still continued. Its theatre had been Livonia, the Swedes possessing, of the chief fortresses, Revel, Narva, and Wittenstein; the Poles, Riga, Dunamunde, and Kockenhus. On the death of Charles IX. a truce was made till June, 1612; it was prolonged to October 1, 1613; thereafter for four months more, and at length for two years, or to the 20th January, 1616. Towards the end of its term, Polish intrigues began again to be particularly active in Sweden, connected with extensive plans previously entertained, which we cannot here pass over in silence, because they point towards the future. Sigismund was by religion and kindred nearly allied to the house of Hapsburg. Ferdinand, afterwards the second emperor of that name, and Philip III. of Spain, were his brothers-in-law. To the latter he sent an emigrated Swede, who obtained that all Swedish ships and cargoes in Spanish ports and waters should be declared lawful prizes ⁵. About the same time a Dutch historian mentions a secret project, discovered by the correspondence of a Jesuit ⁶. Denmark was to be instigated to make

Lord, that Russia should extend its frontier to Abo, if war again fell out with Sweden. Hallenberg, iv. 788.

³ Relationes Muscovitice Johannis, Benedicti, et Jacobi Skytté. Palmsk. MSS. tt. 97, 186.

⁴ Litteræ Johannis Skytté ad Axelium Oxensjerna. Londini, 8 Dec. 1617. Palmsk. MSS. t. 371.

⁵ Id. t. 190.

⁶ Hallenberg, i. 97, after Meteren.

² "Huc regni posuit fines Gustavus Adolphus
Rex Sueonum, fausto Numine duret opus."

Limites positi an. 1617. The demarcation of the boundaries was completed in 1621 after protracted negotiations, in which on one occasion the Russians turned their backs on the Swedes, and declared that two saints, a hundred years dead, had risen up again and promised in the name of the

war on Sweden, Spain was to conclude a truce with the Netherlands, afterwards to acquire the command of the Sound, and thereby both close the Baltic against Holland, and raise Sigismund again to the Swedish throne. Charles IX. makes mention of this plan in a note written by him⁷; and the Hollanders, induced thereby, actually despatched an embassy to Christian IV., which however arrived too late to prevent the outbreak of the Danish war, and was besides received by the king with small respect⁸. During the cessation of arms with Poland, no hope of peace was cherished, for Sigismund steadily reserved his right to the Swedish crown. He considered himself also to have claims upon Russia, through the choice of his son Vladislaus, by a party in that country, to be grand duke, and protested against the cessions made in the treaty of peace signed at Stolbova. He now purposed an attack upon Sweden. An Austrian count of Althan had promised to levy an army in Germany to that end, and the Spaniards to equip a fleet in Duukirk; the estates of Poland had granted a subsidy; levies and war taxes for the same object were instituted in Polish Prussia; the Hanse Towns were warned to abstain for the present from all intercourse with Sweden, since God would shortly open to its legitimate king the way to his hereditary throne. To Christian IV. was sent an embassy, with promise of the absolute cession of Elfsborg, Spain withal proposing to Denmark a league against Holland, and common cause with Poland against Sweden; exhortations to revolt against Gustavus Adolphus, and libels upon his father were disseminated throughout the kingdom⁹. At the same diet wherein Gustavus Adolphus made known to the estates the peace with Russia, he was obliged also to announce to them the fresh eruption of the war with Poland. On the enemy's side, indeed, the execution of the plans bore no correspondence to their extent, for Sigismund, as a Polish historian says, "undertook all things unseasonably and perversely¹." Meanwhile, preparations for defence were set on foot both in Sweden and in Estland. Stiernsköld, who had been sent to the Netherlands to levy troops, and to obtain from Denmark free passage through the Sound for two thousand men, crossed in the beginning of July, 1617, to Lifland. Dunamunde was surrendered to the Swedes by William, duke of Courland, who had been dis-

possessed by the Poles; Pernau and Salis were taken, also by the help of the duke's general, Wolmar Farenbach, who, however, afterwards passed over to the enemy, and formed a junction with the Lithuanian general Radziwill. The latter relieved Riga, recovering a redoubt before the town, which had fallen into the hands of the Swedes. In the winter of 1618 the Poles overran with fire and sword Swedish Livonia and Esthonia, but speedily retreated. Gustavus Adolphus did not consent to Stiernsköld's request to put in practice the right of retaliation; he was not to make incursions of plunder after the enemy's example, but when opportunity offered, to assault some fortress, and upon the march to treat the defenceless population of the enemy's country with the same forbearance as Swedish subjects. "We have not proposed to ourselves," the king writes, "to make war upon the peasants, whom we would rather see kindly used than utterly ruined." In such a frame of mind, and albeit Sigismund gave the usual answer to a mediatory overture which had been lately requested from Denmark, Gustavus Adolphus consented, on the petition of the Estlanders, to renew the negotiation for a truce, "to the end that all might perceive he did not stand upon war, if peace and quietness were to be had, and that poor Lifland might not be made absolutely desolate by both sides." The new truce, by which the Swedes retained what they held, was concluded for two years, from Michaelmas, 1618, to the same day of 1620, with three months' notice to be given, though the ratification from Poland was never received. Gustavus Adolphus notified his renunciation on the expiration of the term, adding that he wished for peace; and giving power to his plenipotentiaries to negotiate accordingly. He would cede Pernau, and leave the frontier as it had stood on the outbreak of the war in the year 1600; but if peace could not be obtained, he was willing to enter into a ten years' truce, and even to leave to Sigismund the name of king of Sweden, with a reservation that it should not be taken to imply any right to the kingdom. The Poles consented indeed to negotiate, but only in the name of the Polish senate; their commissioners were without powers from their king, who had declared, that he could not ratify any convention entered into by them². Hereupon Gustavus Adolphus caused his

been found in him which was presumed, he is likewise not condemned to perpetual prison, but only kept in custody on suspicion. Now because in his prison he hath written much that redoundeth to the honour of the country, therefore do we bear scruple to lay such imputations upon him, seeing these tend to make the relations of historians suspected. Therefore must this be erased or suppressed before the exemplars are spread abroad." Register for 1643. In the book the passage stands unchanged at p. 664.

¹ Piasecki Chronica ad an. 1616. Verum omnia intempestive, et præpostere et magis ad præmonendum hostem fiebant. Nihilque de istis cum consiliariis Polonis conferebat, sed cum Suecis et Germanis tantum, qui pauci, illicque rerum et præsentis belli duendi inexpertes in ejus aula erant. Among these are named Francis Ternagel, a German refugee, whom Sigismund made his Swedish chancellor, and Gabriel Poze (probably George Possé) a refugee from Sweden.

² "That your lovingness may be able to refute to our friends the false rumour which will be spread of our present actions, we give you to know the truce was expired, and certain heads, whereon a prolongation might be made, were

⁷ "The king of Spain's foundation for erecting his (universal) monarchy, was in king Charles IX.'s time, Elsinore, which he expected to obtain, if king Sigismund of Poland should get Sweden." Copy in the Palm-sk. Collections, t. 58.

⁸ "Non agitur de religione, sed de regione," was his reply to the envoys.

⁹ Compare Hallenberg. George Nilson Possé now issued the bitter lampoon called "Duke Charles' slaughter-bench." It was in the year 1615, when the Swedish fugitives began to stir with similar means, that the historian, John Messenius, accused, but not convicted, of having had secret correspondence with Poland, was thrown into prison, where he was kept until his death in 1634. When in 1642 John Baazius published his *Inventarium Eccles. Sueo-Goth.* mentioning Messenius as one condemned to perpetual imprisonment for a traitorous correspondence with Poland, the government of the day wrote to him: "We will by no means defend the cause of Messenius, but neither can we accuse him of any treason, sedition, or the like, leaving him to the judgment of God. Verily there have been strong presumptions against him, but because that hath not

council to despatch a declaration to that of Poland, that he must continue the war against his will, while the Poles were attacked at the same time by the hereditary foes of Christendom, the Turks. He assembled his army and fleet in July, 1621, in order to repair in person to Riga.

In the harbour of Elfsnabben, while the ships were detained by contrary winds, Gustavus Adolphus issued his articles of war. The oldest Swedish articles of war are those of Gustavus I., in 1545; others were afterwards issued by Eric XIV. and John III. They had been found necessary, as would appear, for the foreigners levied for the Swedish service, of whom the greatest number were Germans. Under Eric XIV. some thousand Scots were brought into the kingdom, to procure whom Gustavus I. had opened negotiations. John III. had a squadron of English cavalry, and Charles IX. retained in pay Dutch soldiers, as well as a French regiment of horse. In the treatment of these latter, the king gave orders that especial care should be observed. "The French," he writes, "are good people, but of a capricious humour; therefore must we deal warily with them, give them good words, and no blows."² It is well known, that from the pursuit of the trade of war for pay standing armies originated. Before these became national, the military adventurer sold himself to the highest bidder; and thus was formed over all Europe a sort of freebooters' commonwealth, among the members of which the German Landsknechts were long the most famous. The conditions under which an association of soldiers, —that is, a regiment under its colonel—entered the service of a prince were specified in a so-called brief of articles, confirmed by oath³. Out of service the soldier was generally independent of his officers; the commanders again were only bound by a tie of voluntary obedience to the prince, or the commander-in-chief appointed by him, who was usually distinguished from the rest by the title of field-general. The existence of such relations is abundantly attested likewise by the military history of Sweden at this time, which so often speaks of mutinies among the foreign soldiery, their bloody feuds with each other, when they were of different nations, (as between the Scots and the Germans in the Livonian wars of king John,) and their atrocities upon Swedish subjects. This evil, so often complained of, appears to have been little remedied by king Eric's articles of war; since they ordain, that if any one of the foreign auxiliaries should offer violence to an inhabitant of the country, all the soldiers under the same standard should investigate the matter themselves, and replace the

person maltreated in his rights, or conjointly make good his loss⁴. In courts martial on the soldiers, according to these articles, was to sit a naemnd or jury of twelve or twenty-four men, "honourable, brave men at arms," yet not of the superior officers; but if such officers were arraigned, then some were to be among the assessors. The division by regiments⁵ was introduced into Sweden by Eric XIV. It was suspended, like all that belonged to the military system, under John III., but was again adopted by Charles IX., yet in a different mode, and first received a permanent existence with the erection by Gustavus Adolphus of a standing national force.

That monarch's articles of war are drawn up by his own hand. According to them the king, as "God's justiciary upon earth," is the highest judge as well in war as peace. The troops were to be under the jurisdiction of special courts, superior and inferior, on march and during war. The lower courts were the regimental court for the foot, and the cavalry court for the horse. In the regimental court, the colonel, or in his stead the lieutenant-colonel, presided. The assessors were chosen by the whole regiment, namely, two captains, two lieutenants, two ensigns, two sergeants, two quartermasters, and two lance-prisades (förare). In the cavalry court the colonel, or in his stead the captain of the king's troop of guards, was president. The assessors were chosen by all the squadrons of horse, three captains, three lieutenants, three cornets, and three corporals. In the superior court the high-marshal, or in his absence the field-marshal, presided. The marshal's assessors were the field-marshal, the general of artillery, the field-watchmaster⁷, the general of cavalry, the field-quartermaster, and the muster-masters, with all the colonels (or in their absence the lieutenant-colonels); namely, first the colonel of the king's household regiment, then the colonels of the Uppland, West-Gotland, Smaland, East-Gotland, Norrland, Finland, and Carelian regiments⁸, lastly, the colonels of all the other regiments embodied, according to the dates of their service. These courts had besides their clerks and apparitors. In the superior court the "provost-general" was prosecutor; he had power to arrest and lodge in prison every man whom he held to be an offender, but not to "justify," that is to execute him, without the receipt of special orders. Whosoever resisted him, his lieutenant or sergeant, forfeited his life. In the inferior court the regimental provost was prosecutor: he had the same power in his regiment, and the battalion-provosts in their battalions, as the provost-general in the camps. Be-

sent to Poland, in the hope that reasonableness and their own peril might correct their arrogance, the vice of that nation. *Sed naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.* To this came our fine plenipotence." Gustavus Adolphus to his brother-in-law, the elector of Brandenburg, from the camp before Riga, Aug. 29, 1621. Palmsk. MSS. t. 36.

³ Compare Adlersparre, Essay on the Military Force of Sweden, in the Academic Transactions, iii. 313.

⁴ Compare George of Frundsberg, or the trade of war in Germany at the time of the Reformation, by Barthold. Hamburg, 1833.

⁵ Hallenberg, i. 525.

⁶ At first so large that each consisted of twelve battalions, together 6000 men, and consequently 500 to each battalion. Charles IX. diminished the number to 400, 300, and even 200 men.

⁷ Who appears to have answered to the major-general. In the year 1612, "John Other, a valiant and honourable soldier, is appointed serjeant-major or chief guardmaster in the fortress of Elfsborg; there to take all matters into his good keeping, especially watch and ward against the foe." Reg. In the regiments also, the major does not appear, but instead of him an upper-watchmaster. The first major-general in the Swedish army was Francis Bernard count Thurn, son of the Bohemian leader, whom, when in 1623 he entered the Swedish service, the king named to be "major of the field." Hallenberg, v. 111. Yet Thurn is also called general field-watchmaster.

⁸ This was consequently the order and number of the regiments in 1621. Their size was various. There were some of twenty-four companies, each about 150 men, and others of sixteen or eight.

fore the superior court were to be tried all treasonable and other heinous offences, with all civil causes which were brought by appeal from the lower court. In criminal cases no appeal was allowed, but the sentence was to be referred to the marshal, or to the king when he was present. In such as touched life, limb, or honour, the court was to be held within a circle of troops under the open sky, but in civil matters within a tent. The penalties are, first, corporal inflictions on head or hand, with more or less dishonour. The most shameful of all was hanging, which every tenth man by lot must undergo if a squadron of horse or regiment of foot took to flight during an engagement, before they were disabled from using their swords; the rest in such case to serve without standard, to lie out of quarters, and to clean the camp, until they "had compensated their offence by manhood." Other punishments were riding on the wooden horse, imprisonment with fetters, bread and water, the gantelope, pecuniary fines, deprivation and degradation for officers, ignominious ejection from the camp for privates. Caning was not permitted². Courtesans were not suffered in the camp¹. If any one chose to have his wife with him it was allowed. The chaplain was to perform service every Sunday, and give one sermon in the week, when there was opportunity; prayers were to be said morning and evening. All the field chaplains together formed a field consistory, over which the king's court-preacher or the general's preacher presided. These articles of war were to be read once a month before every regiment. The first time the high chancellor read them to the whole army, which, consisting of nine regiments of infantry and ten companies of cavalry, in all 20,000 men, was arrayed in full order of battle on the meadow of Aorsta.

Here the whole royal family were assembled. This had been diminished by the death, in 1618, of duke John and his consort, young in years, it is said after an unhappy union, embittered by jealousy². After the decease of this melancholic but valiant prince, East-Gothland fell in to the crown. On the meadow of Aorsta the army saw their sovereign surrounded by his wife, his mother, his mother-in-law, and his brother. The first were present to say farewell to him before his departure for the

seat of war, the last to accompany him thither. His bride he had himself selected. The same year (1618) in which Ebba Brahe was married, Gustavus Adolphus sailed privately in the beginning of August from Calmar to Germany, and returned so early as the twentieth day of the month. It is believed that during this time he visited Berlin unknown, and saw the princess Maria Eleonora³, respecting whom his agent Birkhold had already written to him two years previously. In 1619 he sent his chamberlain Gustave Horn, nephew of the general, to the elector of Brandenburg John Sigismund and his consort Anne, to announce that he intended to repair to Germany, and assure himself personally of the friendship of several German princes. Horn was to take note whether they expected the king's visit with gladness in Berlin, and declare his wish for a connexion by marriage between his king and the house of Brandenburg, in case the talk so fell out at court. The king himself appears to have been certain of his bride, for he made preparations for her reception in Stockholm, and for his own departure to convey her thither. The journey was deferred by the death of the old elector and the accession of his son George William to the government; but in April, 1620, Gustavus Adolphus sailed from Stockholm, came again privately to Berlin, and prosecuted his suit personally⁴. He also in the character of a Swedish captain visited the Palatine court, and returned home after a two months' absence. He then disclosed to the council his matrimonial project, which he had formed by advice of his mother. To conclude the matter, Axel Oxenstierna was despatched, who brought home the king's bride. The nuptials were celebrated on the 28th November, in the castle of Stockholm. Maria Eleonora was then in her twenty-first year, and was reckoned by all a perfect beauty. She fell sick with grief at the king's departure, and was brought to bed of a dead daughter the same day on which he sailed, July 24, 1621. The fleet consisted of a hundred and forty-eight ships, with ten yachts. Being dispersed by a storm, the ship on board of which were Gustavus Adolphus and Charles Philip came to Perna, whence the king and the duke travelled by land to Riga. There the scattered

letters from the young elector, and rode to Sellendorp, parting from the palsgrave. A lodging was mentioned to us with Retzlou; when we came to it, he thought us English soldiers and would not harbour us; so it went at another. At last we came to Arnheim's lodging, and there we were received." (By Arnheim the king announced his arrival to the electress, and his wish to speak with her.) "Therefore, at nine o'clock on Sunday we went to the castle, where we arrived just at the commencement of the sermon. When I came into the ante-chamber where pages and other persons sat, every one wondered who I was and what I wanted. In the mean time the sermon proceeded; the text was of the rich man; the prologue, how we in this world played a comedy, and how variously God, who ruleth all, distributeth the parts which we men shall here act in this world." (Next the king gives the divisions of the sermon.) "When the sermon was finished, those were sent out of the way who were not desired for spectators, and I was called in. My discourse to the electress; her answer. Afterwards I was brought into the chamber of the duchess of Courland, where we conversed of what had befallen on the journey. Meanwhile meal-time arrived, and I was invited to remain at the repast." Ex MS. R. Gust. Ad. Palmisk. MSS. t. 36. Printed in the Stockholm Magazine, v. iii.

² The general of artillery, count von der Decken, in his history of George, duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Hanover, 1834, says of these articles of war, ii. 113, "Compared with others of that time, they are distinguished by a spirit of humanity, which offers a great contrast to the penal code of Charles V. In the Swedish army it was forbidden to punish the private soldiers by beating; only for grave offences of insubordination they received blows with the flat of the sabre."

¹ To a regiment of German landsknechts, a troop of loose women was so unfailing an appendage, that they were placed under an officer, called the *wenches' beadle*.

² According to a note in the Nordin MSS.

³ Hallenberg, iv. 888.

⁴ "In the year 1620, his majesty, my most gracious sovereign, was in Berlin unknown, with the dowager electress of Brandenburg, and there concerted a marriage between himself and her grace the princess Maria Eleonora." Note by Axel Oxenstierna. Palmisk. MSS. t. 36. From the king's own journal we quote the following: "On Saturday we came to Berlin; the night before we lay in a village called Bliscendorf, whence my brother-in-law (the palsgrave John Casimir) went first to Potsdam; and there we received

ships collected, and on the 5th August, the high-admiral Charles Carlson Gyllenhielm ran without hindrance into the Duna stream, while the inhabitants of Riga set their suburbs on fire. Gustavus Adolphus intrenched the Swedish leaguer upon a sand-hill east of Riga, in four divisions. In the first camp the king and the duke held the command-in-chief, assisted by Philip count Mansfeld and Gustave Horn. In the second, to the right, Jacob de la Gardie commanded, who had brought reinforcements by land to the king from Finland. To the left, at the manor of Hintz, was the third camp under Herman Wrangel, who had been nominated field-marshal, which at this time meant the lieutenant of the generalissimo. The fourth camp, under the command of the Scottish colonel Seaton, lay nearer the town, by a windmill. On the other bank of the Duna, and upon the aits, Herman Fleming constructed intrenchments. The high-admiral Gyllenhielm and the vice-admiral Claes Fleming debarred with the fleet all access to the town.

After some fruitless essay of negotiation, the king, on the 13th of August, began the siege of Riga. The intrenchments on the islets of the Duna were completed under the enemy's fire, and now from all their works the Swedes cannonaded the town. It was computed that more than two thousand balls a-day were thrown, sometimes a hundred in the hour, and many among them red hot, in weight from twenty-five to sixty-four pounds. Hereby the three horn-works of the town, the Sandgate, and the ramparts, twenty feet in breadth, were so much injured, as no longer to afford the besieged effective protection. On the 29th August the king began to fill the town-ditches with faggots. The same day he wrote to his brother-in-law, the elector of Brandenburg, that the town made a gallant defence, that he was now come to the ditches, and hoped the best; this was the state of the war; the state of the commonwealth was much too tedious to describe amidst the thunder of the cannon⁵. Riga was defended by its burgesses, with but three hundred soldiers to aid. Sigismund had promised relief from Dantzic, but it failed to arrive. The Lithuanian general Radziwil had given the town assurance of help, and showed himself at this point of the siege, or in the last days of August, on the opposite bank of the Duna with the Polish cavalry, but retreated after a fruitless attempt to pass the river. Gustavus Adolphus now, on the 2nd September, summoned the town, thus left to itself, to surrender. As from the deliberations of the council with the Polish officials the return of the Swedish trumpeter was long delayed, the king regarded it for an evident proof that they were bent on the continuance of hostilities. He reopened his fire on the fortifications, and at the same time made an attempt to scale the walls, wherein the stormers either fell, or were blown into the air by the enemy's mines. During two days and nights thereafter the attack was followed up, both from the Swedish leaguer and the ships on the river. The horn-works and flanking defences of the Jacob's-

gate, the Sandgate, and the Newgate, were battered down. In the night a bridge was thrown across the now partly filled ditch, and troops passed over. But the bridge was ruined by shot, and at last burned, so that many perished. After three days the townsmen first sent back the Swedish trumpeter with a reproach, that attacks were made while the council was deliberating; the town could not break its troth sworn to the Polish king and republic, and committed the event to God. The mining was now carried on with so great ardour on both sides, that the Swedes and the defenders of the town even met and fought in the mines, while attack and sally alternated at the accessible portions of the walls. By the 11th September the Swedes had undermined in three places the fortifications, which already showed extensive breaches. The draining of the water from the ditches was begun, two bridges were thrown over them, and the king resolved upon a general assault for the next day, the detailed order of which, drawn up by his own hand, is yet extant. It was to have been undertaken in the night of the 12th, after the town had been fired upon the whole day with red-hot balls, but before it should be commenced, Riga was once more summoned to surrender. The council requested a truce for three days, in the hope that within these the promised Polish relief might arrive. The king granted only a cessation of arms to the following morning, when the council agreed to capitulate. The town was to belong to Sweden under the same conditions as formerly to Poland. The 16th September Gustavus Adolphus marched into Riga with his whole army. The mildness with which he treated the town was extolled both by friends and foes. The siege had lasted for six weeks, during which the king, who to encourage the soldiers was sometimes seen spade in hand along with his brother in the trenches, was several times in peril of life. When choosing a site for his leaguer on the sand-hill, a ball struck the very spot which he had quitted the moment before; during the siege several persons were once shot down at his side, among them one Stackelberg, with whose blood the king's clothes were sprinkled; another time a ball passed his head in his tent⁶.

After the reduction of Riga, Gustavus Adolphus marched to Courland, of whose dukes the one had sought his protection, the other remained true to the Poles. Mitau was taken, and several Livonian fortresses fell into the king's hands during the residue of the autumn. Dorpt and Kockenhusen still held out. Duke Charles Philip had ere this time fallen sick at Riga. He wrote thence on the 15th November to his sister Catharine, that his eyes had become dim by illness, but that his brother lightened the time by agreeable discourse and society⁷. The letter is otherwise full of pleasantries. His malady growing worse, Gustavus Adolphus was obliged on his return to leave him at Narva. There Charles Philip died on the 22nd January, 1622, in his twenty-first year. He was a placid, active, and brave youth, burning with the desire of distinction, and had availed himself of Axel Oxenstierna's interposition to be allowed to take part in the war. Gustavus Adolphus mourned for his

⁵ From the letter above-mentioned. The king adds, "I must deplore the misery of my house, wherein God hath chastised me, in that my spouse has brought into the world a dead-born child."

⁶ Hallenberg, iv. 946—965.

⁷ Palmsk. MSS. t. 36.

brother sorely, and has himself described his character. "He had courage and heart," says the king, "to bear what the world's deceit and unsteadiness would have laid upon him. Out of love for his fatherland, he would not remain at home in the last Polish war, to the end that he might incite by his example the young chivalry of Sweden. For thee, oh fatherland, he cherished a pure affection, and held it glorious to die for his country. O fatherland, what hast thou lost! The stock of thy kings is now again reduced to a single man, but few years since flourishing with three young and well-grown princes! No need that I should augment thy cares, by dwelling on the calamities and confusions that might arise were such mishap to be thine, again to be brought to beg for a king⁸." Charles Philip was the last son of a king of Sweden invested with a duchy. It became afterwards a maxim never to confer such a fief, and this principle Christina says was "a secret of the royal family."

Gustavus Adolphus, who, in the middle of January, 1622, had journeyed home through Finland, was again in Livonia by the beginning of June. He broke into Courland to relieve Mitau, or, as about this time it was taken by the enemy, to besiege it. Fever among the troops, by which he was himself twice attacked (though he sought to conceal this from his soldiers), obstructed his progress. At a personal interview with prince Radziwil the king again proffered peace, and ended the conversation, which was carried on in Latin, with these words: "Do your endeavour, that as we now join hands we also may become of one mind, that one day I may lead these troops you see here for your safety against the Turk⁹." He again concluded a truce for one year with Poland, provided for the defence of Riga, arranged the government of Livonia, and returned home in August. The Polish truce was prolonged from one to two, and ultimately to three years; but as Sigismund had not ratified it, was considered so unsure, that when that sovereign made a journey to Dantzic in the summer of 1623, an attack on Sweden was apprehended. For this reason Gustavus Adolphus blockaded with his fleet the port of Dantzic, and exacted from the town an assurance, that during the truce no hostilities should be directed from that station against Sweden. The year 1624 is one of the few which the king could devote to the cares of internal government; in the following year the war again broke forth.

The third campaign of Gustavus Adolphus against Poland completed the conquest of Liffland, and through the possession of Courland secured that of Riga. The first plan was, that the high admiral should try his fortune against Windau, and other places on the coast of Courland, in order thereby to perplex the Poles and Lithuanians in their designs, and at the same time divide their attention. By the closing of the two harbours of Windau and Liebau, besides, the trade of Livonia, and a portion of that of Poland and Russia might be

turned to the behoof of Riga and Sweden. The possession of the Baltic ports was, moreover, a standing aim of the policy of Gustavus, soon extending from those of Livonia to those of Courland, Prussia, and Germany.—Gustave Horn was despatched to Finland, to repair to Narva with two regiments of Finnish infantry and twelve companies of horse, to increase his force from the garriisons of Ingermanland and Estland, and then, in conjunction with Jacob de la Gardie, to fall upon the town and fortress of Dorpt in Livonia. As in this manner the enemy would be compelled to divide his strength on Courland and Dorpt, Gustavus Adolphus intended, with the foreign infantry and the Swedish and other levies of cavalry, to attack Kockenhusen and other places along the Duna, and make himself, as far as possible, master of the course of that river. The 17th June, 1625, the king sailed from Sandhæven with six regiments of foot and eight companies of horse, in a fleet of seventy-six vessels, and landed on the 2nd July at Riga. The high admiral, instead of cruising with the fleet, was appointed commander there, while the governor general, de la Gardie, was occupied with the siege of Dorpt. Military stores were sent up the Duna in barges; the king, following the stream, moved upon Kockenhusen, which was already invested by Baner, and surrendered upon the 15th July. Thereafter, on the 18th, the king having crossed the Duna, ensued the capture of Seelburg, on the side of Courland. The invasion of that territory he had reserved for himself. On his march to Mitau lay the strong towns of Birze in Lithuania, and Bauske in Courland. After the taking of Birze, which ended, on the 26th August, a siege of some days, the Poles could not without difficulty come into Livonia, while Lithuania lay open to the Swedes. Bauske was taken by storm on the 17th September; Mitau afterwards surrendered by capitulation. At the end of the month the king returned to Riga, and there equipped a flotilla of small vessels, which was to be permanently maintained for the defence of the town.—Meanwhile Dorpt had been reduced, on the 16th August, by de la Gardie and Horn. The Poles again made an overture of negotiation. Gustavus Adolphus sent the high chancellor, who attended him on this expedition, to meet the Polish commissioners, but refused any cessation of arms. Towards harvest the Poles assembled in two camps, one under Sapieha and Gosiewski, the other under Radziwil, and drew near to the Duna. The king first pitched his camp at Kockenhusen, in the design of again crossing the stream¹, afterwards at Berson, when the unhealthiness of the place, scarcity and sickness, had forced him to quit his former leaguer. "On this journey," he observes in a letter, "have I seen more woe than ever, for so long as I have followed the war; here I was obliged to throw the hungry men such crumbs as one does to the hens; so badly hath Magnus Martenson (the

⁸ Ibid. Ex MSto reg. Gust. Adolphi. Two years before his death Charles Philip had contracted a private marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of the high treasurer, Sewed Ribbing. She bore, shortly after his death, a daughter, married first to Axel Thureson Natt och Dag, afterwards to Balthasar Marshall.

⁹ Da operam, ut, sicut nunc manibus jungimur, ita et animis conjungamur, ut aliquando istum peditum et copias

meas, quas cernitis, pro vestra salute contra Turcom afferre queam.—Colloquium inter sereniss. Su. Reg. et Duem Radziwiliu mense Septembri, 1622. Palmsk. MSS. t. 36. When we see Gustavus Adolphus, after Sigismund's death, seeking the crown of Poland, these words come to mind.

¹ In a recognosence with this view, the king had a horse shot under him, by the ball of a falconet from the other bank.

commissary general) arranged matters." It was attempted to preserve the troops from sickness by the use of brandy and garlic. Against the cold they were provided with skins and double leggings (one pair of wool and one pair of cloth, which reached far above the hose), with water-tight Russian half-boots. Disease reached even the king's nearest attendants. "I am secretary and chamberlain," he writes in another letter to the chancellor, "were I calefactor I should be all the three." The chancellor was likewise in his place to give a pitying interest to the concerns of the sick, yet to look closely whether there were not "such as lied to the Lord."

The negotiations proved fruitless, and Gustavus Adolphus decided, in the midst of winter, as he himself expresses it, "to set foot to the foe," lying under Sapieha's command in Wallhof, a hamlet of Courland, before they could unite with Radziwil, who was posted further back, in the neighbourhood of Bauske. The 5th January, 1626, the king crossed the Duna with the cavalry and a thousand musketeers. During the march, in the night of the 6th to the 7th January, he came upon a body of the enemy, whom he drove back. In the morning of the 7th he attacked them, arrayed on the level before their intrenchments, after they had set fire to the village. A vehement charge of cavalry decided the victory. Between five and six hundred of the enemy remained dead on the field; a hundred and fifty privates, with several officers, were made prisoners, among them the general Gosiewski; the baggage and four pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Swedes². Radziwil, who was approaching, now hastily retreated, and Livonia was cleared of the enemy. The king before his departure issued various ordinances relating to the government of the country, its defence, and the sustenance of the army. Under the latter head may be mentioned the foundation of a so-called military colony of six hundred men in and around Dorpt. The soldiers received a piece of land, in the tillage of which the peasants were to assist them, and to be exempted instead from work for the crown. The king came to Revel to meet his wishfully-waiting spouse, and journeyed back to Sweden to follow his mother to the grave. The queen dowager had died on the 8th December, 1625. She had been an austere mother, and an arbitrarily-inclined ruler, as well in her own domain as in Charles Philip's duchy. Gustavus Adolphus paid the greatest reverence to her memory, and confirmed all her ordinances. He continued the buildings she had begun, because, as he said, she had undertaken them for her remembrance.

After the battle of Wallhof the movements of the war were brought to a close; a truce was concluded for six weeks, which after the king's departure was prolonged to the 21st May. The king ordered de la Gardie afterwards not to accede to any shorter cessation of arms, without, however, rejecting negotiation; above all he must be master of the Duna, and guard the strong places taken in Courland, "which were forebodings to Livonia;" for that portion of territory which the duke of Courland still possessed, and which was of little service for the objects of Sweden, neutrality might

be granted under certain conditions. The king himself had determined to remove the war from the Duna to the Vistula, in order to attack the Poles in a vital part and draw nearer to Germany. Herewith began that compartment of the Polish war which is also called the Prussian.

This plan was attended with political difficulties. The king needed a harbour in East Prussia, and its duke, under Polish superiority, was his own brother-in-law the elector of Brandenburg. Gustavus Adolphus did not allow himself to be deterred by this consideration. Having augmented his native and foreign troops, he set sail on the 15th June, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships, and an army of thirteen regiments of foot and nine companies of horse, anchored at Pillau on the 26th, and made himself master of the town almost without resistance; for a Prussian garrison of three hundred men, in the redoubt protecting the haven, evacuated it, when unable to prevent him from landing. Four Swedish ships of war were left before Pillau; with a squadron of six, afterwards reinforced by others, the high admiral was sent to the roads of Dantzic, to seize the customs' revenues at that place also. Gustavus Adolphus himself turned his arms against the garrisons absolutely Polish, and sailed from Pillau to Braunsberg, where he debarked his army half a mile from the town. Beneath the enemy's fire the Swedes marched under the town walls, burst in the gates, and drove out the Polish garrison, which in its flight set fire to the suburbs. Braunsberg surrendered to the king on the 30th of June, Frauenburg on the 1st July, the strong place of Elbing on the 6th, the well-fortified Marienburg on the 8th, with several smaller towns beside. After the taking of Dirschau on the 12th, the king threw a bridge there over the Vistula, and extended his conquests on the west from Mewe to Stargard, Putzick, and Zarnowitz on the Pomeranian frontier. With reason does his palace chaplain remark of this expedition, that the king took towns "with like celerity as if he had ridden through the country³." The inhabitants were in great part evangelically minded, and the religious oppression which they had experienced at the hands of Sigismund, made them well inclined to Gustavus Adolphus. The estates of the Jesuits, the clergy, the Polish nobility, and all who were devoted to the Polish crown, were declared to be forfeited. Only those who voluntarily placed themselves in submission to Sweden were exempted from plundering. Every morning three hundred foot soldiers under a colonel, and one hundred and fifty horse under a captain, issued from the camp, with orders to collect booty in common, and bring it into the camp, where it was distributed by the major-general and the provost-marshal. First, the wants of the king's kitchen were supplied, then the generals, afterward the officers, and lastly the rest of the troops. Every man who upon such a foray or otherwise extorted plunder irregularly was hanged; the same punishment overtook those who plundered in a village where the quarters were, or safeguard was given; nor was any one allowed upon pain of death to

his hope that this defeat would deter the foe from renewing his incursions across the Duna. Reg. for 1626.

³ John Botvidson, Funeral Sermon upon Gustavus Adolphus.

² According to the king's own letter to de la Gardie, dated Wallhof, Jan. 8 (the day after the battle). He expresses

take quarters for himself, before the quarter-master had assigned his abode⁴. Königsberg was granted neutrality⁵; Dantzic, on the other hand, refused to accept it, and declared open hostility with Sweden. Meanwhile the king fortified his leaguer in Dirschau. His army had been weakened by furnishing so many garrisons. It was reinforced at the end of August by the chancellor, who brought new troops from Finland; on the other hand, the division under Thurn, expected from Livonia, was delayed, to the king's dissatisfaction. At length its arrival made him strong enough to march against Sigismund, who had assembled his army at Graudeutz, and laid siege to Mewe, "at which pillory," says Gustavus Adolphus, "he stood fourteen days without effecting any thing," until he was forced to retreat. Axel Oxenstierna was appointed "the king's legate over the army in Prussia, and governor-general of the towns and country then possessed by Sweden." In the end of October, (1626,) Gustavus Adolphus embarked at Pillau, which he had fortified, and by the 5th November was in Stockholm. The 8th December, at eight in the evening, his daughter Christina was born to him⁶. "I was then with the king alone in his chamber," says the younger count Peter Brahe in his journal, "and he had then a sharp tertian ague, which he had gotten in Prussia during the autumn. The king fenced with me some days in the dining-room, and thrust so, that the fever left him."

In Livonia the summer and autumn had been spent in negotiations, either with Polaud or with Lithuania singly, interrupted by military movements, which produced but slight impression. The king disliked de la Gardie's inactivity, especially

as tidings had arrived that the Poles had again entered Livonia. Jacob de la Gardie was not less known for his heroism than for his easiness, and not adapted to distinguish himself in a subordinate post. A long time passed away without his writing a letter⁷. The general's proposal to obtain a prolongation of the truce by the cession of some fortresses in Courland, did not please the king. "It surpriseth us," he wrote to de la Gardie on the 11th January, 1627, "that we have heard nothing from you since the 16th October. If ye would wish to escape our displeasure, ye must keep Birzen and Bautske to our hand, which places are of greater importance than ye perhaps may think⁸." De la Gardie answered these reproaches by his victory over the Poles at Wenden⁹.

Internal arrangements and preparations for the second Prussian campaign occupied the king throughout the winter months. The government during his impending absence he committed as usual to those of the councillors who remained at home. They were to assemble in the council-chamber twice in the week, on Monday and Thursday, from eight to eleven in the forenoon, and in the interval as often as should be needful, and to keep correct protocols and registers of the resolutions¹. The command of the forces on home stations he entrusted to his brother-in-law, the Palsgrave John Casimir. With the new taxes, and especially the mill-toll, he ordered them to proceed warily, that no tumult or sedition might ensue in the absence of his majesty, and where aught such was discovered, rather to yield somewhat until a more convenient time. The malversations practised by some of the officers giving

⁴ This ordinance was issued by the king, June 30, 1626. Compare the Baggage ordinance, June 23, 1627. Reg.

⁵ Upon this neutrality, the garrisoning of Pillau, and the king's conduct touching the double relation of the duchy of Prussia to Poland and Brandenburg, there are some remarkable expressions in his conversation with the Prussian deputies, shortly after his arrival. "It is known," he said, "that they are hereditary subjects of the crown of Poland, and consequently my foes." Further, he declared in the outset, that he had not come to inflict any injuries on their prince, his brother-in-law, or on the country. "In taking Pillau," he proceeds, "I acted by right of natural, civil, and every law; for the king of Poland, my enemy, might have come with his fleet to me in Sweden; and the port of Dantzic is not so harmful to me, since it is but ten to eleven feet deep, and no war fleet, consequently, can enter or leave it; while I hold Pillau, with its depth of twenty-eight feet, to be commodious for war ships. Therefore was it needful for the security of my states to take and fortify it. True, it is but a gap through which I must move onward; wherefore it will be hard for you in regard to that haven, to defend yourselves from the crown of Poland, whence ye have only hostilities to expect. It were better not to mix up your prince, my brother-in-law, in this matter. Ye must in this case depend upon yourselves, for ye have yourselves knit these alliances with the king and crown of Poland, and therein entangled the father of the prince my brother-in-law. These leagues must in time of necessity make your heads to stoop; therefore it were but reasonable that ye embraced my party, seeing we are of one religion and related. I protest to God that I mean honestly and well by you; for if I meant ill, then would I not have left the town of Königsberg in my rear." Of his soldiers the king said: "Those I now have with me are, indeed, but poor Swedish peasant lads, of indifferent aspect and ill clad; but they fight bravely, and I hope shortly to clothe them better. Every man of them is forward, and they may well be pitted

against red-coats and cossacks. I should have gone right on to Königsberg, but I have spared my brother-in-law and his country. I note well that ye would keep the middle way; but that will be a break-neck road for you. I say to you, *vinco aut vincor, vos maculabimini*. Ye must hold with me or with the crown of Poland. I am your brother in religion; I have a princess of Prussia to wife; I will fight for you and fortify the town; I have good engineers with me, and understand myself somewhat of it, and syne I will defend myself against the crown of Poland and the devil himself." The conversation is recorded in the papers left by Hallenberg, and appears to have been taken from Hoppe's Manuscript, Decennale Borussiae Fatum, which I have not seen.

⁶ Besides her first still-born child, in 1621, the queen was, on the 16th October, 1623, delivered of a daughter named in baptism Christina, who died on the 21st September following.

⁷ This however with official persons of those days was not infrequent. Jan. 4, 1627, the king writes to Nicholas Bielké, governor-general of Finland, and the same day to the lieutenants at Wiborg, Reval, and Narva, that he had heard nothing from them for the whole summer and a long time after, which he knew not whether it proceeded from want of ink and paper, or from inconsiderate levity and culpable negligence; since it was otherwise well known to them that governors had to render an account of the condition of their fiefs at least once a month. Reg.

⁸ Reg. for 1627.

⁹ "The king expects that the general has rid Livonia of the enemy after the victory at Wenden, will repair in summer to Courland or Lithuania, or stay in Livonia at Keggum, where he may command the Duna." To the general, Feb. 11, 1627. Reg.

¹ Instruction for the Council during the absence of his Majesty; Stockholm, June 15, 1626. Reg. One of similar purport for 1625 is in Hallenberg.

"unreasonable furloughs to the soldiery," were to be punished, and the offenders in this kind to be arraigned by the fiscal before the palace court². In Germany and Scotland levies were set on foot. Gustave Horn was despatched to strengthen the defence of Livonia with the Finnish troops. Among these are even specified "bowmen"³, so that in the Swedish army the bow was not yet entirely laid aside, although it was already remarked in the Danish war, that the Swedish soldiers were almost universally armed with the musket, even the cavalry having adopted it and laid aside the lance.

Of his passage to Prussia in 1627, the king writes to his brother-in-law the palsgrave⁴: "We set sail the 4th May with a fair wind, and arrived happily on the 8th with the whole fleet at Pillau. We have found affairs in this country in a towardly state, are now landing the people, and purpose marching straight against the enemy, who are in all 9000 men strong, and keep mostly to their wonted places in Pomerania; though they have pushed forwards to the isle of Dantzic. Hasten the transport of cavalry and recruits from Sweden. The elector hath caused troops to be brought within a mile or two of Pillau, and hath demanded it back from us, which we have refused, and will see what he intendeth." To the council the king shortly after writes⁵: "The elector's request to have back Pillau is set aside by negotiation; he will do no more against us than he is compelled to for appearance's sake, that Poland may not deprive him of his fief." And in a subsequent letter: "We have entered into a treaty with our brother-in-law the elector, and at last gotten so far that a truce until Michaelmas is concluded between him and us in the duchy. Thereafter we caused the sconce at Pillau to be strengthened, and have placed in it three regiments. With the others we betook us to Hœfft⁶, where the enemy had camped right opposite on the isle of Dantzic, to bar our access with his artillery. There we resolved the 25th May to attack him, he being now very strong. The disposition was that we should make the first onfall with count Thurn and the lord John Baner, seconding them after with the pikemen. The men were distributed in boats, and all would have gone well if every one had done his duty and our orders been followed. But only one boat, under Axel Duvall, got to the other bank; the rest remained lodged in the sand. Part of them rowed to a point whither they had not been ordered, so that all was disturbed. Then we put ourselves into a little boat to redress matters. And because on such occasions it goeth somewhat hotly, we were wounded by a shot in the groin. Yet have we to thank God that it harmed us not in life or health, but we hope after few days to be able again to direct the work according to our wont. Now must we cause the people to be

drawn off, who had suffered no particular loss. Count Thurn was wounded and captain Axel Duvall taken. Because we doubt not that this affair shall be spread abroad and exaggerated, therefore we have thought good to give you to understand the course of the whole matter, that ye may not yourselves be perplexed, and if aught should be spread about touching our own person, ye may know how all fell out." The letter is written on the same day⁷; and contains likewise a notice of the arrival of a Dutch envoy at Elbing, "doubtless anent peace between us and Poland,— writes the king,—free trade with Dantzic, and the opening of the Vistula." After the king's wound was healed, he assembled his troops at Dirschau, with intent to attack Koniecpolski, who had his camp half a mile from the place; but tidings arrived that general Potocki was besieging Braunsberg, which by a secret understanding with the townsmen would have fallen into his hands, had not the king come speedily to its relief. He pursued the enemy five miles to Wormditt. Meanwhile Mewe surrendered to Koniecpolski; but this loss the king compensated by a more successful attack on the enemy's redoubts over-against Hœfft, which were taken on the 4th July. "We have advised you, writes the king to the council, of the victory through which the sconces erected by the Dantzickers were captured without much bloodshed. After learning the defection of the elector, and that he would furnish a considerable reinforcement to the enemy, we left the chancellor at Hœfft and entered the principality on the 12th July, to intercept this succour. We fell in with it at Morungen, 1800 foot, and four companies of horse, with five guns. They were surrounded by count Thurn and us, surrendered by accord, and readily took service with us. For the elector's sake we have sent home a part. We have hitherto with great difficulty, adds the king, supported the people on what we could raise here in the country. It surpriseth us much that we have received from Sweden no more than some thousand dollars, which availed little or nothing⁸." The king's own letters supply a continuous account of the military occurrences and his own new personal risk. "With the enemy," he writes to his brother-in-law, the palsgrave, "we have as yet played the master; first in a little skirmish on the last day of July, between Dirschau and the hostile leaguer, where we beat two companies of hussars⁹ and four of cossacks, with a small body of our cavalry; then on the 7th August, where, when we had brought all our cavalry out of the camp and the enemy his against us, the half of ours (for the remaining nineteen companies did not come into action) put the foe to flight, so that he was forced to run headforemost into his own camp, where the general himself (Koniecpolski) without hat and on foot took refuge.

² July 9, 1627, the king writes to Nicholas Stiernsköld, then commandant in Pillau, "And ye shall give heed, that no part of those who are said to die off shall be put by the officers into ships and sent to Sweden, and afterwards placed on the rolls as dead and buried."

³ To Nicholas Bielké, upon the troops in Finland; April 26, 1627. Reg.

⁴ Pillau, May 10, 1627. Reg.

⁵ May 15, 1627. Ibid.

⁶ Haupt or Hœft was a sconce at Dantzic taken by the Swedes in the course of the past year. Shortly after the

king's arrival at Pillau the Poles had attempted to retake it, supported by the town of Dantzic with 1400 foot and two companies of horse. Field-marshal Herman Wrangel repulsed the assault, taking three pieces of cannon.

⁷ Berwalde, May 25, 1627. Reg. "No one in the boat was wounded except the king, but nine shots passed through it between the king and me." Count Peter Brahe's Minute-book. The king himself steered.

⁸ To the council, July 27, 1627. Reg.

⁹ Or lancers (sperryttare), as the hussars are usually called in the phrase of this time.

Many of his chief officers were wounded or slain, three standards taken, and had it not been evening, we would have driven the enemy out of his camp. The day after we presented ourselves with horse and foot before the enemy's camp, and caused our guns to play upon it, so that he seemed to be making all ready for flight; but so it pleased not God, since in the very outset, at a pass whither we wished to drive the enemy's musketeers, we were stricken by a musket shot in the right shoulder at the neck, whereby our design was broken off and the victory prevented. Yet we thank God who hath so disposed this hurt, that we hope soon again to be set to rights. It seemeth as if the emperor's victories in Germany inspirit our foes but too much¹. The latter remark is confirmed by Axel Oxenstierna. "The enemy," he writes to the council, "hath already received a reinforcement from the emperor, who hath sent the duke of Holstein with his regiment to aid the king of Poland. Consequently scarce any thing has been done in the treaty, although the Dutch commissioners busy themselves in it. With the elector of Brandenburg matters are ripening², yet I hope for the best. The king is now so far recovered that he can sit on horseback. The Polish commissaries will make no other proposals than that the kingdom of Sweden should be restored to their king and his posterity, Livonia and Prussia given back, and all the charges of the war be defrayed. Of these we will not hear. King Sigismund and prince Uladislav are now come to the Polish camp³." During the king's stay at Dirschau, where he remained until the 26th September, an English ambassador delivered to him the order of the garter. On the 10th October, he took Wormdit, after a short investment⁴. Guttstadt also fell into the hands of the Swedes. After this, the king departed for Sweden, leaving the command in Prussia to the chancellor, who was thus obliged to resume an office still more onerous in a financial than a military respect⁵. Stiernsköld, who had been appointed

after the high-admiral Gyllenhielm to the command of the fleet, and was charged to conduct it home, was hotly attacked on the 18th November, by ten ships, Dantzickers and Poles. One of his captains, to avoid a surrender, blew up his vessel; Stiernsköld intended to do the same, when he was struck by a shot. His ship and body fell into the enemy's hands. On the side of Livonia there had been mostly cessation of arms, with or without a formal convention. A truce was also made during the winter in Prussia.

The interval was marked as usual by no less uninteresting activity than the campaign. In Gustavus Adolphus this feature is at all times and in all directions alike wonderful⁶, and would be still more conspicuous in him personally, had we not treated the internal government separately for method's sake. We add here but one remark, which a perusal of the records of this time impresses. The king is the centre and vital force of the government to such a degree, that comparative inactivity ensues when he is not himself present, especially when he cannot leave it to his indefatigable chancellor to fill his place. We should not be apt to imagine that during a time of exertions so great, the business of the administration at home was so small that, as the protocols show, the council was often occupied with nothing else than the reading of the Dutch Gazettes⁷. If this went too far, a letter from the king sounding the alarm in the ears of the slumberers aroused them from their repose.

In the negotiations with Poland, still continued, the elector of Brandenburg had offered his mediation. "This we cannot well suffer," the king declares to the chancellor, "although willing he may have the honour in ceremonials. He proposes that he should get all Prussia from Poland, refunding us the expenses of the war with the town of Dantzic; whereto the high-flying Poles will hardly consent⁸." These relations became

water-course or ravine ran under the Polish camp, so that no one could go out or in without filing through the pass."

⁴ On this occasion the first trial was made of the leather cannon, which Wurmbbrandt, a German free-baron in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, is said to have invented. They consisted of a thin copper barrel, strongly bound with rope and covered with leather, could be carried conveniently between two horsemen, and could be fired several times before they required cleansing.

⁵ In the following spring the king wrote to the chancellor, "We have made (and send you herewith) a calculation of the sum which we can furnish to you mouthly at highest, and you must as far as possible regulate your outlay accordingly. Where it will not suffice, we must pay in one place, and contract debts in the other." March 31, 1628. Reg. By a letter of July 10, 1628, the king summons Louis de Geer to Prussia, to assist him in his financial management.

⁶ It extended even to the religious affairs of his Russian subjects. By a letter to the lieutenant of Kexholm, Henry Magnuson, in February, 1627, the king orders that the inhabitants should choose among themselves two men, whom he would send to Constantinople, that the one might be consecrated bishop by the patriarch, in order to be able afterwards to ordain priests. April 7, 1628, a Russian deacon is pardoned on condition of publishing a printed Russian Catechism.

⁷ Such, namely, as existed in that day, consisting partly of manuscript relations, partly of loose printed leaves which now and then appeared. Hallenberg, v. 365.

⁸ To the chancellor, Feb. 6, 1628. Reg.

¹ To the palsgrave, Dirschau, Aug. 14, 1627. Reg. Adler Salvius writes two days afterwards to the council, "The bullet wherewith his majesty, God mend it, was wounded, entered just above the breast-bone, two inches from the throat towards the right shoulder, and lodgeth now in the back about the spine, just at the upper corner of the right shoulder-blade. For there appears a little tumour, as if the quarter of a bullet were lying under the skin. So because it presseth there upon the nerve, by which the animal power giveth the right arm all its motion and sense, therefore the two smallest fingers of his majesty's right hand are somewhat numbened. His majesty can write a fine style; but as the name Gustavus Adolphus must be written with a bend of the whole arm, he cannot do this, by reason of the bullet, without great pain. Else is his majesty, thanks be to God, hale and sound. We hope that the ball may be extracted, through putrefaction or otherwise. Thanks be to the Lord God, who hath not allowed his majesty to take harm of his life. God send his majesty resolution to keep far from such small occasions, since this happened when his majesty was sitting on horseback, and recognoscing one of the enemy's passes with a perspective glass."

² Lit. "It stands aboil." T.

³ The high chancellor to Gabriel Oxenstierna and the council; Dirschau, Aug. 15 and 28, 1627. Reg. In the former letter he thus describes the position: "Between the two leaguers was about half a mile of plain ground, without wood or ditches, though somewhat sloping, on the one side high knolls, on the other the Dantzic level, and a

continually more complicated. Sigismund would not make peace except with the establishment of his rights to the throne of Sweden; for a prolongation of the truce his negotiators demanded the cession of all the Swedish conquests. "For Prussia and Livonia the Poles might renounce their pretended claims for awhile, to resume them afterwards," says the king. "For what concerns the title, the king of Poland may call himself as he will, only not king of Sweden. If there were any mode by which neither of us might be named, it were best." Gustavus Adolphus forbids the conclusion of a truce, except on condition that during its term the conquests should be retained, especially the Prussian harbours; "because the Papists already have so many ports on the Baltic, that it would not be advisable to give them more. Keep the negotiations open until we see how affairs will turn with the Imperialists. Give out that ye have yet received no discretion from us. We must now turn towards Riga, where the condition of affairs is somewhat strange; but we expect to take off our army from Livonia by Whit-Sunday, in order afterwards to come in force to Prussia, or proceed home for the defence of our own borders⁹." The rumour of a Spanish fleet arriving in the Baltic was renewed. "We can expect nothing else," he writes somewhat later to the council, "than that it should be destined for the Sound; we command that all the ships of the realm be kept at all hands in good readiness¹." The motive of the royal resolve to proceed to Livonia in person was again displeasure with Jacob de la Gardie. "You yourself know," he declares to the chancellor, "that count Jacob is somewhat slow in his counsels and transactions, as well as slack in his commands, and has executed most things by Gustave Horn. We have therefore committed the military concerns to this latter, and ordered count Jacob to reside in Riga as governor of the town and territory²." Horn having subsequently beaten the Poles, who under Gósciewski had crossed the Duna, and advanced into Livonia, the king altered his resolve, set out for Prussia, and came, May 15, 1628, to Pillau. The capture of Neuenburg (which however was again lost) and Strassburg were the most important occurrences of this campaign, which was more tedious than any of the foregoing, because the enemy could not be induced to hazard an action. His main body was assembled at Graudentz, upon an island in the river Ossa, and surrounded by marshes, whence the king was obliged to abandon the notion of an investment. "The enemy," he writes to the chancellor³, "wars after a new fashion, drives off cattle and men, but avoids fighting like fire." The accounts of the retreat give a mournful picture. "Officers, who have served thirty years," says Adler Salvius⁴, "never knew our army in such a condition. The decrement is already more than 5000 men, since we marched from Ossa, and our Swedes are still deserting every day. The foreigners are so refractory that we have only mutiny to expect, and we have no means of making them willing. The king has been able to undertake nothing in Prussia, out of appre-

hensions from the side of Germany. In the land all is misery. No good quarters; four houses to one regiment; the roads so bad that we cannot make half a mile in a day with the guns. The enemy presses after and cuts off all supplies."

At length the army was disposed in winter quarters, and the king set out in the end of October to Sweden, after he had again committed the highest authority in Prussia to Axel Oxenstierna, who, with the assistance of field-marshal Herman Wrangel, kept the enemy at bay during the winter.

The great German war began now to attract within its own sphere every lesser conflagration. This is the feature which distinguishes the two last Prussian campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus. During the one just described he had undertaken the defence of Stralsund; in that which was now impending he was encountered by an imperial army in Prussia. Immediately after his arrival in the end of May, 1629, he writes to the council from Elbing⁵: "Here we find Arnheim before us with an imperial army of 8000 foot and 2000 horse, or twenty-six companies; doubtless with great designs, when they shall have made a junction with the Polish army. For this reason we cannot so soon get away, and induced by the change of circumstances have caused a new proposition to the estates to be drawn up, which we transmit. Keep them still together for some weeks. The enemy appears to entertain a design on Königsberg. We know not how far our brother-in-law has yielded thereto⁶. We have written for more men from home for the defence of Königsberg. Three of the newly-levised Scottish regiments may remain some time in Sweden, to inure themselves to our discipline. The high-admiral (Gyllenhielm) and vice-admiral (Clas Fleming) shall lie in Dalehaven, with nine of our greatest ships and the sixteen promised by the towns, until further orders; John Baner, with six vessels of war, shall keep open the navigation to Stralsund, and Eric Rynning with three smaller shall protect Calmar." "The Imperialists," he says in a subsequent letter to the chancellor⁷, "are not yet provided with money, and belike will receive none until the king come. If we could strike a vital blow before, perchance a great portion would come over to us."—Koniecpolski had drawn together his power at Graudentz, and the junction between him and Arnheim took place on the 15th July, without Gustavus Adolphus being able to hinder it. The king had pushed forwards to Marienwerder, but now retired to the strong fortifications of Marienburg, in order there to wait for reinforcements from Sweden. He caused the baggage to be taken the shortest way, by Stum, but marched himself to cover it on the right hand along the stream of Liebke to the hamlet of Honigsfeldt. There the enemy showed themselves, having broken up with their combined force to intercept his progress. A skirmish began with the rear-guard, during which the king caused the remainder of the troops to continue their march. "Then it came to pass," he says, "that while we were supporting one of our patrols which had been sent out to Riesen-

⁹ To the same, Nov. 18, 1627, and March 31, 1628. Reg.

¹ June 10, 1628. Id.

² Instruction for Gustave Horn in Lifland, April 20. Letter to Axel Oxenstierna, April 21, 1628. Id.

³ October 13, 1628. Reg.

⁴ Sept. 10, 1628. Id.

⁵ May 26, 1629. Id.

⁶ The elector afterwards renewed his neutrality.

⁷ Liessow, June 2.

borg, and the enemy were attempting to cut off, those of our side, especially the Rhinegrave⁸, though we often warned him therefrom, engaged against our will so closely with the enemy, that they obtained time to come up in full force, and so fell on with all their power. And albeit our own men plucked up courage to oppose him somewhat, as indeed they fought not badly, they were yet so hard pressed, that they dispersed and took to flight, leaving to the enemy ten leather guns, which we had ordered to be posted with our rear-guard before-mentioned. And although we sent messages very often to our other troops, yet could they not arrive so speedily, as well because they had been too far removed, through the unseasonable skirmish of the Rhinegrave, as also because we ourselves were busied at the rear-guard in getting together the scattered troops. Nevertheless, after John Wrangel, with his own and Ekholtz's squadron, and Baudissin's regiment, came to our succour, we not only, under God, saved our other troops, but even drove back the enemy to Honigsfeldt. When now we had gained time to set our cavalry in order, for we had already sent on the foot to Marienburg, and the enemy saw that we were not only equal but superior to him in cavalry, he applied all his efforts to bring up his infantry, and assail us with his whole force, but we marched off in good order. And twice when he attempted something against us, first at a village, and then at a little pass, he was constantly repulsed with gallantry and to his no small loss, until at last he was quitted; but we retired the men hither to Marienburg in good order. Touching the loss, on our side about two hundred men perished; but of the enemy, as was manifest, no less; so that if the leather guns and five cornets had not been lost to us in the first action, it were doubtful who had suffered more loss in these skirmishes." Thus runs the king's own account of that which the Poles call the victory of Stum. On the danger in which he himself was placed he is silent; but Axel Oxenstierna supplies an account of it.—"In 1629, on the 17th of June⁹, at the battle of Stum, where was sharp work, one of the enemy caught king Gustavus Adolphus by the pendant, but the king slipped it over his head and left his hat along with it. Therefore another caught him on the arm, and was going to drag off the king with himself; but Eric Soop came up and shot the Pole off his horse, and rescued the king¹."—Gustavus Adolphus in-

trenched his leaguer under the walls of Marienburg. His people suffered from a pestilential field-sickness. The enemy followed, but could effect nothing,—for Jacob de la Gardie, who had been recalled from Livonia and ordered to Prussia, brought the king reinforcements from Sweden²,—although frequent skirmishes occurred betwixt the two fortified camps, and king Sigismund himself was present in his with his two eldest princes. "But he hath brought with him no money," says Gustavus Adolphus, "but only the promise of three months' pay in August; the same for the Imperialists alone making more than three tons of gold, which appears hard to raise. The Imperialists have done nothing yet; and as they are brought in by the king and his party against the will and without the knowledge of the principal estates, they become ever the more detested. Arnheim still lies with three regiments before Montau (a scone on the Vistula garrisoned by the Swedes).—Just as we thought of preparing to depart for Sweden came the envoy of the king of France, Baron de Charnacé, to us in the camp, to offer his mediation for a treaty with the enemy. We have consented to a negotiation for a truce, on the conditions proposed by the chancellor last winter, and have on our side commissioned thereto the chancellor, the field-marshal, and the lord John Baner, who assembled the 30th July with the Polish plenipotentiaries, when it was settled that the title of king of Sweden should be given to us by both the king and the republic of Poland³."—The negotiations were continued through the whole of August under the mediation of France, and from the beginning of September also under that of England. There was not seldom danger of their being broken off, as well from the conflicting pretensions of the Swedes and Poles as those of the mediators⁴, and this actually once happened. Gustavus Adolphus did not wait for their termination, but repaired to Sweden. On the 16th September, 1629, the six years' truce with Poland was concluded at Altmärk by Stum, under the open sky. Strassburg, Dirschau, Wormditt, Mehlsack, and Frauenburg were restored to Poland; Mittau to the duke of Courland; Marienburg, Stum, and Dantzic Head were to be held and garrisoned during the truce by the elector of Brandenburg. Gustavus Adolphus preserved Elbing, Braunsberg, Pillau, and Memel. Freedom of religion was secured to both Protestants and Catholics, and free trade between the subjects of both kingdoms.

⁸ Otto Lodovic, one of the king's colonels.

⁹ Old style, as always in the records which we follow. The account above-mentioned is contained in a letter of the king to the council, and another to the palgrave John Casimir, Marienburg, June 22, of which the latter is printed in Adlersparre's *Historiska Samlingar*, iii. 165. The king says that he relates the course of the action "to stop the mouths of those who might babble of force."

¹ *Palmisk. MSS.* t. 37.

² July 11. He had native and foreign troops with him, among whom were a thousand English or Scots levied by Spense.

³ To the council, upon the incidents in the camp at Marienburg, July 22, written by the secretary Grubbé. Also letter by Gustavus Adolphus himself to the palgrave John Casimir, Aug. 1. *Reg.*

⁴ "How the dispute upon precedency between the English and French ambassadors may be adjusted, we perceive not, inasmuch as neither will yield. Therefore discuss ye realities without mention of either, and let each of them treat for himself." Gustavus Adolphus to Axel Oxenstierna, Fiskhausen, Sept. 8. Yet the king appears inclined to give France preference, which was observed.

CHAPTER XVII.

GUSTAVUS II. ADOLPHUS. THE GERMAN WAR.

OVERTURES OF THE PROTESTANTS OF GERMANY TO GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. STATE OF THAT COUNTRY DURING THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR. POWER AND DESIGNS OF WALLENSTEIN. VIEWS OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AS TO THE INTEREST OF SWEDEN AND THE PROTESTANT CAUSE. HIS SUCCOUR OF STRALSUND AGAINST THE IMPERIALISTS. RELATIONS WITH DENMARK AND FRANCE. PREPARATIONS IN SWEDEN. INVASION OF POMERANIA, AND CAMPAIGN OF 1630-1631. OPERATIONS AGAINST BRANDENBURG. STORMING OF FRANKFORT-ON-THE-ODER BY THE SWEDISH ARMY. MAGDEBURG TAKEN BY THE IMPERIALISTS. BATTLE OF LEIPSIK. PLANS FOR THE FUTURE PROSECUTION OF THE WAR. OPERATIONS ON THE RHINE AND MAINE. THE SWEDES IN MENTZ. COVENANT BETWEEN GUSTAVUS AND THE PROTESTANT STATES OF THE EMPIRE. CAMPAIGN OF 1632. PASSAGE OF THE LECH. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AND WALLENSTEIN AT NUREMBERG. BATTLE OF LUTZEN. VICTORY OF THE SWEDES AND DEATH OF THE KING.

A. D. 1623—1632.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS was thirty-four years old, consequently in the bloom of all youthful energies. Already no greater or fairer name was to be found in Europe. "This king of Sweden," says Richelieu⁵, "was a new rising sun, young, but of great renown. The injured or dispossessed princes of Germany raised their eyes to him in their distress, as the seaman to the north star." From the year 1614 negotiations may be traced between the German Protestants and Gustavus Adolphus. He then received in Narva an envoy from the landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Cassel, who exhorted him to bring the Russian war to a conclusion, and in expectation of coming events, not to quit his own country; a union was formed by several electors and estates of Germany against the Catholics, for the defence of religious freedom; England, the Netherlands, and Switzerland had taken a part in it; and it was intended publicly to call upon the king of Sweden to become a member of the league. To this invitation succeeded immediately after a special legate from Heilbrunn, where the evangelical party had recently held a congress. The letter announcing it, dated February 25, 1614, was subscribed by Frederic V., elector palatine, by John II., palgrave of Bipont, John Frederic duke of Wurtemberg, George Frederic Margrave of Baden, Christian prince of Anhalt, and Joachim Ernest, elector of Brandenburg. The answer of Gustavus Adolphus expressed his good will, detailing at the same time the obstacles which still opposed his wishes, so long as the Russian and Polish wars lasted. In a rescript of May 6, 1615,

appointing a day of prayer, he called upon his subjects to offer up their petitions for their brethren in faith⁶.

It was unity most of all that was wanting to these. The elector of Saxony had begun by preferring to seek admission into the Catholic league⁷, rather than acknowledge the Calvinistic palatinate as the head of the Evangelic Union; and when the unfortunate Frederic V. lost as quickly as he had won the crown tendered to him by the insurgent Bohemians, men saw John George of Saxony, after he had set his theologians to prove that the Lutherans were more nearly allied to the Catholics than to the Calvinists, lend the emperor, for the pawn of Lusatia, assistance for the suppression of religious freedom in Bohemia⁸. The thirty years' war was begun.

In that commenced subjugation of Germany by the united arms of the emperor, Spain, and the league, which followed the disasters of the Palatine house and the dissolution of the Evangelic Union, the monarchs of the Scandinavian North soon remained the only surviving hope of their oppressed brethren in the faith; the rather that of the two most powerful Protestant princes of Germany, Saxony was inclined to the imperial side, and Brandenburg, led by counsellors Papistically disposed (as was made matter of public reproach in Sweden), showed little earnestness in the common cause⁹. England, Holland, and France sought to incite Denmark and Sweden to war against the house of Austria and the Catholic league. Gus-

contemporary accounts. Gustavus Adolphus supported the elector palatine with military stores. Instruction for Martin Paulson to take eight cannon and four thousand balls to Bohemia, Aug. 26, 1620. Reg.

⁹ When the court of Brandenburg in its correspondence with Sweden began to set the elector's title before the king's, giving Gustavus Adolphus the style of "royal dignity," instead of majesty, the lords of the Swedish council wrote to that of Brandenburg: "We're declining reputation to be repaired with words and great names, then would the king's majesty make little difficulty, and be willing to fill whole sheets with the same.—Our meaning verily is good, and directed to the maintenance of friendship, good correspondence, and increment of the universal evangelic commonwealth; but because we mark that your court is in great part swayed by Papistical counsellors, we may easily surmise what fruit our well-meaning will bear." Notes in the name of the Counsellors of State to the Privy Counsellors of Brandenburg. Gripsholm, Aug. 8, and Dec. 10, 1628. Hallenberg, v. 101.

⁵ Mémoires de Richelieu, v. 119. 123. Paris, 1823.

⁶ Hallenberg, i. 246, seq.

⁷ Raumer, History of Europe from the Fifteenth Century, lii. 354.

⁸ When John Ernest, duke of Saxe Weimar, wished to assist the elector palatine, the theologians of Wittemberg dissuaded him on this ground among others, that the duke was bound to aid the emperor Ferdinand, because the Son of God was born into the world under the Roman emperor. Hallenberg, iv. 801, after Londorp. The feeble Frederic V. led by his puritanically-minded English wife, and his violent court-preacher Scultetus, showed himself on his side highly intolerant, not only towards the Catholics, but even the Hussites and Lutherans. During his short tenure of power in Bohemia he caused the images and pictures in the churches of Prague to be destroyed, forbade the bells to be rung, exchanged the altars for tables, and silver and golden chalices for wooden cups in the dispensation of the Supper, &c. Westenrieder, History of the Thirty Years' War, i. 117, from

tavus Adolphus communicated to Christian IV. himself the conditions which he had proposed when solicited to accept the conduct of the war on the Protestant side, conditions, without the fulfilment of which he could not become a partaker in the enterprise. They were, a fast alliance between all the powers interested; the command-in-chief of the forces for himself; an army of thirty-six regiments of foot and eight thousand horse furnished conjointly (one-third by each) by himself, by England, and by the confederated estates of Germany; assurance of monthly pay for the troops, and the concession of two good harbours, one on the Baltic, and one on the North Sea. This proposal he had made before he knew that any other was thought of for the supreme generalship. Now, he proceeds, the case was altered, since the king of Denmark had assumed these functions; but since it was thought that the war could be more securely undertaken with two armies than with one¹, he would not shrink from taking the command of the one, stipulating that the subsidies should be equally distributed. He himself would be content at first with ten regiments of foot and five thousand cavalry, and would furnish artillery and munitions at his own cost, reserving only free right of recruitment in the territories of the confederate powers, and that no peace should be made with the emperor and the league without his consent, although he would not demand that his associates should engage in his private war with the Poles. "The Catholics of Germany," he adds, "we must attack in their own nests, to which four ways lead; the first up the Weser through Westphalia to Hesse, the second up the Elbe through Saxony to Bohemia, the third by the Oder through Schwerin and the Mark of Brandenburg, the fourth through Cassauben and Poland to Silesia." The first Gustavus Adolphus regarded as available, more especially for the king of Denmark, like as the second, if the consent of Saxony could be obtained; the third he disapproved, because this would carry the war into the territories of his brother-in-law, the elector of Brandenburg, and attract the Poles thither; the fourth he held to be the most convenient for himself, because it led into the enemy's country, and Brandenburg with Pomerania would thereby be secured against Poland, which would be occupied with her own defence². His conditions were found, as is said, to be somewhat hard³; but they accelerated the decision of Christian IV.⁴

Politically considered, the outbreak of the great

struggle in which the north was now to be involved, shows us the disruption of that internal system of states in Germany, whereof religion was partly the cause, partly the pretext. After the thirty years' war it was restored, as well as circumstances permitted, in its outer aspect, as a portion of the European system of the balance of power. The interval is marked by the manifold plans which every political convulsion generates; the more adventurous and bold, the less advance it made to calmness. How low must the imperial power and constitution have sunk, ere the weak Frederic V. could venture to grasp at the Bohemian crown! On the Catholic side this aggression was the signal for an outburst of deep exasperation, long restrained for want of a leader, but destined to find one in Ferdinand II. The Palatine house lost all. Its electoral dignity was confiscated to the behoof of the Catholic league, and transferred to Bavaria, whereat the pope invites the emperor "to behold the gates of heaven's kingdom opened, and the army of angels fighting for him in the German leaguers⁵." A general persecution overtook the Protestants in Bohemia, Austria, and the Palatinate. Many thousands wandered about destitute of house or home. Such unfortunates flocked to the standards of those warlike adventurers, who, after Ernest of Mansfeld and the young Christian of Brunswick (the most ferocious leader of his day, and yet a Protestant bishop), in ever increasing numbers distinguish this war, and amid the changes of misery produced that soldiery, lost to feelings of religion and country, which must be treated with in peace as a separate power. This feature was exemplified on a great scale in the case of Albert of Waldstein, commonly called Wallenstein, a Bohemian nobleman, who, when the emperor, to be independent of the league, wished for an army of his own, for which means were wanting, measured Germany with a glance, and declared that he could not raise a small army, but easily fifty thousand men, who would maintain themselves.

In this chief Christian IV., already routed at Lutter (August 27, 1626,) by the leaguists under Tilly, encountered a new foe⁶, who drove him not only out of Germany, but out of Holstein and Jutland, and compelled him to the peace of Lubeck, on the 6th June, 1629, whereby the king recovered his territories and sacrificed his allies. Mecklenburg, whose dukes he dispossessed, Wallenstein took for himself, and received it from the emperor as a heritable fief. He besieged Stralsund, and obtained

offer king Gustavus the direction of that war, proposing to grant to his majesty Wismar and Bremen, where he could land with his army. "When after that they conveyed secretly and dexterously to the king of Denmark the acceptance of the proposal, he said, 'the devil forbid him that,' and so broke away." Palmss. MSS.

⁵ Brief of Dec. 22, 1622.

⁶ Wallenstein's first appearance in Lower Germany is characteristic. "The approach of Wallenstein's army was made known in a singular way. Bands of gipsies, from ten to fifteen men, every one provided with two long muskets, bringing women on horseback with them, and having a pair of pistols at their saddle, were seen in many districts as the forward. These parties marched by unfrequented roads, lay in ambush in the thickets and woods, spied out every thing, robbed and plundered where they found no resistance, and boasted of being in Wallenstein's pay." Compare Von der Decken, duke George of Brunswick and Luncburg, i. 155.

¹ This proposition came, according to the king's own declaration (Hallenberg, v. 338), from prince Maurice of Orange. Each of the two armies was to consist of 25,000 men; with one the king of Sweden was to fall on the hereditary dominions of the emperor, with the other the king of Denmark was to drive out the army of the league and restore the palatinate.

² Resolution of Gustavus Adolphus, given to the ambassador of his majesty of Denmark. Stockholm, May 10, 1625. Ibid. 330.

³ "So England had expressed herself," Gustavus Adolphus observes in a letter to Christian. Ibid. 331.

⁴ Salvius, whom the king employed in his negotiations, wrote in 1646 to A. Lillichœk, that after the Hollanders, France and Holland (England?) had laboured for seven years to induce the king of Denmark to make war on the emperor, no argument proved so powerful as when they fell upon sending Bellin, the envoy of Brandenburg, to Sweden, to

in addition to his other titles that of "general of the ocean and Baltic seas?" With what a network of great plans, keeping a constant watchfulness for his own advantage, he loved to surround himself, the letter of Gustavus Adolphus to the king of Denmark betimes shows us. "We have sufficiently discerned," he says, "that the designs of the papal league have been turned towards the Baltic, attempting such now directly, now indirectly, by the subjugation of the united Netherlands or our kingdom of Sweden, and lastly also through Denmark. For this end not only force but plots and intrigues have been employed. Thus we have heard, that the new admiralty of the Roman empire has been proffered to your lovingness, with a proposal to cede the Sound for restitution of the expenses of the war: as to us also in these days underhand proposals have been made, to conjoin ourselves with the emperor against your lovingness; for which they would not only procure us perpetual peace with the king of Poland and the crown of Poland, and the permanent possession of Livonia and Prussia, but would transfer to us the Danish throne as an imperial fief,—and more of the like sort, with intent to hinder our mutual conjunction by such illusions. For the issue we have had alarms beforehand, well knowing the might, the unity, the industry, and constancy of the adverse party; on the other side, the remissness, unthankfulness, and unsteadiness of those who are interested in our cause, whence their power, which well united might have been superior to the enemy, is become so feeble that none was able to defend himself, but every one injured the other, to the detriment and ruin of all. We have according to our ability suggested to our friends that, disregarding all private interests, they must embrace such counsels as might save the commonwealth. But our good meaning has been ill interpreted, so that we, setting aside all, must look only to carry out our war with Poland, and thereby to divert the Polish power, that it may not be conjoined with the other leaguists. The extremity of your lovingness pains our heart, but we could have wished that the intention of your majesty to unite with us for the defence of the Baltic had been earlier known to us. Nevertheless we have wished to write forthwith after our return home, in order that the matter, for the defeuce of the Baltic and the security of both kingdoms, might be settled during the winter." This letter the king wrote in Calmar Sound, October 21, 1627, immediately after his return from the second Prussian campaign⁷.

On the German seaports, especially Stralsund, his attention was above all set. For no price would he allow the emperor to gain firm footing on the

Baltic. He abandoned this purpose only for a moment, but immediately embraced it again with renewed ardour. In the summer of 1627 he had sent Peter Baner to North Germany with instructions, which in respect to intimate knowledge of the personal character of the princes and their political relations, are master-pieces⁸. His main object was, that Wismar and Rostock should receive garrisons neither of imperial nor Danish troops, but rather of Swedish, as the dukes of Mecklenburg had requested in their need; although these princes, the king says, were "in heart like the duke of Holstein and the archbishop of Bremen, wholly and solely imperialist," and jealous besides of one another, for which reason Baner was to use great circumspection in his intercourse with them. The regiment which under the command of colonel Duwall was to occupy Wismar was already selected, when Wallenstein's conquest of Mecklenburg frustrated this plan; and this was the point at which Gustavus Adolphus for a moment abandoned all participation in the affairs of Germany. Baner was recalled, since "the Catholics now appear to have gotten the upper hand!" Duwall was sent home with his regiment, "since affairs in Germany," writes the king, "have much altered, and we are not now minded to engage in this German business⁹." He soon changed this disposition, and already in the beginning of November in the same year he thus expresses himself to the chancellor touching the losses of the Danes; "True it is, the enemy hath not only taken from them Holstein and Jutland, but they are also themselves fallen into desperation and dissensions. We can hardly escape being entangled in this war, as the danger daily draws nearer¹⁰."

The dukes of Mecklenburg, kinsmen of Gustavus Adolphus, were expelled from their possessions. They sought help in Sweden, where their sons found a refuge⁴. Gustavus Adolphus threw open his kingdom as an asylum for all his persecuted coreligionaries⁵. Duke Bogislaus XIV. of Pomerania was the last of his race. It was reported at this time that the emperor wished to make himself master of the dukedom, notwithstanding the claims of Brandenburg⁶. Wallenstein seems to have been inclined to add this conquest to Mecklenburg on his own account⁷. He occupied Pomerania and Rugen, and gave orders for the equipment of a fleet. "There are said to be eight-and-twenty ports in Pomerania," he writes to his lieutenant Arnheim; "they must all be garrisoned and fortified. Look that we are strong at sea by the spring; for what remains to be done must be done at sea.

in our land, the young dukes, their sons." Gustavus Adolphus to the Council of State, Dirschau, July 1, 1628. Id.

⁵ See his warrant thereupon, Nov. 11, 1627.

⁶ Chemnitz, on the Swedish War, i. 7, says, "That dangerous discourses were current on all hands of a pretension which the duke of Bavaria was said to have to Pomerania; whence it had been conjectured, that in case of the death of the last prince, the succession of the elector of Brandenburg might be contested, and the oppressions of free quartering might be regarded as a future Sequestration of Juliers."

⁷ Of the duke of Pomerania Wallenstein writes, "He will not, with God's favour, commence a war with us. I would that he had a liking that way, for Pomerania would fit mighty smooth to Mecklenburg." Förster, Wallenstein, Potsdam, 1834, p. 128.

⁷ Already at the diet of Spires, in 1567, the emperor Maximilian II. had proposed to form the circles of Burgundy, Westphalia, and Saxony into an imperial admiralty, and nominate an admiral. Neubur, *Siege of Stralsund*, i. 36.

⁸ Reg. for 1627.

⁹ To P. Baner, Elbing, July 6, 1627. Reg.

¹⁰ To the same, Dirschau, Aug. 15, 1627. Id.

¹¹ To the palgrave John Casimir, in Sweden, Dirschau, Sept. 17, 1627. Id.

¹² To the chancellor, upon the affairs of Denmark, Stockholm, Nov. 6, 1627. Id.

¹³ "We are moved, in consideration of the afflicted condition of the Mecklenburg princes, to provide for and support

The king of Spain now remits 200,000 crowns for the maintenance of twenty-five ships of war. The emperor requests it most pressing. I hope yet to seek them in their islands, for as to the Swede, I fear him not a jot⁸." Simulated contempt and real dread of Gustavus Adolphus alternate in these letters of Wallenstein. In the end the latter feeling attains the ascendancy, and expresses itself in the most violent projects. While he continues the negotiations opened with Gustavus Adolphus, he gives incessant commands to Arnheim to have the Swedish fleet burned. It is uncertain whether the great reward of 35,000 dollars, which he secretly promises as the price of an obscure but dangerous scheme in Sweden, had reference to the fleet or to the king's person. In Gustavus Adolphus he foresees his most formidable foe, and takes counsel of the stars respecting that monarch's fortunes⁹.

Stralsund was the key of the Baltic; and it is said that Wallenstein had sworn to make himself master of this fortress even if it were bound with chains to heaven. Stralsund, in the emperor's hand, was the turning-point of the career of Gustavus Adolphus; for Stralsund he cast himself into the German war. Already in 1625 he assured the town that if it should be reduced to any straits he would be well inclined to its relief¹. In the now threatening prospect of danger he repeats the same assurance², but at first hesitates respecting the manner of its execution. "We have sent the count of Solms to Denmark," he writes to the chancellor, March 29, 1628, "to represent to the king, how highly it interests Denmark as well as Sweden that Stralsund fall not into the emperor's hands. Alone we cannot undertake this matter, how gladly soever we would. But the means of the king of Denmark are small, and the business weighty. We have maturely considered it. We could thereby divert Wallenstein's army from the Prussian frontiers. We would thus come likewise so close to the Imperialists, that our own state and the borders of our land might be wholly freed from German military. From Stralsund we could support Denmark, and there keep our fleet together, in case any danger should appear likely from the North Sea, where, as we hear, the enemy makes great preparations, and has seized above thirty merchant vessels to be converted into war ships, and might be expected easily against harvest. We might also use the time, while the towns are hesitating, ere desperation throws them into the hands of the emperor. On the other hand, it strikes us on the face, that for this work a considerable army is required, which, since on the spot there are no means, must be supported by help of ready money, a thing impossible for us. Herein to rely upon the other towns is not advisable, for they oppose the emperor precisely because they will disburse no money. It is likewise uncertain whether the towns would consent that a foreign prince should come to

their relief, especially as no man requests this from us. Therefore we have resolved to allow this matter to rest for some time."

Howbeit, the king lost not sight of it for a moment; and when Stralsund besieged solicited powder from Dantzic, which, in consequence of a Polish prohibition, was refused, he availed himself of the occasion to send to the town a freight of powder³, with a friendly letter to the burgomasters and council. His envoy, George Borchardt, who had a secret commission to proffer the assistance of Sweden⁴, was accompanied back by the deputies of Stralsund, who were presented to the king May 30, 1628, in the camp on the Vistula. He writes on this subject to the council of state: "The deputies of Stralsund have stated to us how pitifully they were this winter treated by the Imperialists, who had sought by wiles and menaces to become masters of the town and haven, in order afterward to disquiet the whole Baltic with a fleet constructed there, to reduce under Popish thralldom the neighbouring dominions and towns, and here to break through old alliances by false practices. Herein they went so far, that colonel Arnheim (who is said to have been made field-marshal), without any inquiry, had beleaguered the town on all sides; and although the duke of Pomerania, with the towns of Hamburg and Lubeck, interposed, tendered such conditions as were more grievous than death. In this great danger Stralsund hath repaired to us, who were in doubt what to resolve, foreseeing danger on one side if the leaguists were to occupy such a port on the Baltic, and the certain war which impends over Sweden after the fall of Stralsund; but considering on the other the Polish war and the difficulties which here are urgent. At last we have of two evils chosen the lesser. We will not allow Stralsund to lapse to the emperor if we can prevent it. Therewith were Denmark and the Sound lost, and then would come Sweden's turn, although the danger might for some time be averted. How might then our fleet suffice to keep free the coasts of Sweden, Finland, and Livonia? Besides the emperor hath already a year ago reinforced the king of Poland against us⁵, obstructed peace and truce, and seeks now all means to avert the war from himself and to keep it here in action. We have therefore sent to the relief of Stralsund 600 foot and a quantity of ammunition, under colonel Fritz Rosladin, as we hear that they are in want of able men and captains, as also the vice-admiral, Claes Fleming, to make accord with the council and burgesses of Stralsund⁶." There an alliance was concluded, June 25, 1628, between Stralsund and Sweden, remarkable for the expressions in the third article, "the town of Stralsund shall belong henceforward for ever to the king and crown of Sweden." These words, certainly not employed on the Swedish side without design, were declared by

the king, consisting of one hundred tons of powder, six cannon, one hundred oxen. Neubur, l. c. 13.

⁴ In his instructions (Register, May 8, 1628), it is remarked that Borchardt was only to have them to read, but should not take them with him in writing. If he were taken by the Imperialists, he was to protest that the king did not know himself to be in any open hostility to the emperor.

⁵ Namely, with an auxiliary corps of four thousand men, which was then sent to support Sigismund, under the command of the duke of Holstein.

⁶ Marienburg, June 12, 1628. Reg.

⁸ Wallenstein's Letters, by Förster. Berlin, 1828, i. 155. 168, 267.

⁹ Förster's Wallenstein, 106, 107.

¹ Hallenberg, v. 339.

² A letter from a burgher of Stralsund, named Joachim Rhodes, to Aké Axelson (Natt och Dag), was the first induction to this. The king commissions this person, by letter dated Ulfsesund, Feb. 8, 1628, to attest his readiness to come to the aid of the town. Reg.

³ It arrived May 17, as did on the 31st a new present from

the town only to refer to her fidelity as an ally⁷. The burghers of Stralsund sent their wives and children to Sweden⁸, and defended themselves with heroism. The town was a member of the Hanseatic league, whose once great, but now slackened power, was for the last time invoked in the affairs of Stralsund. Gustavus Adolphus, whose penetrating glance nothing escaped, sought in vain to recall the league to new life, in order himself to appear in Germany as the protector of the Hanse Towns⁹. He had already resolved, if need were, to come himself from Prussia to the aid of Stralsund¹; and when Denmark's participation in the defence of the town obviated this necessity², he sent the chancellor to confirm the newly made compact, and another Swedish auxiliary force under colonels Leslie and Nicholas Brahe. This also remained there after the raising of the siege, and Gustavus Adolphus had already firm footing in Germany.

By the year 1628, then, we may regard the king's participation in the German war as fixed. Already in December, 1627, when the councillors of state were assembled in Stockholm, he requested that they would name a commission from all the four estates to discuss with him some secret affairs. This commission, on the 12th January, 1628, declares: "Inasmuch as his majesty hath signified to us into what a dangerous condition our brethren in religion have fallen in Germany, and how the emperor and the Popish league have oppressed and subdued one prince and one town after the other; how they have unjustly occupied all the principalities bordering on the Baltic, and, finally, not spared Denmark, our nearest neighbour; so that if God avert not such danger we have nought else to expect for this realm than the uttermost ruin, or a tedious and burdensome war;—therefore we promise, on our own side and that of our colleagues, that we will act and deal towards your majesty and our country as befits upright men, and for this just cause will spare neither life nor property." What a distant prospect this struggle opened no one perceived better than the king. "It has gone so far," he writes to Axel Oxenstierna, April 1, 1628, "that all wars which are waged in Europe are intermingled and become one³." He knew his vocation to engage in this great strife, but was not yet agreed with himself as to the manner. Two things were to be considered; the war with Poland, and his relations with Denmark.

Ere Stralsund's danger called him to aid, he pur-

posed from Poland to fall upon the League and the emperor in flank. "Poland is convenient thereto," he says in the letter to Oxenstierna above quoted; "it is a wide, fertile, and open country, feeble and powerless to hinder us; inimical, although it offers treaty; papistical and driven by the Pope; remote, so that the Imperialists would find it not easy to disperse an army, which might be formed there with time and good counsel." As to the means to be used he was in no perplexity. "It is a land filled with towns and villages, which are wholly open," he says; "I think, consequently, that an army could be collected there in the fashion of Wallenstein, which might be opposed to his; a method of which, in any case, we must think in the long run." Words which like a ray of light seem projected into the future, remarkable for this time and for this war! Stralsund's danger attracted his keen vision to a nearer point; and from this hour the only question between the king and Oxenstierna was, whether the war should be carried on defensively in Germany and offensively in Prussia, or conversely. The chancellor was of the former opinion, the king of the latter; and his reasons are again highly worthy of note. "I apprehend your view," he writes on March 5th, 1629, "that we should continue an offensive war in Prussia, and defend ourselves against Wallenstein solely by the garrison and fleet of Stralsund, as also destroy with the fleet Wallenstein's ships in the havens. To this your opinion I cannot assent. For as I discern from all your letters, Prussia is now so exhausted, that if any army should be assembled there, it would need no other enemy than hunger. Moreover, an offensive war in Prussia cannot easily be carried on without my presence, and this season will not apparently permit me to remove far from the Baltic and the fleet. Wherefore I determine, that in the coming year we must wage a defensive war in Prussia, for which I hope that means will be found, if the collectors of customs in Pillau do their duty⁴. Further, with regard to the opinion in your letter, that we can wage a defensive war better in Germany, and as our forefathers broke the Russian domination in Livonia by the town of Revel, we also might do the same against the emperor by means of Stralsund, this is indeed a clear example; but the circumstances are entirely different. For the Russian had not one boat with which he might have injured us at sea, and not one man

greater armament shall be prepared, or after provision made for the defence of the town and haven, we shall go with the rest of the troops to Sweden or Prussia for the winter. Here we find it good to be so strong that we may divide our army, and go to work with one portion defensively, with the other offensively." The king to the Council of State, Dirschau, June 30, 1628. Reg.

² "Had it been necessary, we purposed coming to help Stralsund with a royal succour; but as it hath appeared to your lovingness that no further succour is needful, we have bent our attention on the Polacks." Gustavus Adolphus to the king of Denmark, Aug. 19, 1628. Compare the Instructions for Oxenstierna's Embassy.

³ Scand. Memoirs, i. 151.

⁴ In a previous letter to the chancellor, Dec. 26, 1628, the king intimates that necessity does not allow of his sparing that part of Prussia belonging to Brandenburg. "We have used the principality already for the sustenance of our cavalry, and hold it to be indifferent if we should use it further." Reg. Of the customs of Pregel the king says in 1629, that they had yielded 500,000 rix-dollars.

⁷ "Stralsund," writes Salvius to the chancellor from the camp at Ossa, Sept. 1, 1628, "has finally requested only patronage and nominal clientship. I have, under his majesty's pleasure, obliquely proposed real subjection; but as both one and the other appear suspicious to them, it is held best to leave the matter in suspense until the spring. Hereupon the whole business turns, that his majesty should with a royal army come and occupy Rugen; then would the town do real homage to the king." Reg.

⁸ Three hundred of these were drowned on their return. Neubur, l. c. i. 125.

⁹ "It seems to us that they (the Stralsunders) in this convention at Lubeck will employ every effort to persuade the other Hanse towns to enter into a league with his majesty, and request his majesty to be the head and patron of the society." Letter of Salvius above quoted.

¹ "We have again weighed the business of Stralsund, and resolved, if the town require our relief, to repair thither with nine regiments of Swedish troops, where after the raising of the siege we may determine at convenience whether any

who was skilled in seamanship. On the other hand, this antagonist hath innumerable ways and means to set on foot a naval armament, and hath already begun to equip himself for the sea. And he that hath the sovereignty of the world wants not for men who have naval skill and knowledge, so that it is undeniable, if we leave him time, he will be superior to us. What would it help us then if we held Stralsund, while the enemy was lord of the sea? It is also not possible to destroy his ships in the havens by means of ours; for where he hath his ships lying, according to what I hear from the king of Denmark, he hath so fortified himself that we cannot come to harm him. Wherefore if we do not seek by land to wrest the ports from the enemy, I see no means whereby we may defend the kingdom in the long run. For these reasons we must remove the seat of the war to some other quarter than Sweden, for we are no where weaker than in Sweden. You know well what a wide extent of coast and how many harbours we have to guard. What you remark, that no means were to be hoped for in Germany, I cannot altogether deny; but if we there gained the upper hand, I cannot believe it would be so bare but that some resources might be found. In any case, Spence gives me hope that something might be expected from England. Camerarius advises us, that the States-general press for the renewal of our alliance. The Hanse Towns are undecided. If any good fortune showed itself on our side, help were not to be despaired of. This hath moved me with all earnestness to urge that the army described in the roll⁵ may be gotten on foot; and although you set forth its weakness, and the two strong armies of the enemy, you must consider that the hostile armies are encumbered with wide districts, and many garrisons which must all be supplied with troops. Besides, the enemy's affairs depend much on his fame; and if he should lose the mastery of the soil they would go but badly. For the rest, Tilly's army is far distant, so that the

business will have been mostly over in Pomerania ere he can be persuaded to come to the aid of Wallenstein. What else may be accomplished or not, God alone knoweth, to whom we look graciously to grant will to begin, force to execute, and good luck to end all, if it may tend to the honour of His holy name, and to our salvation. And you, by disputation, will more easily evince the difficulty than I the possibility; wherefore what I think to perform I will rather show in fact than on paper⁶.

We may observe that the presentment of victory is the real connecting link of the king's conclusions⁷. And thus Axel Oxenstierna, who never altered his sentiments respecting this war, calls the resolution to engage in it "a destiny,—a divine mission,—an inspiration of genius, but which hindered the king from acquiring supreme power in the north⁸." How widely foreign Gustavus Adolphus conceived such an object to be to the career he was now to tread, the sequel may show.

The truce with Poland freed him from an enemy on this side, but Denmark's peace with the emperor at the same time made the condition of affairs ambiguous on another. In the April of 1628 an alliance was concluded between Sweden and Denmark, whereby Gustavus Adolphus bound himself to reinforce the Danish fleet during the war with the emperor. The Swedish ships destined for this purpose were employed in the defence of Stralsund, an object common to both powers, but of which the care was eventually left to Sweden alone⁹. The peace made by Denmark separately at Lubeck in the following year interrupted the good understanding, although an appearance of amity was preserved. At the time, and long afterwards, the Swedes laid it to the charge of Denmark that the Swedish plenipotentiaries were not received at the deliberative congress, although this refusal proceeded from the imperialists, and seems to have been neither unexpected nor unwelcome to Gustavus Adolphus¹. On the other

⁵ "We cannot take the field with a strong army, for we must keep much infantry in Sweden on account of the Danes, so that we must employ foreigners mostly. We have on the roll 15,000 men and 9000 horses." Gustavus Adolphus in the Council, Oct. 27, 1629. Palmsk. MSS.

⁶ To the chancellor, Jenköping, March 5, 1629. Ex manuscripto regis Gust. Ad. in the Palmsk. MSS. t. 37, p. 1925. We have, as usual, only extracted the chief portions. The correspondence on the same subject between the king and the chancellor was continued. Sept. 20, 1629, the king writes to Oxenstierna, "Because we are not yet fully resolved whether we will take the German expedition on ourselves, or in another manner form a treaty with the emperor, we request your counsel thereupon at the soonest." Reg.

⁷ The same confidence is expressed in the letter to the chancellor of Dec. 26, 1628: "We have here annexed a plan, by which you may perceive the practicability of the whole work. And although the means appear not to be reckoned upon longer than for four months, yet if we obtain any firm footing for the war, God and time will show how we may strengthen ourselves further."

⁸ "I advised his majesty, of happy memory, that he should not take his army on German ground; had his majesty followed my counsel, he would have become arbiter of the whole north." Axel Oxenstierna in the council, 1636. To the king's resolution he applies the terms *fatum, dispositio divina, impetus ingentii*.

⁹ May 25, 1628 (O. S.) the Danish colonel Holk succoured Stralsund with three companies of Scots, and one of Germans,

in all six hundred men. June 20, eight Swedish ships arrived, bringing munitions of war and the first Swedish auxiliary troops under colonel Rosladin. July 9, the vanguard of the Danish fleet reached Stralsund with one thousand men, fresh troops; but when the Scottish colonel Leslie brought (17th and 18th July) a new band of Swedish auxiliaries, Christian IV. caused the Danish garrison in Stralsund to be taken on board the fleet, and himself attempted a landing in Pomerania, but being routed at Wolgast by Wallenstein, was compelled to re-embark with loss. In the instructions for Alexander Leslie, as commandant of Strasburg, it is ordered that the officers of the German troops in Stralsund shall take the oath of fidelity to the king of Sweden, and not more than three hundred men of the Danes shall be allowed to remain in the town under any pretext. September 17, a convention on this matter was made between the Swedish chancellor and the king of Denmark. Count Nicholas Brahe was appointed assistant to Leslie. In reference to the latter, who afterwards rose to be a Swedish field-marshal, we find it provided that, "because he cannot read, count Brahe shall rehearse the king's orders to him." Memorial and letter to Leslie and count Nicholas, Dec. 1, 1628. Reg.

¹ Salvius, who was secretary to the legation sent, was instructed for three contingencies:—1. If the imperialists should protract matters, or refer them to the emperor. 2. If they presently refused the whole commission uncourteously and contumaciously. 3. If they should allow the Swedes to treat as mediators, or for their own interests and those of Stralsund and Mecklenburg. If they declined the legation,

side, Christian IV. could not conceal his feelings, when he saw Gustavus Adolphus appearing as the leader of a cause which he himself was obliged to abandon. At an interview between the two sovereigns², which occurred while the negotiations for peace at Lubeck were proceeding, when Gustavus Adolphus solicited his advice how the German war might best be carried on, he replied by the question, "What he (Gustavus Adolphus) had to do with the emperor? Why he would mix himself up in the German affair?" Shortly before Gustavus Adolphus crossed to Germany, he apprehended a rupture with Denmark. It escaped not a glance like his, that he here left a danger behind him. "We are in doubt," he writes to the chancellor, "what we should first or last turn to, since the king of Denmark is secretly holding levies, fortifying Rugen, (on this little island at Peenemünde he took toll,) and treating with the states of Pomerania for its purchase³." Orders were therefore sent to the Swedish commandant in Stralsund,

he was to remonstrate, that his majesty did not come as an enemy, but as a friend of the emperor and the king of Denmark, to obtain fair conditions (amounting to no less than the restoration of Denmark, Holstein, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and all the circles of Lower and Upper Saxony to their former state); which conditions Salvius was to take every opportunity privily to disseminate among the princes and towns, and thereby show the fair intentions of his majesty. It is characteristically said:—"If they reply slightly, he shall enter into disputation with them the more, that he may expiscate such a resolution as will certainly inform his majesty whether they would be friends or foes." Instructions for the envoys to Denmark and Germany, January 26, 1629. Reg.

² Feb. 20, 1629. Hereupon Gustavus Adolphus writes to the chancellor:—"The course of the matter was this, that for more than two winters in succession it was signified to me, how much good might be wrought if I were to meet the king of Denmark. But partly the past year left me not time, and partly I conjectured that it would go as it hath; therefore I made as if I marked it not. Now I feared to give offence if I were too constant in refusal, and declared myself content to meet him the 20th of last month. We met in the manse of Ulfsbäck. I was host, and the king guest; little was eaten, but much bad wine drunk, which peradventure had been frozen. On the king's side no other proposition was made than for two or three ships, not that they were necessary, but *ad augendam famam*. I proposed four points:—1. That we should agree in one and the same opinion touching the peace of Lubeck. 2. To be accordant upon the means of peace generally. 3. Alliance between the two realms upon the conditions which should be approved by both sides. 4. I remarked that he excused himself for want of money, and thinking that I could find a good way, I requested his opinion how the German war might best be carried on." Thereupon followed the answer given in the text. Gustavus Adolphus adds:—"Tn the first two points he replied, that he had sent his terms to the emperor, from which he could not depart; the alliance must be made by consent of the estates, which required time. When I saw this, I thanked God that I could be silent, and so let it pass." Palmsk. MSS. t. 37. p. 2023. (Copy from the original by the king, but with an incorrect date.)

³ Stockholm, March 17, 1630. Reg. "It is known to all the world, that the king of Denmark will give a sum of money for Rugen." Salvius to the Swedish resident Fægus, April 8, 1630. Id.

⁴ He writes to the chancellor, June 2, 1630, that the king of Denmark and Hamburg were in open rupture at Glückstadt, and that the towns supposed this was with the emperor's connivance. The opportunity must be used, in spite of the offence which Denmark might take, to induce the

immediately to occupy Rugen, and expel the Imperialists from it, which was effected. In the disputes between Hamburg and Denmark, the king offered the town his assistance⁴. After his arrival in Germany, he was informed that the Danish fleet was preparing to cruise in the Baltic. The comprehensive orders which the king issued against such a contingency, sufficiently show the intentness with which he watched his neighbours⁵. In his proposition to the commission of estates, which met in 1631, he also represents the probability of a war with Denmark; and it is plain, from his orders in the autumn of the same year, that he looked upon the struggle to be at hand⁶.

At a general diet the estates declared their assent to the opinion which their commission had already given upon the German war. They wished that the king "might carry the war as far as possible from the borders of Sweden, and lay its burden on the enemy's country." By this statute, passed in the king's absence, on the 29th June,

towns to an alliance with Sweden, and to push them underground to request it. Reg.

⁵ "Fægus advises us respecting the naval preparations of Denmark. I have therefore written to the council to take notice whether the Danish fleet comes out into the Baltic." In such case the king commanded that the Swedish fleet should be assembled at Stockholm, with three regiments, and Skeppsholm (an island off the town) be retrenched with cannon, so that the fleet might be able to defend itself there, since no battle was to be hazarded. Matthias Soop was to defend Calmar with two regiments, Oeland was to be occupied with troops, and the garrisons of Elfsborg, Wiborg, and Åbo to be strengthened. With the remainder of the Swedish foot and horse, and the retainers of the nobility, Jacob de la Gardie was to overrun Scania, and secure the Sound, "until we can come to his relief," says the king. An attack on Oesel was at the same time to be made from Livonia, in order to take this island from Denmark, and upon Norway by the peasants of Dalecarlia and Norrland. On these arrangements the king writes (Stettin, August 2, 1630) on the same day to the Palsgrave John Casimir, the council of state, Oxenstierna, who held the government in Prussia, and John Skytte, now appointed governor of Livonia. Reg. To show how this was connected with his first plan for the German war, we quote the following from his letter to Oxenstierna, Stettin, March 1, 1631:—"We ourselves can render no greater service to our country than by clearing the sea-side, gaining Rostock, Wismar, and Mecklenburg, and becoming masters of the Elbe." Reg. To this also point the king's expressions in the council, on the deliberations respecting the German war, Oct. 27, 1629:—"It must be carried on *in, per, prope*, the land and rivers of the king of Denmark." Palmsk. MSS.

⁶ "We perceive by your letters, that the king of Denmark practises to make his son commander of the war in the circle of Lower Saxony. To this ye may protest, that if he interfere with our absolute directory of this war, we will unite with the enemy. If he continue his levies, ye must remonstrate that such would appear suspicious to us. If he desist not from them, Tott must take a position in Holstein." Gustavus Adolphus to Salvius, Höchst, Nov. 26, 1631. Reg. Oxenstierna, in his letter to the king, dated Elbing, Jan. 8, 1631, gives a detailed opinion on the case of a rupture with Denmark, which he considers probable:—"I can judge no otherwise than that, if your majesty continue the German war, we, beyond all doubt, must fight Denmark sooner or later." "There I am of opinion that your majesty should take order for the war in Germany as well as may be, but turn all your force by land and water against Denmark—crossing to the Danish islands, and so striking at the head, which is the Sound and Copenhagen, and at the same time attacking Scania."

1629, we may regard the participation of Sweden in the German war as decided. Meanwhile Gustavus Adolphus had it at heart personally to convince his council, and the short written notes of his consultations with the senate at Upsala, October 27th and November 3rd, 1629, "in how far the war should be carried on offensively or defensively," are among the most remarkable records of its history. Axel Oxenstierna was absent in Prussia; his opinions upon its policy we already know. These however did not now want an advocate. John Skytté, at other times Oxenstierna's political opponent, defended them in the council. In the notes referred to we find reasons stated for and against the war, almost in a syllogistic form, and oftener in Latin than Swedish, ascribed to the king. These afford in a few words many rays of light on the interests of Sweden, Germany, Europe, and Christendom, which attest the genius whence they proceeded, and also the hopes of the conqueror. We behold Gustavus Adolphus on the verge of a great future—the nearest clear, the more remote dark—himself attracted perhaps more by the undefined than the closest aims—with the presentiment both of victory and death—without arrogance, but so fearless, that an internal joy and confidence, which even apprehensions of the most disastrous issue cannot shake in the least, everywhere shine forth. To the reproach of Skytté, that he was staking his monarchy in the game, he answered: "All monarchies have passed from one family to another; a monarchy consists not in the persons, but in the laws⁷." He foresaw the long-soneness of the war⁸. When the council, by their vote of the 3rd November, conjointly embraced the king's view, he concluded in the following words: "I exhort you, that ye so labour in the matter, that either ye or your children may see a happy issue thereof, which may God grant! For myself, I look henceforth for no more repose save that of eternity."

His assurance of victory shows itself also in two other circumstances. Denmark, after its peace, had, together with Brandenburg, offered its mediation between the king and the emperor; Dantzic was fixed upon as the place of negotiation¹. An imperial envoy arrived, but with powers which denied Gustavus Adolphus the title of king. The Swedish plenipotentiaries temporized. Gustavus Adolphus gave in his written demands by Oxenstierna².

⁷ Palmisk. MSS. t. 37, p. 1985. seq.

⁸ Contra offensivum dom. Skyttiuss. Ratio nostra monarchia.—The emperor is strong; all, the Dane and others, lean upon him.—Esset contra Deum et conscientiam tentare subversionem monarchie. Respondet rex: omnes monarchias transivisse de una familia in aliam—non consistit in personis, sed in legibus, monarchia.—To another objection of Skytté: Si rex erit victor, non se adiungunt Germani; sin victus, se subtrahent, the reply was: Si rex victor, illi prædarentur.

¹ From on board the fleet he wrote to Oxenstierna, June 2, 1630:—"It appeareth to me that this whole war will be long drawn out, and rather be ended by the delay and weariness of it, than by impulse of force." Reg. The prediction, that it would be terminated only by the fatigue of the combatants, came true.

² "At all events we have begun to spin the web of negotiation with the Imperialists. The Imperialists will treat with us, and are already agreed upon the place, namely, Dantzic, in the beginning of May. Set down your thoughts touching the same on paper, since it seems to be in one point of great

The king's own view of the negotiation is expressed by the commission of the Swedish estates in their declaration thereupon: "Because the adversary's intent is unsafe, and the issue uncertain, we therefore hold it most advisable that his majesty should follow after straightway in arms, and pursue the treaty under helm³." That the king nevertheless laid so great stress upon this overture, seems to have been occasioned chiefly by a wish to give the greatest publicity to the conditions on which alone he declared that he could lay down his arms; and these, albeit the war had now brought the German empire to the feet of the Kaiser, comprised in the main heads nothing less than the restoration of all northern Protestant Germany to its former condition. There was thus, in truth, some ground for that exclamation of the imperial commissary, Baron Dolma: "What more could the king of Sweden request, if he stood victorious in the midst of Germany?" With such dispositions was animated that defender of Protestantism, in reference to whom the emperor is said to have contemptuously observed: "We have now got another puny, insignificant foe⁴." On the other side, however important the aid of France was for the king, he began the war without it, in order both to be free, and to show himself free, in this great enterprise. Richelieu wished for nothing more fervently than to set him at war. Charnacé came twice to Sweden for this object merely, the last time in March 1630, when he found the king at Westeras. It formed part of his instructions to induce the king to solicit the alliance of France; and to this end he spared no cajolements, convinced that whether or no these produced their effect, the difficulties of the undertaking would at all events elicit the wished-for solicitation. Gustavus Adolphus, he said, was expected in all Germany like a Messiah; its people would give their hearts to support his army; his would be the profit and honour of the war; the king of France would content himself with seeing his friend admired in the world, and assist him to the empire of the East, if he aimed thereat⁵. We see by what manner of flatteries it was thought the hero might be moved. But Gustavus Adolphus was not to be won by fair words⁶. He replied, that he had quite different accounts of the inclination of the German princes; the elector of Saxony had intimated to

consideration. We forthwith intimated the same to France, England, and the States-general, and sent the secretary, Laurence Nilson, to France." The king to the chancellor, March 17 and 25, 1630. Reg.

² Conditions of Treaty with the Imperialists, Stockholm, May 14, 1630. Id. "In the negotiation for peace with the emperor there is also doubt respecting the title, and finally we have styled him not *Cæsarea Majestas*, but *Serenitas*, since his first letter to the king's majesty was sent back for a defect in the title." The secretary Grubbe to the Council, Nov. 5, 1630.

³ Statute of the Diet of Stockholm, May 14, 1630.

⁴ Ludolph (Schaubühne, &c.), Theatre of the Seventeenth Century, b. 30, p. 565.

⁵ "If he were inclined to think of the empire of the east, which would not be difficult for him, having, with his virtue and reputation, such a friend as the king of France." (S'il vouloit penser à l'empire d'orient, ce qui ne lui serait pas difficile, ayant, avec sa vertu et sa réputation, un tel ami que le roi.) Mémoires de Richelieu.

⁶ He answered in his usual manner, very judiciously, and with the greatest discretion. Ibid.

him, that if he crossed into Germany, the electors would unite with the emperor against him; the same prince had refused to receive his letter directed to the electors⁷; he knew besides from a good hand (he added smiling), that the first who would take arms against him were Bavaria and the Catholic League, as whose protector France wished to enter into this confederacy. He presented indeed his terms, but when difficulties arose, did not wait for the answer of France, and determined, as Richelieu himself observes, on the war, "without being assured of the alliance of France⁸."

Meanwhile the king continued the preparations with his wonted activity, and even, when necessary, with rigour. The towns of the realm, which at the diet of 1629 had engaged to equip sixteen good and serviceable ships before the end of the year, had not fulfilled their promise by the specified time. Their deputies were brought before the council, where they were arraigned by the advocate-fiscal of the palace court, Anders Bergius; and "forasmuch as we were sufficiently convinced by him" (their renewed engagement of Dec. 9, 1629, declares), "that we had negligently failed of our promise and assurance given, therefore we confess that we have deserved chastisement and disgrace from his majesty, taking our refuge in prayers, and submissively entreat that his majesty will not enforce the law against us." They now promised that in May, 1630, the ships should be in the stream at Stockholm. The division of the Swedish fleet⁹ destined for the transport of the army, subsequently assembled in the harbour of Elfsnabben, in the islets of Sutherlandland. It consisted of twenty-eight vessels of war, large and small, not including several merchant-ships in which the cavalry was conveyed, with various smaller flat-bottomed boats for landing troops and river navi-

gation, every one provided with three field-pieces, and roomy enough to hold a hundred men. The strength of the army which the king transported to Germany cannot be determined with complete accuracy. In the above-mentioned negotiations with France he would never state it, probably in order to conceal its weakness; and we may regard as a measure of precaution for the same object, his order in the spring of 1630, that no man should be allowed to quit the kingdom without a pass¹. By an approximate reckoning, the ninety-two companies of foot and sixteen of horse, with which he crossed to Germany, might amount to about fifteen thousand men. The cavalry, towards three thousand men, was entirely Swedish; the infantry only in the half; the rest consisted of Germans, and one regiment of Scots. Besides the army, the king took with him a great store of munitions of all kinds, and an excellent artillery². Torstenson, now colonel of the artillery, afterwards its chief, had already made himself a name in this arm of the service. Provision of shovels, spades, pick-axes, and palisades was also made, that retrenchments for defence might be quickly constructed in case of need³.

The government at home was entrusted by the king to the council of state, but more particularly to ten of the councillors, who were to remain constantly in the capital, unless their presence was required in some of the provinces by any emergency. The council might likewise take cognizance of and settle appeal causes as the law required⁴. The activity displayed by this administration did not correspond to the king's demands. This also he had partly foreseen, and therefore committed the supervision of the war department, in Sweden more particularly, to his brother-in-law, the palgrave John Casimir⁵, a nobleman distinguished

⁷ At length, after a year, came the answer of the electors to this note, transmitted in April, 1629. The king's rejoinder was: "that he had hesitated to open the letter, as the title which he had received from God and his ancestors, which he had maintained for twenty years with such courage as became a man, and would defend to the death, was not given to him on the superscription of the letter. He had, however, opened it, under reservation that this might not be drawn to his future prejudice. Yet he must lament, that in reference to the ground of his complaints no answer was made therein." Collegio Electorali. Stockholm, April 7, 1630. Reg.

⁸ Tandis que dura ce pourparler avec Charnacé, le roi de Suède—se resolvait à la guerre sans être assuré de l'alliance du roi. Rich. The king writes to the chancellor, Stockholm, March 17, 1630:—"The cause for which we have not been able this time to agree with Charnacé at Westeras is, that we have not found it good in this condition of things to tie ourselves so closely to the nod and arbitrement of the king of France only for three tons of gold." Reg.

⁹ The whole fleet numbered in 1626—72 vessels larger or smaller, namely, 4 great ships, 8 middle-sized, 20 lesser, 8 small, 30 galleys, and 2 ketches. Hallenberg, MS.

¹ Dated April 12. Reg. for 1630.

² "The king's artillery was of larger and smaller pieces, especially an admirable sort of smaller regimental guns, with which he could shoot so quickly, that he fired eight times ere an expert musketeer could manage to fire six." Khwenhüller, Annales Ferdinandii, xi. 1290. The king's cannon were therefore discharged at a more rapid rate than the enemy's small arms.

³ The army transported to Germany is stated by Chemnitz, i. 94, as follows:—"Of horse, eight companies of Smalanders under count Peter Brahe, and eight of West-Gothlanders under Eric Soop. Of foot, the two companies of Lignosky

and Hensler, four Swedish regiments, each of eight companies, under count Nicholas Brahe, George Johnson, Laurence Kagg and Charles Hard; three Swedish squadrons, under count Joachim Brahe, Axel Lilye, and Axel Duvall. (Squadron, in the phrase of that time, means a division of troops, either of foot or horse, just as the word is used of a division of a fleet; from the sum of the foot companies we see, that here four were reckoned to one squadron of infantry.) Of Germans; the regiments of colonels Theodorick Falkenberg and Clas Theodorick, both of eight companies; two companies of the regiment of colonel Hall, twelve of major-general Kniphausen's, and eight newly levied of colonel Mitschefal's, with colonel Mackay's eight companies of Scots; together, sixteen companies of horse and ninety-two of foot. The strength of the companies was not always alike, and varied in the Swedish regiments, for example, from one hundred to two hundred men. The counts Peter, Nicholas, and Joachim Brahe were brothers. The first commanded the cavalry of Smaland, the two last the Upland and Norrland regiments of foot. Joachim Brahe died after the passage, on the 18th September, at Stettin.

⁴ Instruction for the council in the king's absence. Reg. The ten councillors of administration were—the high-steward count Magnus Brahe, the high-marshal count Jacob de la Gardie, the high-admiral and free baron Charles Carlsson Gyllenhielm, the free baron Gabriel Oxenstierna Bennetson, Clas Horn, the free baron Gabriel Oxenstierna Gustavson (brother of the chancellor), Peter Baner, John Sparre, Clas Fleming, Herman Wrangel.

⁵ Instruction for the Palgrave, how he shall manage the military business during the absence of his majesty. Stockholm, May 17, 1630. Reg. He was consequently joined in this department with the high-marshal general Jacob de la Gardie. In a separate Instruction for the latter, of

for diligence and assiduity. Next year the king gave him a like commission in reference to the public revenues.

On the 19th of May, Gustavus Adolphus summoned before him the estates of the realm then at hand in Stockholm, and presented to them his young daughter, now hardly four years old, as the heiress of his kingdom, commended her to their fidelity, clasped her in his arms, and took a moving farewell. From his speech, which left no eye tearless, we extract what follows: "Seeing that many perchance may imagine that we charge ourselves with this war without cause given, so take I God the most high to witness, in whose face I here sit, that I have undertaken it, not out of my own pleasure, nor from lust for war; but for many years have had most pressing motive thereto, mostly for that our oppressed brethren in religion may be freed from the papal yoke, which by God's grace we hope to effect. And since it usually comes to pass that the pitcher which is carried often to the well is broken at last, so will it go with me too, that I who in so many trials and dangers have shed my blood for Sweden's welfare, and yet until now escaped, through God's gracious protection, with life unharmed, must lose it one day; therefore will I before my departure at this time commend you, the collective estates of Sweden, both present and absent, to God the most high, wishing that after this wretched and burdensome life, we may by God's good pleasure meet and consort in that which is heavenly and imperishable." Thereupon he addressed some words to each particular estate, and concluded by a prayer from the ninetieth psalm of David.

On the 30th May the king embarked in the fleet, which was then lying in the harbour of Elfsnabben, and was divided into four squadrons. In the first of these the king himself commanded, and under him the general of infantry John Baner⁶, in the second the high-admiral Charles Carlson Gyllenhielm, in the third the ship-major Babbe, in the fourth admiral Eric Rynning. The fleet, in case it were dispersed by storm, was first to reassemble off the northern point of Oeland, afterwards if need were under Bornholm, but to take the direct course from Elfsnabben to the coast of Fore Pomerania, and the so-called isle of Greifswald⁷. A throng of administrative affairs of various kinds claimed his attention at the last moment, which may be adduced as proofs both of this king's activity, as also of the fact that in Sweden the least as well as the greatest matters are the sovereign's care. Instruc-

June 3, in the same year, it is stated that the Palsgrave shall have the military command more especially of the fortress of Calmar, in East-Gothland and Smaland, the general in Upland and Norrland, field-marshal Herman Wrangel in Vermeland, West-Gothland, and the fortress of Elfsborg. As de la Gardie now, so Clas Fleming, the president of the Chamber of Accounts, subsequently had the Palsgrave joined with, or set over him in his department. We find that this great confidence of the king did not make the Palsgrave equally agreeable to the council.

⁶ His patent as general-in-chief of the infantry was first made out after the landing in Germany, and is dated Stettin, July 13, 1630. Reg.

⁷ Chemnitz.

⁸ Warrant for Herman Meijer to be preceptor of Gustave Gustavsson, with four hundred rix-dollars salary. Elfsnabben, June 3, 1630. Reg.

tions to the administration and council; important communications to Axel Oxenstierna in Prussia, where the king apprehended a diversion of the imperialists, and begs him therefore not to detach too many of his troops; rescripts to the lieutenants, the bishops, and inhabitants of the provinces, in reference to the assessment of subsidies; confirmations of donations to the university of Upsala, directions for the education of his natural son⁸, writs of process, letters of freehold for the quartermen of the hundreds and their farms, grants of pension for old soldiers or their widows (an object to which Gustavus Adolphus gave especial regard), all these we find under the king's hand dated from on board the fleet itself. A continued south-west wind long hindered the fleet from running out, compelled it, after it had got to sea, again to come into port, and made the passage, which lasted five weeks, so tedious and difficult, that new supplies of provisions were obliged to be drawn from the sea-towns⁹. On Midsummers-day of the year 1630 (it was remarked that just a century had expired since the delivery of the Augsburg Confession), the king anchored off the little island of Ruden, near the westernmost of the three mouths of the Oder, during a violent thunderstorm. The coast seemed full of fires. These had been kindled by the enemy, who nevertheless had retreated to his camp by Anklam. The king, who had placed himself in a boat for recognoscence, was the bearer of these tidings to his troops, and gave immediate orders for the landing. This was effected in the flat-bottomed boats already mentioned, not on the island of Ruden, but on that of Usedom¹. The king first set foot on shore, fell on his knees, and poured out his heart in fervent prayer. Thereafter he himself first took spade in hand, and while the debarcation was proceeding, one half of the troops which had landed worked incessantly at the erection of sconces, the other stood under arms ready for battle². Thus eleven regiments were landed in the course of the night; the others followed; the cannon, baggage, and cavalry last. The retrenchments which had remained here from the time of the Danish inroad into Pomerania, were now found available. Soon the army stood in an intrenched camp mounted with artillery, which comprehended within its limits the village of Peene-münde. Thereafter the king addressed his soldiers. Not alone for his own sake and his kingdom's, he said, but for the relief of their afflicted brethren in the faith he had engaged in this war, by their completion of which they would gain undying renown in the after-world; they had no need to fear this new foe, the same whom they had routed in Prussia;

⁹ "We are in the greatest embarrassment by reason of the strong and irksome contrary wind, as our stores are mostly consumed. We cannot take to sea again without danger of ruin, before we have provisioned ourselves for some time." The king to the council of state, Middelsten's Haven, June 14, 1630. Reg.

¹ "We are happily arrived, and have landed without opposition on Usedom. Now we need but a supply, especially at the first, until we can become possessed of some places. Assist our councillors of the treasury. Hasten supplies from Sweden according to our directions." Usedom, June 29, 1630. Reg. Under the same date the king thanks the Palsgrave for his great assiduity.

² The Swedish Intelligencer, London, 1634, i. 49 This appears to be by an eye-witness.

by their valour he had compelled the Poles to a six years' truce; he hoped also, if they held with him honestly, to win peace and security for themselves and their country, for religion and their fellow-believers in Germany; they were old soldiers, who knew not war only from yesterday, but who had shared with him many changes of fortune, and who would not lose spirit if they had not everything to their mind at once; he would lead them against an enemy who was enriching himself at the cost of this whole exhausted country; with the enemy alone was money, abundance, and all that they could wish to find³. Leslie in Stralsund, who had been reinforced for this purpose from Sweden, had already in the middle of April cleared the isle of Rugen from the enemy. He now joined the king, who drove the imperialists also from the islands of Usedom and Wollin. Wolgast having surrendered after six days' siege (the garrison for the most part entering the Swedish service), and the towns of Wollin and Camin likewise passing over to him, he became master of the mouths of the Oder. But the real key to the Oder was Stettin, the only town in Pomerania which had no imperial garrison. Two hours' sail carried the king over the firth. The aged Bogislaus of Pomerania, who had already sought by an embassy to Stockholm to avert the arrival of Gustavus Adolphus, now saw him unexpectedly before the walls of his capital with an army ready to do battle⁴. A brief negotiation followed, in which the stranger gave the law. The Swedes marched into the town along with the duke returning from his conference with the king. Immediately the northern strangers were seen according to the custom of their unwearied leader busily at work on the improvement of the defences of the town; and in the convention to which the duke was obliged to accede, the king already stipulated for the possession of Pomerania after the death of its present childless sovereign, until he should be reimbursed for the expenses of the war. Fourteen days had now elapsed since the king's landing. Stettin surrendered on the 10th July. This was, after Stralsund, the second step in Germany.

During all this, Torquato Conti, the imperialist commander in Pomerania, although superior in force, offered little resistance. He seems less to have contemplated the hindrance of the invasion, than the prevention of the king's further progress; whence he collected his force in Anklam on the Peene and in Gartz on the Oder, while by the emperor's orders he garrisoned Landsberg on the Warta, and cut off the new enemy from the road to Silesia and the hereditary dominions of the imperial house. He had sought in vain to surprise Stettin

before it was given up to Gustavus Adolphus. By the most cruel proceedings in the country this Italian had brought his name into even greater detestation than any of Wallenstein's leaders, and this abhorrence was no longer as formerly accompanied by equal fear, since the emperor was obliged at the diet of Ratisbon to sacrifice to Germany, united at least in its complaints, the man by whom he had subdued it to his yoke. At the moment when Gustavus Adolphus landed, Wallenstein lost the command in chief. This was to dissolve a bond which held together a hundred thousand men, of whom not a few afterwards passed over to the enemy's ranks. In general the king appeared at the moment most propitious for him. The bow, too highly strained, was broken in Wallenstein's hand. Thereafter ensued a condition of languor and dissolution, a general opposition to the imperial power, and the appearance of those middle parties which so often betoken a transition from one extreme to another, but were of ordinary occurrence in a constitution like the German, where under endless forms men could be partially or wholly hostile to the lawful sovereign. We find Bavaria and Saxony, each on its own side, at the head of such parties, labouring, under the fair-sounding names of freedom of the empire and constitution, for the same self-interests, to which warlike adventurers paid more undisguised devotion. In what Gustavus Adolphus summed against the constitutional spirit of this time, and against a polity like that of the holy Roman empire, as German patriots hold, we cannot perceive. It was a system overlaid with complex contrivance, and falling asunder of itself, the religious conflict injected into which had risen to be the concernment of Europe and of mankind. Hence the necessity of a foreign influence; hence also in the relaxation of social order the natural right of individual heroic energy. Here was a pathway marked for Gustavus Adolphus, trusting "in God and his conquering sword"⁵.

To the capture of Stettin succeeded that of Damm and Stargard, by a secret understanding with the burghers, who received the Swedes as liberators. The rigorous discipline of the soldiery awakened no less astonishment than the personal attributes of their king⁶. It was the perfect counterpart of the licentiousness of the Imperialists, which towards the unfortunate inhabitants of the country overpassed the measure of human cruelty; especially since the convention that had been framed between Gustavus Adolphus and the duke of Pomerania. It was Wallenstein's army, without the strong hand that kept the wild beast in check, which now revelled at pleasure in vice and crime. Two

³ Chemnitz.

⁴ "We were apprehensive that while we were occupied in taking some little places, the Imperialists should either themselves gain possession of Stettin, or hinder us therefrom. We therefore resolved some days ago, after God had given into our hands Usedom and Wollin, to try whether we, with our infantry, could get this town into our power. Yesterday morning we sailed with a good wind from Usedom, came hither shortly after midday, and took some positions without the town. Then came the duke, after some interchange of messages, to us on the spot, and agreed to receive a garrison. And although, on account of the enemy, who now lies in the neighbourhood, we were obliged to yield to the duke in all things, and take the burden on ourselves, yet we expect in

time so to arrange it, that we shall take no detriment thereby. The fortifications are very bad, so that if we had known this previously, and not had regard to the ruin of the innocent burghers, we might have easily occupied the place by force." The king to the chancellor. Field-camp by Stettin, July 11, 1630. Reg.

⁵ Cum Deo et victricibus armis—the king's device.

⁶ "As to the king personally, there was seen in his actions nothing else than an inexorable severity toward the least excesses of his men, an extraordinary gentleness toward the people, and exact justice on all occasions." (Quant à la personne de ce roi, on ne voyait en ses actions qu'une sévérité inexorable envers les moindres excès de siens, une douceur extraordinaire envers les peuples et une justice exacte en toutes occasions.) Mémoires de Richelieu, vi. 419

Italians, formerly officers of Wallenstein, who had entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus, were detected in the camp at Stettin in a treasonable plot against his person. He received warnings of several such designs of assassination, instigated by Jesuits; and we find him transmitting to Sweden directions that a watch should be kept over Jesuit emissaries, who had found opportunity to insinuate themselves into his dominions⁷. Tilly, general of the League and of Bavaria, and now also of the emperor, was still at a distance, but drawing nearer to Lower Germany. In his way lay Magdeburg. The dispossessed administrator of this see, Christian William, Margrave of Brandenburg, who had already visited Gustavus Adolphus in Sweden⁸, repaired on the intelligence of his landing to Magdeburg (whose burgesses had taken up arms for him), and forthwith declared publicly for the king, who, although advising greater caution, yet promised him assistance, and sent him a subsidy for a levy, with a Swedish commander. The administrator of Magdeburg was not the only German prince who already declared publicly for Gustavus Adolphus. Younger sons of Protestant reigning houses joined the Swedish side from the first, while the elder generally held with the emperor. So with Francis Charles, duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, as afterwards with his brother, Francis Albert; so with

George, duke of Brunswick Luneburg, who, after he had sought fortune in Denmark and with the emperor, now tendered his services to Gustavus Adolphus⁹. Of the reigning houses, after the Pomeranian, Hesse-Cassel was Sweden's first ally, as in the sequel her truest. Contrariwise, even the expelled dukes of Mecklenburg, kinsmen of the king¹, to whose families he had granted shelter in Sweden, sought safety at the outset rather in the emperor's favour than in a league with the king, although the restoration of these princes was one of his first objects. It was indispensably necessary for him to secure the Baltic coast before he advanced into Germany. All his steps to this end were made with the greatest caution, a virtue he is said to have more esteemed, in judging of military affairs, than boldness. Yet was even his first plan for the war so bold, that it must fill with astonishment every one who knows intimately the daily embarrassments in reference to means with which he had to contend².

Gustave Horn had brought him a considerable reinforcement from Finland and Livonia. In his letters to the chancellor, who commanded in Prussia, he incessantly urges the sending of the troops expected from that country, who, nevertheless, did not arrive until late in the autumn. He left Horn in Stettin to watch Conti, who had collected his

⁷ He had received this last information from Holland. To the Council of State, Stettin, July 31, 1630. Reg.

⁸ He was a younger brother of the king's father-in-law, the deceased John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg.

⁹ His proffer was made shortly after the king's arrival. Gustavus Adolphus communicates from Stettin (July 15, 1630) to Salvius the letters he had received from the duke, who, he directs, may be advised to expel the enemy, no longer very strong, from the territories of Brunswick. Reg.

¹ Of the two brothers Adolphus Frederic and John Albert of Mecklenburg, the latter was married to Margaret Elizabeth, cousin of Gustavus Adolphus, and only child of Christopher duke of Mecklenburg, by Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Gustavus I.

² For the German war five different heads of the Swedish crown-funds were allocated. First, 429,145 Swedish dollars (about £64,371) from rents and other revenues accruing from land: II. A loan made on the king's account, by the factor Welzweier, of 202,781 rix-dollars specie (£45,625): III. 1711 skeppunds copper, exported and sold in Hamburg by Salvius: IV. 12,400 tons grain, to be delivered in payment of crown-lands sold: V. 3646 lasts (a last has 18 tons) grain, chiefly from Finland, by John Skytté. These supplies were to be transmitted in certain instalments before the end of the year, but the king complains that they did not come as had been reckoned upon. July 31, he writes from Stettin to the council of state: "Ye know that since we left our kingdom we have received therefore from not a penny, spite of all our injunctions,—and have here no contribution to expect, since we must concede to the duke (of Pomerania) to remain as heretofore in respect of jurisdiction, state, and government. Take order therefore for our supply, since the number of heads grows daily." Again, Stettin, Sept. 3: "We have yet received, notwithstanding all our orders and directions, little or no assistance from Sweden. Now, although through our occupation of this town we have some furtherance, our outlay is yet so excessively large, that it goeth but a little way, since every tenth day we require above 30,000 rix-dollars (£6,250) for the sustentation of the infantry only." Reg. for 1630.—To supply the deficiencies, recourse was had to borrowing and anticipation (*excolera creditu*, cultivating credit, the king phrases it), or to such extraordinary means as making the corn-trade a crown monopoly. Under such circumstances, the value to the king of such a minister as Oxenstierna, in spite of the difficulties of his own position in

Prussia, is not to be described. Indefatigable activity, to which hardly any thing was impossible, cemented the bond that united these great men, otherwise so unlike. The king's remarkable letter to the chancellor, dated Golnow, Dec. 4, 1630, belongs to this period: "I have received your advice in respect to the conduct of the war for the coming year,"—writes the king,— "and thence perceive your fidelity to myself and the fatherland. He that survives will be a witness of the success of our affairs, and posterity will celebrate your fame. For this cause do well, and weary not in your labour for my service and the realm's, especially in putting in force your opinion respecting the corn-trade. May God, on whom we all rely, help us over the winter, for I promise myself, that by your industry and care the summer will be made easier. I would describe to you our position, but my hand, which has become stiff from the tustle at Dirschau, does not well allow it. Yet you may understand, that the enemy is weak in infantry and cavalry both, but hath great advantage in quarters, for all Germany is given over to him for prey. I am collecting my people here on the Oder, and am of a mind soon to engage. And though the cause be good and righteous, yet is the issue, by reason of our sins, uncertain, and so too is the life of man. Therefore do I exhort and beseech you, for Christ's sake, that if all go not as we wish, you will not let your heart sink. My memory and the welfare of mine commend to your best care, and deal so with them, as I too will deal with you and yours, if I am spared, by God's will, so long as that I may be needed in such sort; considering me as one that now, for twenty years, with much toil, but, praise be to God, with much honour, have stood for our fatherland, have loved my country, and all its true indwellers, honoured it, and for its renown have set at nought life, goods, and good days; who have sought no other treasure in this world than to do the duties of my place to the full. For my sake, and if aught should happen to me, mine are, in many respects, worthy to be pitied, of the weaker sex, the mother without counsel, the daughter a tender girl; unhappy if they themselves should rule, and in danger if others rule over them. Natural affection (*storge naturalis*) extorts from me these lines of the pen to you, who are an instrument given to me from God, to accomplish many hard things. Yet this, and life and soul, and all that He hath granted, I commend to his holy power, hoping, undoubtedly, the best in this world; and after this life peace, joy, and salvation. The same I wish to you also in his good time."

troops in the neighbourhood, at Gartz and Greiffenhagen, and attempted from thence, during the king's absence, an assault upon the Swedish camp, which failed. The king himself repaired to the coast (where Wolgast, which the enemy had recovered, was again reduced by siege), in order to attack Rostock and Wismar from the sea, and make an incursion into Mecklenburg³; but contrary winds hindered the fleet⁴. Moving from Stralsund he took Damgarten and Ribnitz, and entered Mecklenburg. But here the enemy having gained time to strengthen himself, the former masters of the territory neither could nor dared attempt any thing; and duke Francis Charles of Saxe-Lauenburg, who had taken arms, was routed and made prisoner by Puppenheim. The design upon Mecklenburg therefore was needs abandoned, and the king, who from the delay of the Prussian troops was without hope of bringing the enemy to a general action this year, saw himself confined for the winter to impoverished Pomerania⁵. His letters about this time to Axel Oxenstierna and the council of state supply the following explanations of his views: "The emperor seems indeed to incline to a treaty with us⁶, but upon no other terms of peace than that we, without respect to our own and our neighbours' security, should relapse into our former incertitude. We are of opinion, that no treaty can be concluded, unless a new religious peace over all Germany shall be acceded to and confirmed, and our neighbours placed in their former condition, so that we by their security may be secure. To which end we find no other means than that we should beset the emperor himself somewhat more nearly, and the clergy withal, who are upon his side. For if we could come to the emperor's hereditary dominions, and thereby deprive him of his own means, and lop off the contributions which he extorts from our brethren in religion, so that the whole burden of the war should fall upon the Popish clergy, then we might win a peace for us and for our fellow-believers, by which there were some hope of reputation. Therefore we have projected next year to set on foot various armies; namely, so that we with one army under our own guidance might maintain this border of the Baltic, while Gustave Horn and Teufel with two armies secured us the dominion of the Oder, held Brandenburg on one side in devotion, and might advance on the other into Silesia. With the fourth army in Magdeburg (where the admini-

nistrator has already 3000 men and some hundred horses), we hope to be able to hold the Elbe, and through this and our own army to impart both to Brandenburg and Saxony will and opportunity to co-operate with us. To the fifth army we are induced by the archbishop of Bremen, with the towns of Brunswick, Hildesheim, and others, which already incline to us, and correspond secretly with Salvius. This army must be held close to the Weser. What is required to the accomplishment of this plan ye see by the calculation. We will that for the war department should be set apart the returns of the customs, the salt licenses, 8000 skeppunds of copper, with 100,000 rix-dollars from the rents and the cattle-tax. All the other revenues we have assigned for the ordinary expenditure." In the letter to Oxenstierna the king adds: "How these armies shall be brought forward and supported, we must confess is the greatest difficulty. Yet are we inclined to think, that if the troops could be levied, and every army were so strong as is set down in the draught, the heads and directors of each army might have counsel enough to devise means and expedients for their support at the places to which they were appointed⁷."

The blockade of Colberg by land and water, with the operations to which it led (the fortress with a garrison of one thousand five hundred men did not surrender till the 2nd of March in the following year), was the most important event of the autumn⁸. The winter set in, and this year it was severe; but with it, to the astonishment of the enemy, came no repose. To winter campaigns the soldiers of Gustavus Adolphus were accustomed. We mentioned that the Imperialists had drawn together their main body at Gartz and Greiffenhagen, on both sides of the Oder. On Christmas-eve Greiffenhagen was taken by storm under the orders of the king himself, after a valiant defence by the garrison, two thousand five hundred men strong, most of whom perished. This so affrighted the imperial field-marshal Schaumburg (Conti's successor in command), that during the night he abandoned Gartz, blew up his powder magazines, threw his cannon into the water, and fled to Custrin (whose doors were opened to the fugitive Imperialists, but closed on the pursuing Swedes), in order with the remnant of his army to wait for Tilly in Frankfurt on the Oder⁹. Thus ended the year 1630.

France, which had profited by the king's ap-

³ "Since it is of great moment to us to get firm footing in Mecklenburg, as well for the extension of our quarters as for the relief of Magdeburg, we have therefore resolved, in God's name, to go forward to Mecklenburg, and try our success with Wismar and Rostock." The king to the chancellor, Wolgast, Sept. 8, 1630. Reg.

⁴ Part of it had returned to Sweden; the other guarded the coast of Pomerania after the landing, and under admiral Blum blockaded the harbour of Wismar, where an imperial squadron of fifteen sail lost its flagship to the Swedes in December. Swedish Intelligencer. Compare Chemnitz, i. 91.

⁵ "We hoped to have the Prussian troops so early that there would have been opportunity for us still to bring the enemy to an engagement this autumn. But we perceive now, that these troops can only be sent slowly and by degrees. We must therefore content ourselves with these our present scanty quarters. All Fore Pomerania is well nigh ruined, and for the most part in the enemy's hands. In Hinder Pomerania also things look not well. We have little else than the wasted islands to trust to, and from Sweden, on account of the season, and the administration of those who

remain at home, we can expect no more." To the Chancellor, Stralsund, Oct. 31, 1630. Reg. Nov. 5, the king writes to the Palsgrave in Sweden: "We have needs given up the expedition to Mecklenburg, since the enemy are there so strong that we can make no progress with the force we have here. Part of the Prussian troops are now come to Stargard, part are on the march." Id.

⁶ The diplomatic transactions we pass by as of little influence.

⁷ To the Council of State upon the war, Ribnitz, Oct. 8; to the chancellor upon the armies of the coming year, Ribnitz, Oct. 1, 1630. Reg.

⁸ That the king towards the end of the year had an intention of returning to Sweden (which, however, he relinquished), we learn from two orders to Fagrens, his resident in Denmark, of Nov. 5, and Dec. 7, 1630, to request safe conduct for him, to pass by land through that country, in case he could not come to Sweden by sea on account of the winter. Reg.

⁹ Schaumburg's letter to Tilly lays the blame on the utter demoralization of Wallenstein's former army.

pearance in Germany, to conclude in Italy a favourable peace with Spain and Austria¹, renewed the proffer of its alliance; and Charnacé, who had from the beginning watched his progress, again opened negotiations². After manifold difficulties, in reference to the ceremonial, wherein Gustavus Adolphus contended for and enforced the principle of the equality of all kings, a treaty of subsidy was concluded with France at Beerwald, on the 13th of January, 1631, for six years, reckoning from the first proposal in Westeras, March 5, 1630. The king was to receive for the year already expired 120,000 rix-dollars, and thereafter yearly 400,000; binding himself in return to maintain at least thirty thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry, to concede free exercise of the Catholic religion in the places which should be subdued by his arms, and neutrality to the League, if its members solicited and themselves observed that condition.

The king had advanced along the Oder into Brandenburg. He moved first upon Landsberg, but Tilly coming betimes to the relief of this fortress, he converted the siege into a blockade, and forbore on this occasion to attack Frankfort, where Tilly had already taken post with thirty-four thousand men. Horn remained in the neighbourhood of Landsberg to observe Tilly; the king drew back to Stettin, and from that point made a flank movement, amid cold and snow, upon Mecklenburg and Pomerania³. There one strong place after another, New Brandenburg, Loitz, Malchin, and lastly Demmin, with the magazines of the Imperialists, fell within a short time into his hands. "Such a general," says the Scotsman Monro, then in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, "would I gladly serve; but such a general I shall hardly see; whose custom was to be the first and last in danger himself, gaining his officers' love, in being the companion both of their labours and dangers; for he knew well how his soldiers should be taught to behave themselves, according to the circumstances both of time and place; and being

careful of their credits, he would not suffer their weakness or defects to be discerned, being ready to foresee all things which did belong to the health of his soldiers and his own credit. He knew also the devices and engines of his enemy, their counsel, their armies, their art, their discipline; as also the nature and situation of the places they commanded⁴; so that he could not be neglective in any thing belonging to his charge. He never doubted to put in execution what he once commanded; and no alteration was to be found in his orders; neither did he like well of an officer that was not as capable to understand his directions as he was ready in giving them. Nevertheless, he would not suffer an officer to part from him till he found he was understood by the receiver of the order." Of difficulties he made little account. He placed under arrest an officer who, during the improvement of the fortifications of Stettin, wished to excuse his non-performance of duty on the plea that the ground was frozen, remarking, that "in matters which the necessity of the war requires there is no excuse."

After the reduction of Colberg, Greifswald was the only place in Pomerania remaining untaken, which fortress first capitulated in June after the death of its brave commandant. Tilly, burning with anger at the conduct of most of the other commandants, broke into Mecklenburg after the king, and retook New Brandenburg. His manner of war was displayed in the circumstance of his there putting to the sword two thousand Swedes⁵, whom their sovereign's order to retreat had not reached. One hundred and fifty others allowed themselves to be cut down in the little place of Feldberg rather than give it up. After these actions, Tilly returned to the siege of Magdeburg. Immediately the king advanced towards Frankfort on the Oder, with eighteen thousand men and two hundred pieces of cannon, which were conveyed by the river. On the 2nd of April he began to fire upon the town, which six thousand men defended; the following day it was taken by storm⁶.

¹ Richelieu says himself of the French negotiators of the peace of Chierasco, "They will find it more easy than they would have done, by the advantage which the king's affairs will receive from the descent of the king of Sweden on Germany: for he will raise against them so mighty a storm of war, that the whole house of Austria will be shaken by it, and their empire in such extremity, that they will hold themselves for lost." (*Il y rencontrera plus de facilité qu'il n'eût fait, &c.*) *Mémoires de Richelieu*, vi. 395.

² "The French ambassador has again been here, and has offered us 120,000 rix-dollars (£27,000), so long as their army is occupied with the Italian war, and afterward, 400,000 rix-dollars (£90,000), yearly. We are in need of money, but desire to have your opinion." The king to the chancellor, Stettin, July 23, 1630. *Reg.*

³ "We brake up from Stettin, taking our march towards New Brandenburg, the earth clad over with a great storm of snow, being hard frost. We carried along great cannons of battery, and a number of small cannon, being well provided with all things belonging to artillery; our little army consisting then of 8000 horse and foot, having left the rest of the army under command of the field-marshal Horn, before Landsberg in the Mark." Monro, Expedition with the worthy Scots' regiment, called Mac Kay's regiment. London, 1637, ii. 14. Before the investment of Demmin the king received a reinforcement by major-general Kniphausen, and had then 15,000 men fit for service, according to the lists of the men in health or sick, which all the colonels were

obliged to give in to the king, a usage mentioned by Monro as peculiar to the Swedish army. The Swedish fleece-jackets stood the soldiers in good stead during this winter campaign.

⁴ L. c. ii. 16. The want of good plans, and the great importance which the king attached to accurate local knowledge, often on that very account exposed him in recognising to great personal hazards, especially as he was near-sighted. Thus at the siege of Demmin, during a recognosence, the king, with his spy-glass in his hand, fell up to his waist in a marsh, the ice breaking under him. The Scottish captain Dumaine, who had the nearest guard, would have hastened to his aid, but the king beckoned to him with his hat to keep still, in order not to draw the enemy's attention towards him, who meanwhile directed a sharp fire upon the point. Under a shower of balls, which luckily did not injure him, the king extricated himself, and took a seat by this officer's watch-fire, who took the liberty of finding fault with him for so needlessly exposing his life. The king heard him patiently, and admitted his error; but he could not help it, he said, his disposition being such, that he thought nothing well done which he did not himself. He presently took a heavy dinner and a large draught of wine in his cold tent, then proceeded to change his clothes, and so went again among his troops.

⁵ Khevenhüller says: "because they had unanimously resolved rather to die than to surrender."

⁶ When the Swedes approached the town, the Imperialists called to them: "Ye herring-eaters, have ye devoured all

The lieutenant Andrew Auer, who first mounted the wall, received 1090 rix-dollars and a captaincy in the regiment of life-guards. The king having pursued the enemy, turned thereafter against Landsberg, took it on the 16th of April⁷, and now demanded Custrin and Spandau from the elector of Brandenburg, in order to be able to relieve Magdeburg.

This request was of a nature to make an armed visitation of Berlin inevitable. "I cannot take it ill," said the king on this occasion, "that the elector my brother-in-law is sorrowful; for that I ask perilous and critical matters is incontestable; but I desire them not for my good, but that of the elector, his country, and the whole of Christendom. My way leads to Magdeburg⁸." Of what he thus requested, a refusal was not hazarded. But to be able to make head against Tilly, the co-operation of Saxony was likewise necessary. Magdeburg, so important to the Protestant cause (it had resisted the whole force of Wallenstein), was to no one more valuable than to the elector of Saxony. This imperial city, with its diocese, was to be in North Germany the first great victim of the emperor's edict of restitution, which restored to the Catholic Church all that it had lost for seventy years, from the religious peace of Augsburg; and against this edict, the diet of Protestant princes lately convoked by the elector in Leipsic, had declared its willingness to take up arms. The loss of Magdeburg would touch most nearly the elector's son⁹, and it required only the taking of Magdeburg to make Tilly at once formidable to the electorate itself. Nevertheless, Gustavus Adolphus in vain requested aid from Saxony; even the passage of the Elbe was refused him; and the terrible news was soon spread throughout Germany, that Magdeburg, plundered and burned by the soldiers of Tilly, was lying in ruins. The Swedish commandant Falkenberg had fallen among the first at the storming. "Magdeburg," writes Salvius¹, "was taken, alas! on the 10th of May by storm, and

now is the whole of the great city lying in ashes, so that nothing is standing save the cathedral, with four or five houses near, and some fishers' huts on the Elbe. During this siege, the deceased Falkenberg first disputed the outworks so long as he could with the enemy, where before the redoubts they lost many assaults and numbers of men. He had little more than two thousand soldiers, and the enemy is estimated at twenty-four thousand men. I have spoken with a trooper who was present during the siege. He relates that Falkenberg was offered quarter, but would not accept it, any more than his soldiers; for the enemy's principal condition is said to have been that they should become Papists. About three hundred of the burghesses of the town were of the Imperialist party. When the enemy first entered, these rushed to their side, thinking to be welcome; but they were mostly cut down. A great portion of the remaining burghers saved themselves in the cathedral, and bolted the doors so fast that no one came to them the first day; the next, quarter was sounded, and then they obtained mercy². Those who endeavoured to save themselves in the other churches all perished. With none did they deal worse than with the clergy; they first slaughtered them among their books, and then set fire to both together; wives and daughters, bound at the horses' tails, they dragged and haled into the camp, where they outraged and used them pitifully. St. John's Church was full of women; on these, it is said, they nailed the doors from the outside, and so burned them. Crabats³ and Walloons tyrannized miserably, threw children into the fire, tied the most eminent and beautiful women of the burgher class to their stirrups, making them run along, and so follow them out of the town; stuck their lances through the bodies of little children, whom then, lifting on high and swinging several times round at the spear's point, they cast into the fire. Some malevolent persons inculcate his majesty, as having

your leathern cannon for hunger?" Swedish Intelligencer, i. 89. The king, on the 9th of April, gives the chancellor the following account of the taking of Frankfurt: "As we knew not whither Tilly intended to take his way from New Brandenburg, we marched to Swedt, to procure intelligence. Meanwhile we heard that he had turned towards Magdeburg. With that we broke up for Frankfurt on the Oder, both to be nearer to our convention in Leipsic, as also to divert Tilly, and force him to an engagement; committing to field-marshal Horn the Oder and Hinder Pomerania, with orders to beleague Gripswald, and, if possible, make a diversion in Mecklenburg. We came to Frankfurt on the 2d April, where the enemy set the suburbs on fire. On the 3d, we caused batteries to be erected, and commanded some troops, under cover of the cannon, to run up to the town gate, never once thinking in this way to win the place. But our men presently not only drove the enemy from the outworks and walls, but followed with like fury at their heels to beneath the town gate; and a part of them, flying as it were over the wall with some few storming ladders, came into the town, and fought until the others had blown open the gates with petards. Now our men put the foe to flight, and cut down many, even the superior officers; others of them were taken. The rest sought refuge over the bridges beyond the Oder (never recollecting the redoubt at the bridge-end which they had well garrisoned), and stood not before they had gone some way into Silesia. All the enemy's ammunition and twenty standards are ours. Notwithstanding Tilly, when he had information of our expedition, returned in haste, he yet came no farther than to Old Brandenburg. We have

slain the greatest portion of this hostile army, and every where beaten their crabats (hussars). With the cavalry and some musketeers we have now repaired to Landsberg, and likewise sent for the field-marshal hither on the other side. We are now about to throw bridges over the Warta, to conjoin ourselves with the field-marshal, and so hotly take up the siege of Landsberg." Reg.

⁷ The commandant was shot. The garrison, according to the Swedish statement, was 5000 men. On their outmarch there were found to be almost half as many women of pleasure as soldiers, with an endless train of baggage. Nevertheless, Pappenheim remarks in a letter to the elector of Bavaria, that in Frankfurt and Landsberg lay the kernel of the imperial army. After the capture of the latter place the king permitted Baner, Baudissin, and others of his officers to make themselves merry over a glass of wine in his presence, but himself drank nothing; "for his custom was never to drink much, but very seldom." *Monro*, l. c. ii. 40.

⁸ Khevenhüller, xi. 1786.

⁹ The chapter had elected prince Augustus of Saxony, second son of the elector John George, to the archbishopric. The emperor, in virtue of the Edict of Restitution, declared the election invalid, and procured the nomination of one of his own sons, Leopold William.

¹ To the Council of State, Hamburg, May 18, 1631.

² Other accounts agree in stating that this did not take place till the fourth day, for so long the pillage lasted, when Tilly made his entry into the town. The administrator was wounded and taken; he afterwards embraced the Catholic religion.

³ Croats.

always assured them of succour, and not come up; more blame the elector of Brandenburg. The greatest number cry shame on the elector of Saxony, who neither hath allied himself with his majesty, nor done any good to the cause, but rather during the siege itself withheld from the townsmen the ammunition they had purchased in the electorate. However all this may be, his majesty was certainly in these last days on his way to help them, under God, with all his power, which it would have been impossible sooner to effect. First, in the winter Tilly stood in the March, and his majesty could not then give aid without a battle, and by such to hazard the whole evangelical interest would have been utterly unreasonable. After this time his majesty was obliged so to arrange the succour, that he might have his rear on the Oder and Warta free. That matters went forward so slowly is by no means the fault of the king's majesty. Even so the town might certainly have held out longer, if the burghers had bestirred themselves more actively in the cause, and not held themselves secure. At first they admitted no soldiers into the town, but they must needs live in the suburbs on the cash of his majesty. At the end they took them into the town, where they had their cellars and storehouses full. Howbeit the soldiers must either suffer hunger or buy every bite dearly, whereby they were much harassed. Every where there appeared secret correspondence with the enemy, who first tendered the town an accord. But while they believed themselves secure, and deliberated upon the accord, the enemy fell upon them by storm, and so cheated their security. Herein all of the evangelical party that are faint-hearted may see their lot mirrored, if they become not speedily either colder or warmer."

The period from the destruction of Magdeburg to the victory at Leipsic, that is to say, the summer of 1631, is beyond doubt the most trying which Gustavus Adolphus spent in Germany. That which had come to pass was laid to his charge, and he found himself obliged to vindicate his conduct in a special manifesto. Saxony, as well as Brandenburg, so acted that he knew not whether they were his friends or foes. "We perceive,"—he writes home,—“that the evangelical princes are no farther well-affectioned towards us, than that they may with our help maintain themselves against the emperor, in order after to drive us hence ungratefully by force⁴.” The elector of Brandenburg demanded back his fortresses, which he had only delivered up for the liberation of Magdeburg. The king accordingly gave command for the evacuation of Spandau, but appeared next day with his army before Berlin, and pointed his cannon against the town. Thus was concluded the alliance of Brandenburg with Sweden. The king

garrisoned Spandau, and thereafter went to Pomerania, where he employed his troops, left inactive after the surrender of Gripswald, in restoring the expelled dukes of Mecklenburg to their dominions, and himself with the main body kept an eye upon Brandenburg, Saxony, and Tilly⁵. The Swedish army was weakened by division, and its increase by recruitment uncertain. "The German nation," writes the king⁶, "is now become so unsteady, that the people seek one master one day, another the next, so that we can hardly levy so many as daily desert, especially since our men have for a long time received no stipend." Almost all the king's letters during this time speak of his want of money. Already in February he sharply reproves the Swedish council that they paid him with arguments, and never once called to mind that the cattle-tax, on which he calculated, was granted for one year more by the collective estates. "Howbeit, the love of our country, and those who dwell therein, is so strong in us," he adds, "that we would rather want this subsidy, than give occasion to perverse and impatient men to slander us, and to unjust stewards to lard their pockets with the sweat and blood of the people, and pay ourselves and the army with disputations, as now daily occurs; in this town we expect, under God's providence, other means for carrying on the war⁷." These other means did not correspond to the requirements of the case. From the grain monopoly Oxenstierna's ability could never raise so much as was expected, and it was therefore soon abolished. "We have often enough given you to understand our condition,"—writes the king to the chancellor⁸,—"how with the greatest poverty, difficulty, and disorder, we have made shift for ourselves and the army through this time, inasmuch as we are deserted by all our servants, and must conduct the war only *ex rapto*, to the harm and ruin of all our neighbours; which continueth to this hour, so that we have nothing wherewith to content the people, except what themselves usurp with intolerable plundering and robbery. We had placed our hope in you before others. But even that is dashed from us, and we must needs form a strong leaguer here against the approach of the enemy." This was in the middle of July. The king had just sat down in his famous encampment at Werben, in that so advantageous site at the confluence of the Havel and the Elbe⁹. A subsequent letter describes his continued embarrassment, and mentions Tilly's attack on his camp. "Albeit, lord chancellor, ye have promised us in your own projects certain sums monthly, we have hitherto received no more of them than about 100,000 rix-dollars, and we now learn to our disappointment, by your letter from Elbing of the 11th July, that against all expectation, nothing more is in hand. The army has for sixteen

gun to blockade Rostock." The secretary Grubbé to the Council of State, Jerichow, July 2, 1631. Reg.

⁶ To the Council of State, Jerichow, July 2, 1631. Reg.

⁷ To the Council of State, New Brandenburg, February 3, 1631.

⁸ Werben, July 18, 1631. Reg.

⁹ The camp, of which remains still exist, was on the western side of the Elbe. Monro, who describes it minutely, says of Gustavus Adolphus: "When he was the weakest he digged most in the ground; and this he did not only to secure his soldiers from the enemy, but also to keep them from idleness," ii. 41.

⁴ To the Council of State, Jerichow, July 2, 1631. Reg.

⁵ "His majesty mostly directeth his counsels to this, how the sea-coast may be secured, but keeps his largest army in this quarter, to hold the enemy from the elector. If his majesty get Dömitz and Havelberg (which was taken on the 9th July), all Mecklenburg is occupied, so that the king may extend his forces to the Weser, and conjoin them with Hamilton's troops. Meanwhile he is fortifying Havelen strongly, with Rathenau, Brandenburg, and Spandau. Horn, to whom Custrin stands open, is powerful to defend the Oder and Warta. An army is raised in Mecklenburg, and has be-

weeks not had a penny. It is known to every man that we look to you for their payment; thereon have both officers and privates reliance. Besides this hope we have had nought for their sustenance but ammunition bread, which we have exacted from the towns; but even to this there is now an end. Among the horsemen, who were not to be satisfied therewith, we have been able to keep no order; they lived merely on irregular and intolerable pillage. Thus one has ruined the other, so that there is nothing more to be taken either for them, or the soldiers in the towns or the country. Had we obtained what ye should have furnished for these months, we would have had hopes at least to defend the Elbe and the Oder, and to clear the Baltic, if more could not have been effected this year, but now we must fear a retreat with loss.—For what concerns our condition here, it would have been good otherwise, had means been but to be found. A fortnight ago we moved out with our cavalry and routed three of the enemy's regiments at Wolmirstadt. Since we retired to Stendal, Tilly has conjoined his troops with Pappenheim's, and marched up hither, whereupon we had some days' skirmishing with him. As we retired, he followed us gradually, and lodged for some days but a short quarter of a mile hence. Now hath he withdrawn, and we annoyed him on the retreat.¹ Thus modestly does the king express himself upon Tilly's attempt against the camp at Werben, which, nevertheless, is said to have cost the latter 6000 men in all. He had 26,000, Gustavus Adolphus only 12,000 men¹. The plague raged in the track of the armies. Six thousand Scots and English had been levied by the marquis of Hamilton, for the king, who intended to employ them on the Weser. They landed instead in Pomerania, where Hamilton paraded the magnificence of a prince. He received orders to ascend the Oder and watch Frankfort. Before the end of summer his troops had melted down to fifteen hundred, and of these soon only five hundred were left². The plague was likewise in the leaguer of Werben. It was regarded as an especial mercy of God that the disease ceased there just when the summer heats were fiercest. In the preceding year it had visited Sweden³. The king now received a reinforcement from home, which his consort followed to Germany⁴. Of these troops one division was employed in the conquest of Mecklenburg; four thousand men, with new artillery, were among the troops which Horn conducted from the Oder to the royal army. The king broke up from Werben in the middle of August, and drew near Saxony. When he came to the bridge of the

Elbe at Wittemberg, his force, according to the rolls then given in, consisted of 13,000 infantry and 8850 cavalry⁵.

Tilly, having formed a junction with a part of the imperial army returning from Italy, threatened Saxony with a strength of 40,000 men⁶. Two hundred burning villages lighted up his inroad, and Leipsic fell before long into his hands. This was the fate of Saxony's neutrality. The terrified elector threw himself into the arms of Gustavus Adolphus. Not only Wittemberg, John George notified to him, but the whole land and he himself stood at the king's service. The junction of the Swedish and Saxon troops took place at Duben on the 5th September. Two days after, the victory at Leipsic put an end to Tilly's fortune in arms and to the emperor's predominance.

The battle has been sufficiently described by writers skilled in war. The improvements which Gustavus Adolphus introduced into the military art, and chiefly a greater celerity of motion in all arms, were here shown in full operation. What we subjoin is from the king's own hand. "On the 7th of this month," he writes to his sister in Sweden, "we delivered general Tilly an open battle, in which God fought for and with us, and granted us such grace, that after a hard combat we remained masters of the field, slew some thousands of the enemy's men, put him to flight, took all his cannon, great and small, won from him sixty-six standards and twenty-two cornets, and so utterly ruined his army, that we may go unhindered whither it pleaseth us⁷." In a letter to Axel Oxenstierna the king gives more full details:—"On the morning of the 4th we marched to Duben, and pitched our camp before it, to wait for the elector of Saxony, who was approaching from Eilenburg, and came up early on the 5th with his army, about 20,000 men strong, well mounted, and gallant to look upon. The elector arranged his army in divers brigades, and signified, that if it were agreeable to us, he would come to salute us. We therefore took with us a good body of the cavalry, and rode forth a little way to meet him. Our brother-in-law, the elector of Brandenburg, was in his company. We rode with the electors the round of the Saxon army, and thence to our infantry, which kept also in battle-array⁸; and after we had viewed both armies, we took the electors with us to our quarters. There we consulted with them, especially with the elector of Saxony, how the enemy should be attacked, whether by diversions to harass him partisan fashion, or by delivering a general action.

⁵ Chemnitz, i. 203.

⁶ "Broke up, Aug. 18, from Wolmirstadt, with the whole army of Furstenberg, and there conjoined his force with the army of Furstenberg, which some days before had arrived there 25,000 strong; thence they broke up together three days after, and marched towards the electorate of Saxony." Khevenhüller, xi. 1698. The king supposed Tilly, after this junction, to be considerably stronger than we, following several authors, have stated. He writes home to Jacob de la Gardie, Kopwicz, Aug. 21 (O. S.): "The enemy camps 60,000 strong, and of the elector of Saxony we know not how he inclines." Reg.

⁷ To the Palsgrave, Halle, Sept. 14, 1631. Reg.

⁸ Monro, l. c. ii. 62, says, that as the Swedish army had lain over night on a newly-ploughed field, the soldiers were covered with dust, and smutched like kitchen-servants, whereat the Saxons made merry.

¹ Swedish Intelligencer. Monro.

² That so considerable a body of troops, without any exploit of name, had utterly dispersed and, as it were, vanished away, is ascribed principally to the infection then raging, as also to their strangeness in the country, the air, and the hard treatment of soldiers in Germany. Chemnitz, i. 193.

³ "In 1630 a grievous pestilence invaded Nyköping." Palmisk. MSS. t. 38. The same year the plague was at Waxholm, so that the Council of State and the Chancery removed from Stockholm to Upsala, l. c. 190.

⁴ Jan. 21, 1631, the king writes to his sister Catharine: "I intend in the spring to bring hither my dear and loving wife; but because I would not willingly see my daughter accompany her, I beg your lovingness will do me the sisterly kindness to take the child to yourself, as also to look closely to those who have the care of her." l. c.

We brought forward all manner of grounds for the former, and the elector of Saxony held for the latter, being of opinion that the enemy could in no other manner be driven out of his country. At last it was determined among us to go conjointly to Leipsic, in the enemy's face, and hazard a battle. We had already information that the enemy had taken Leipsic (both town and castle) by accord, and that the crabats were roving here and there in the villages not far from Duben. On the 6th, at the dawning, we passed through Duben, caused our army to follow in file across the pass before it, and came towards evening to the hamlet of Wolche, a mile and a half from Leipsic, where we stayed for the night. On the 7th, as it began to grey, we commanded them to sound the break-up, and as between the hamlet and Leipsic there was almost no wood, but wide and level fields, and we had good conveniency, we caused the army to advance in full array towards the town. The march had lasted hardly an hour and a half when we descried the enemy's van-guard, with his artillery planted on a knoll, and behind it his whole force⁹. He was much favoured by the sun and wind, from the clouds of dust which the long drought produced. We strove zealously to deprive him of these advantages, but could not bring it about, since our men had all the time to go over a bad pass in the enemy's sight. We therefore dressed our array, taking ourselves the right wing, and giving the elector the left, and thereupon went in such posture as we found good for the occasion (whereof we will shortly transmit you a plan), ever nearer to the enemy;—who, when he found opportunity, immediately began to discharge his pieces, first three and three, then all at once, so that he gave two salvoes with his artillery ere our own was in order. Yet it did not last long before ours was ready, and then it answered three shots for one. The Saxon cavalry, and the troops which were stationed with the Saxon

artillery, stood their ground well at the outset; but after the best of the constables (gunners) had been shot, the rest took to flight, and left their cannons behind. The Saxon infantry behaved no better, but took to their heels by companies, and gave out that we were beaten and all was lost. This caused great affright among those who were with our baggage, who, seeing the Saxons run, turned round and fled this evening in such confusion to Duben, that a train of waggons belonging to our officers, as also the elector's own, was plundered by these runners. The elector, who kept with the rear-guard, ran himself also with all his body-guard, and did not stop before he came to Eilenburg. Our men, both Swedes and Germans, as many as came into action (for of the infantry only three brigades had this honour), demeaned themselves excellently well, and pressed that they might be commanded to the front. The enemy at first stood like a rock, and long fought in some quarters with such hotness and ardour, that it appeared entirely doubtful who would obtain the victory¹. By-and-bye he began to yield, and we so set upon him that he was compelled to abandon both his own artillery and that of the Saxons, which he had just won. At the last he turned his back, with all his rout, and left us masters of the field, after the fight had lasted unremittingly from two o'clock to dark night. We caused the greatest part of our cavalry to pursue the enemy, and rested ourselves on the field of battle².

The course of Gustavus Adolphus after the battle of Leipsic, in leaving the elector of Saxony to invade the emperor's hereditary dominions, and himself turning his arms against the remaining forces of the League, has been censured by statesmen and warriors, and foremost by Axel Oxenstierna. Not only did the chancellor, when he found the king in Frankfort, salute him with the

⁹ "Strength as in the annexed roll, letter A," the king adds. This roll does not remain. Khevenhüller enumerates the thirty-two regiments of which Tilly's army consisted, but without stating their force.

¹ "The regiments of Balderon, Dietrichstein, De Gois, De Blankart, and De Chesuis, who rallied, gained the vantage of the edge of the wood, and turned to retrieve the honour of their comrades. In fact here the victory was obstinately disputed, the Swedes having to do with those old bands of Tilly who were not accustomed to give ground. Many old soldiers were there seen fighting on their knees, with legs broken, never quitting their post with life. The cavalry and infantry of the king did their duty to a miracle, resolved to conquer or die, charging the enemy, after some salvoes, at the sword's point.—What served principally to throw the enemy into disorder was the dexterity of the king, who pushing towards Tilly's artillery, rode down the troops who guarded it, and made them abandon all their equipage. The enemy's cannon being in the king's hands, he pierced with it Tilly's battalions and covered them with fire; nothing but arms and legs were seen flying in the air, with blood and corpses every where." Soldat Suédois, Rouen, 1634, p. 72.

² The king adds, "Tilly came the same night to Halle with duke Rudolph of Saxe-Lauenburg, Pappenheim, count Furstenberg, and colonel Cronberg; and the barbers (surgeons) tell that Tilly had three shots, of which none passed through him, whence the report is got abroad that Tilly is shot-fast. The next day at nine o'clock he moved from Halle to Aschersleben and Halberstadt, very weak and powerless from the shots he had received. These had caused black and blue swellings, which the chirurgion opened and

bandaged. How many of the enemy remained on the field we cannot so precisely know, but we conjecture about three thousand. Of Tilly's captains, Schönberg, the general of artillery, and Erwit, the major-general, are both shot. The duke of Holstein was bruised and taken prisoner to Eilenburg, where he expired on the 9th current. We have made so many prisoners that we can both complete our old regiments with them and form new. Of the superior officers we have lost Teufel, Kallenbach, and Hall, the lieutenant-colonels Aderkas and Damitz, and a captain of horse, Long Fritz by name, who are all dead. Courville also was said at first to be dead, but we now hear that he is taken; and although the loss of men so valiant is highly to be regretted, yet this victory, on which the sum of affairs here well-nigh depended, is so remarkable, that we have all reason to thank God, who mercifully hath protected us in so evident a danger, that we hardly ever before were in the like." The letter is dated Schiditz, Sept. 10, 1631, and is copied in the Polmsk. MSS. t. 38, p. 2187. Khevenhüller estimates the slain altogether at nine thousand, of which the Imperialists had six thousand three hundred, the Saxons two thousand, but the king's men only seven hundred. Gustavus Adolphus' infantry was thirteen thousand strong in the battle. A few days after, at the muster in Halle, it consisted of eighteen thousand. Chemnitz, i. 213. In reference to this author, whom we have often cited, we quote a passage from the Minutes of the Swedish Council in 1642: "Chemnitz was commissioned by the high chancellor to go through the relations and discourses which were evulgated during the German war, correcting the same according to the chancellor's direction; which the whole senate found very good and profitable."

words, "that he would rather congratulate him on the victory in Vienna," but eighteen years after his sovereign's death he declared in the Swedish council, "If Gustavus Adolphus had betaken himself directly after the battle of Leipsic to the emperor's hereditary dominions, and laid aside his march to the Rhine, leaving it to the German estates to settle their affairs with one another, the emperor would never have been able to subsist³." It is well known that the elector of Saxony, who while the king was battling with the emperor at a distance, hoped again to be able to appear in the empire at the head of a third party, had himself wished to make the expedition to Franconia⁴; and probably this was one secret ground of the king's opposition to this plan, of which he merely observed that he would not trust Saxony to keep his rear safe⁵. He mistrusted the ambiguous policy of the elector, and appears from that very reason to have wished to place him in a relation of thorough hostility to the emperor. A recent historian, who has had access to the Saxon archives, ascribes to the dukes William and Bernard of Weimar, an important influence on the decision of Gustavus Adolphus⁶. He is said withal to have been flattered with magnificent prospects, for the self-gain of those who held them out. A more weighty consideration is, that the Protestant estates assembled in the convention of Frankfort on the Maine, publicly invoked his succour⁷. Three grounds of his resolution are stated by the king himself: he wished not to lose sight of Tilly⁸; he wished to possess the Catholic bishoprics for the support of his army and his own designs⁹; he

wished to let in the air of freedom to the Protestants of Upper Germany¹. It appears to us that the question must be considered not only from a purely military, but also from a political point of view. In reference to the supposed results of a march to Vienna (which both previously and subsequently has seen the enemy at its gates, without Austria having fallen), we repeat here words formerly spoken by us: "Posterity doubts with reason that a struggle so complicated and far-stretching as this could have been decided by any single blow at any moment, if there were any other wish than that of merely securing a share of the prey, and setting aside all regard for the cause. In respect to what the interests of the latter required, we dare maintain that the sequel justified Gustavus Adolphus, and this his minister himself was to discover. After the death of the hero, where was it that Oxenstierna found sympathy and support? Where was it that he succeeded in forming a Protestant league, and thereby averting the common danger in the most critical moment? Was it the Protestants of North or South Germany who formed the union of Heilbronn? Was it in the then undecided counsels of Brandenburg, or of untrusty and double-minded Saxony, the most powerful of our confederates, that help was found? No! it was through the weaker but more sensitive of our fellow-believers, then as now opener to every hope of a better future, and readier of will, that this help was compassed; by the lesser princes, the free nobles of the empire, the inhabitants of the free imperial cities, who, in these tracts most blended with the Catholics, had also felt the yoke

³ From the Minutes of Council in 1650. Palmsk. MSS. t. 190.

⁴ Chemnitz, i. 216.

⁵ The king especially distrusted field-marshal Arnheim, now the elector's general, of whom Oxenstierna says, that he laboured all his life through for a third party in Germany. The king held him to be an indifferent general, "better in speculation than action" (Chemnitz, l. c.), and afterwards demanded his dismissal.

⁶ Röse, duke Bernard the Great, of Saxe Weimar, 1828, i. 156. According to Puffendorf, duke Bernard sought to work upon the king's mind by hopes of the Imperial dignity. It is certain that not only these princes, but the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, George duke of Luneburg, and others, in the grants of land and towns which they solicited from the king, in fact acknowledged him as the lord of Germany. After his death we find statements made as to his promises of the same augmentation to different individuals; e. g. Eichsfeld, promised both to William duke of Weimar, and George duke of Luneburg, as appears from the Appendix, No. 119 in Von der Decken, l. c. ii., where the latter requests Oxenstierna that he may retain "this present engaged to him." Gustavus Adolphus appears really not to have been very exact in his answers to such demands. But here the scrupulosity on one side may correspond to that on the other. The king wished at this time to strengthen his alliance with Brandenburg. He commands Salvius (Querfurt, Sept. 18, 1631,) to visit Berlin on his journey to Mecklenburg, to remind the elector of what had passed between his majesty and him in respect to a more intimate union; and since now both the elector of Saxony and the dukes of Weimar, with the princes of Anhalt, had entered into a league with him, to proffer an alliance on the same conditions under which it had been concluded with Mecklenburg and Hesse; yet Salvius might have power to modify some articles, as the *jus clientelæ* and *patrocinii*, in case the elector should stickle for it. Further he might pray the elector of Saxony to endure patiently for some time yet the ordinary

contributions, as his majesty was bending his march to Upper Germany, to obtain better quarters, and would therefore lighten as much as possible the burden of contribution and inquartering. Reg.

⁷ A conference was being held about this time in Frankfort on the Maine between the representatives of several Protestant and Catholic states. The latter departed after the battle of Leipsic, the former remained. "They wrote to the emperor to supplicate him to withdraw the troops, who lived at their discretion among them. The emperor refusing to rid them of these inconvenient guests, they prayed the king of Sweden to do it, and naturally declared for him who became the defender of their property and liberty. Thus it was to support that declaration that the king took the resolution of entering Franconia." Francheville, Note to the Translation of Gualdo Pricrato, p. 97.

⁸ "The reason why his majesty, of happy memory, did not proceed to the hereditary dominions of the emperor, said the king, was that when Tilly after the battle of Leipsic turned against Brunswick, and was joined by the duke of Lorraine with ten thousand men, he was obliged to pursue him; for if he had gone to the hereditary dominions, the whole power would have fallen to Saxony." Axel Oxenstierna in the council, 1636. Palmsk. MSS. 190, 136.

⁹ See his letter to the Chancellor, Halle, Sept. 17, 1631. Reg. It will be recollected that when the king crossed to Germany, his future plan for the war was directed in great part against the Popish clergy. Several circumstances besides merely the support of his army spoke in its favour. The emperor's edict of restitution directly provoked retaliation of this kind; they offered easy conquests, and the Catholic bishoprics were good pawns for a future peace, in which the indemnities were in fact mostly exacted from the secularized sees.

¹ "The king wished first of all to go to Thuringia, and there bring matters to a right state; afterwards to take his march to Francony, to give air to the Protestants in the upper country." Chemnitz, i. 216.

most heavily, and were most gladdened by the coming of their rescuer. It was their joy, which made the march of Gustavus Adolphus, after the battle of Leipsic, a triumphant procession; it was their thankfulness which knitted the league over his bleeding body; and never would the compact have been struck if his banners had not waived among them ²."

The king's first plan for the war after the victory at Leipsic was defensive, and shows that he did not intend to follow his up advantage so quickly as afterwards came to pass. The same day he broke up from Halle, he writes to the chancellor, "For some time we have desired your presence, after the late glorious victory over the enemy, to deliberate with you how we might best set matters in train for the restitution of our oppressed fellow-believers. Come, therefore, hither for some while, and be not restrained thereby, that ye bring no money along! Charles Baner may in the mean time be vice-governor in Prussia. Else we have purposed so to order the state of the war, that we repair in our own person to Thuringia, to avail ourselves of what may be left there, taking our steps so that we might have our winter quarters there. Thence, with Hesse, Saxony, and Meissen around us, we will (by God's grace) busy ourselves with infesting some bishoprics in Francony, and putting them under contributions; so strengthening ourselves in the winter, that by spring-time we may be a sufficient match for the enemy, especially as Saxony is now with us. The defence of the Oder hath the elector taken upon himself, wherefore we have ordered the lord John Baner to Frankfort, to draw off our garrison as soon as the elector's folk come; and when he hath occupied Landsberg, to push on with the rest of his men to Calbe, between the streams of the Saal and Mulde, and with other troops, appointed thereto, form a laager in that district, in order to get firm footing on the Elbe, and the possession of Magdeburg. We have given command to Salvius to bring up to us a body of men who have remained near Hamburg, and who, in conjunction with those of the duke of Mecklenburg, will probably amount to 15,000 men; so that these two armies, the one above here against Magdeburg under Baner, the other below, may be able to keep the Elbe clear. Furthermore, we have thought of employing the Pomeranian garrisons in securing Mecklenburg, but would then need troops from Prussia, that Pomerania might not be entirely bare ³." But the king did not confine himself within the limits which he had first marked out for himself. The wings of victory, once impet for her soaring flight, bore him swiftly onwards. After Erfurt had fallen by terror and surprise into his hands, he marched across the Thuringian forest (partly by night and torchlight), and entered Upper Germany. The strong place of Königshofen surrendered; Wurtzburg, considered impregnable,

was taken by storm; Hanau was surprised; Frankfort on the Maine opened its gates; the king marched through the town, and went the same evening to Höchst, which he took. Thence he wrote to Baner: "We now expect, through the happy success by God vouchsafed to us, to join the two rivers Maine and Rhine, as also to cut off the enemy from the circle of Westphalia, and all other provinces on this side of the Rhine, if ye are only in a position to keep our rear secure ⁴." The march through Franconia had been a triumphal procession. Great stores of necessary articles had been acquired; after the capture of Wurtzburg there was hardly a soldier in the army who had not new clothes ⁵; in the camp a cow was sold for arix-dollar, and a sheep for a few styvers ⁶. The northern strangers had come into the land of abundance. "The king's majesty," writes Salvius, "possesses now all Frankland, and the states there have done homage to his majesty as duke of the said country, as may be seen by the annexed mandate of his majesty. Our Finnish lads, who dwell up there in the wine-land, will not so soon go back to Savolax. In the Livonian wars they must often be fain to take up with water and coarse bread worsened for their aleberry; now the Finn makes himself his cold cup (kallskal) in his helmet of wine and leaves ⁷." The gruff Scot Monro speaks with rapture of the march along the beautiful banks of the Maine ⁸.

Such progress, with a force comparatively inconsiderable, was however not unattended with danger. Tilly, who after his defeat had taken his way to Hesse, and was reinforced by Fugger and Altringer, and further by the duke of Lorraine, threatened the king's rear with a force far superior, and had even, although too late, advanced to the relief of Wurtzburg. The king, having detached Horn against Bamberg, had upon his march from Wurtzburg to Hanau not more than seven thousand five hundred foot, and four thousand horse ⁹. Gustavus Adolphus was never observed to be so much disquieted as at this approach of Tilly ¹. For the first time he was remarked to be undecided, and to recall orders he had given. At this period he writes to Baner:—"The enemy hath so strengthened himself in this quarter, that we cannot proportion our army against him for an engagement. He extends his line to Schweinfurt, appears to wish to interpose between us and the Thuringian forest, and to cut off our communication with Saxony and you.—Look well to yourself!—Correspond with duke William of Weimar at Erfurt, and reinforce him if he cannot sustain a siege. Strain every effort on your side to acquire Magdeburg, and that ye may be strong enough to maintain yourself on the Elbe and Havel, issue writs of recruitment, and appoint the trying-places. Take no note therein either of friends or unfriends, so that you are only rein-

river of the Maine, that runs through faire Franconia." Monro, ii. 88.

⁹ Swedish Intelligencer, i. 28. The infantry consisted of five brigades, by rule one thousand eight hundred men to each, but now incomplete. They had their names from the colours of the oldest colonel in the brigade. In the same way the names of the regiments were derived from their standards, although usually supposed to be taken from their uniforms. Five are mentioned: the body regiment, the green, the blue, the white, the red regiments.

¹ Monro, ii. 86.

² Oration at the Jubilee (Tal vid Jubelfesten, &c.) in memory of the great Gustavus Adolphus, Nov. 6, 1832, in Upsala, p. 42.

³ To the Chancellor, Halle, Sept. 17, 1631. Reg.

⁴ To the lord John Baner, Höchst, Nov. 19, 1631. Reg.

⁵ Francheville (Gualdo Pricato), p. 102.

⁶ Khevenhüller, i. 1834.

⁷ Salvius to Peter Baner, Hamburg, Nov. 20, 1631. Palmisk. MSS.

⁸ "The pleasant march amongst the pleasant and fruitful

forced with men². If the enemy fall upon you, whereof at so late a season there is little appearance, look to it that you be able to maintain yourself on the Saale and Elbe. If you should be too weak for that, retire by all means to Werben, and lodge yourself in a convenient position betwixt the Havel and Elbe; hold the bridges with redoubts until assistance be sent you. Correspond diligently with Tott (in Mecklenburg); let us have no disservice through your jealousy³. Help each other, without any view, save for the service of your country. Better your slowness in giving us information, and send us a sub-officer once or twice in the week⁴. When the enemy showed himself at Wurtzburg, the king cut to pieces three regiments of his cavalry⁵. Tilly passed by, and marched to Nuremberg, lamenting with tears that the elector of Bavaria had forbidden him to venture any thing decisive⁶. These were not the only difficulties with which the king had to contend on this otherwise so victorious expedition. In spite of the booty which had been taken, want of money still prevented the payment in full of the army⁷; he was obliged to coin bad money⁸, and took violent measures for the purpose of upholding the value of the copper coinage in Sweden⁹. The danger of Nuremberg (the town had declared for Sweden) had already called forth his resolution to return to Franconia¹; but Tilly raised the siege, and the king continued his career of victory on the Rhine. This brought him into conflict with the Spaniards, and awakened the fears of France.

"We have unexpectedly fallen into collision of arms with the Spaniards," he writes home to the

council of state. "When we lately caused the Spanish general de Silva (commander in Mentz) to be waited upon by the colonel of our horse-guards, duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, he declared that he had orders to assist the archbishop of Mentz against us. When now we commenced our march from Frankfort towards the Palatinate, the Spaniards began to erect a bridge, with a sconce, on the Darmstadt side, which we, according to the usage of war, could not avoid. We signified to them that the sconce was in our way; and as they would not evacuate the same, but fired upon us, although it was untenable, we resolved to pass the Rhine at Oppenheim, and cut off those in the sconce. When we had crossed with some hundred soldiers, don Philip de Silva charged us with his cavalry, but was repulsed, whereupon those in the sconce surrendered to us by accord on the 7th December. The 8th we took the town of Oppenheim without resistance, and the castle by storm. Now is this to be thought a breach of the peace? Or shall we seek a composition with Spain on account of our trade, and to have our hands free against France, whose king is marching hither with a great army, and already in Mentz², to impede our treaty with the emperor? On another side, Spain will not willingly let go what it possesses in the palatinate; and without the restitution of the elector palatine there can be no secure peace. Against Spain, England and Holland would be inclined to give us assistance. In any case our western sea-coast might be secured by the fortification of Gottemburg³." The letter is dated from Mentz, which

and in frauds upon our revenues." The king concedes from his ways and means for the war 1500 skeppunds of copper, which may make at least 60,000 rix-dollars (13,500*l.*); and assigns them as a capital for carrying on the copper-mines. The newly-levied men were to be sent over. "We would gladly wish, if the safety of the country permitted it, to be again strengthened with six regiments, besides with one thousand Swedish and five hundred Finnish troopers, and that the men should not be sent to us with bare backs, as hitherto hath been done." To the palsgrave John Casimir, Ochsenfurt, Nov. 1, 1631. Reg.

¹ "The old devil with all his young ones, as Lorraine, Pappenheim, Fürstenberg, Gallas, Ossa, lies now before Nuremberg. I march, if God will, to-morrow to its succour. The enemy is strong, but God hath granted us also considerable means, and we hope, together with the troops of the landgrave and duke of Weimar, to have seventeen thousand foot and nine thousand horse." The king to the palsgrave, Höchst, Nov. 29, 1631. Other accounts soon arrive. The same day the king writes to Horn, "We have received tidings that the enemy hath quitted Nuremberg, and divided himself into three bodies; one remains in this neighbourhood, another goes to Bohemia, a third to Bavaria. We have therefore decided to accomplish our intention on the Rhine." Reg.

² On the causes of this movement, which were intestine discords, see the *Mémoires de Richelieu*. The king had informed Louis XIII. of "his expedition into the land of the priests." The envoy was to give close heed to the reception of the news by the king of France, and to declare that his majesty would gladly have kept peace with the Leaguers, if they had not mixed themselves up in the war with the emperor; nor could he have otherwise restored the oppressed princes and towns, as required by his treaty with France. His majesty persecuted no man on religion's account. The envoy was to complain warmly of the duke of Lorraine. Höchst, Nov. 28, 1631. Reg.

³ To the council of state, Mentz, Dec. 31, 1631. Id. The king adds, that the king of Denmark had publicly spoken of

² In a subsequent letter to Baner the king says, "Reinforce your numbers; employ thereto every means both with friends and foes. Do not square yourself in the levies by the authority of the duke of Anhalt, though he be our lieutenant, seeing you know that under God the whole *adjumentum rei gerendæ* consists in this, that we become strong in troops." Oppenheim, Dec. 8, 1831. Reg.

³ A similar letter was sent by the king to Aké Tott, a very brave man, but hot in temper. (He was son of a daughter of Eric XIV.)

⁴ To the lord John Baner, Wurtzburg, Nov. 8, 1631. Reg.

⁵ Proposition to the estates, Feb. 4, 1632. Reg.

⁶ "Since there was no other reserve available." Khevenhüller, xi. 1884. "It was better to delay than be ruined," Maximilian of Bavaria wrote to the emperor.

⁷ They were partly paid with assignments for six months. Monro, ii. 86.

⁸ "We have dealt with one named Zwiner, who with some of his fellows will strike us a quantity of bad money." To the same person is also committed the coinage of Sweden, and the palsgrave is directed to look narrowly to his proceedings. Querfurt, Sept. 18, 1631. In the Register for April, 1632, appears a letter from the council that all the copper in their hands should be struck into kreutzers (cross-pieces) and sent to the king.

⁹ "We must bring the matter to this point, that no other coins shall pass in Sweden but rix-dollars in specie and copper-money. We desire therefore that your lovingness with the council will publicly prohibit all coins, excepting the aforesaid, in all the provinces subject to our authority, whereby we expect that the copper coins shall be in request, and be sought for again out of Holland, and thereby copper will be made valuable." With his agent in Holland, Eric Laurencson, to whom the subsidies from the states and the copper trade were committed, the king was highly displeased, and transferred these affairs to Conrad Falkenberg instead, "since he was not so experienced in making false reckonings,

the king had taken and fortified, while the terrors of his arms, with wonderful rapidity and fortune, were spread over both sides of the Rhine.

Gustavus Adolphus in Mentz, at the outset of the year 1632, is a splendid show, but which promises more than it covers. His queen accompanied him. The chancellor had brought him reinforcements from Prussia. A crowd of princes and ambassadors surrounded him, and he counted in his general staff more princes than Oxenstierna gladly saw, who, when the defence of the Rhine was afterwards confided to him, complained that these princes would not obey. During fourteen days operations were suspended, a period long enough to show the fruitlessness of that treaty of neutrality with the League which France had proposed. The Catholic League was dissolved; its members either threw themselves into the arms of France, as Treves to its own misfortune, or were forced to form a more intimate connexion with the emperor, as Bavaria, or had lost their territories to Gustavus Adolphus, who now stood on the Rhine as the acknowledged head of Protestant Germany. This was his real position; in form it was indeterminate. Although never accurately laid down, the outlines of a definition were yet sketched, which grew gradually more distinct. The homage, which after the victory of Leipsic the king required from his conquests for himself and the crown of Sweden, was indeed for the most part limited by certain conditions, such as for the war only, or for Sweden and its allies conjointly; but sometimes these conditions are omitted, as in the question respecting the conquered Catholic bishoprics, to whose inhabitants, and the Catholics generally, the king gave immediate security in respect to their religion and property. Afterwards it awakened general remark, that he had caused Augsburg to do homage without any such conditions. The obligations now contracted between him and the Protestant estates, although not alike in all, provide that contributions for the war shall be paid by all in common, and that the absolute directory of it shall remain with the king; and they acknowledge in more or less decided expressions the king of Sweden as their Lord Protector. In fact, as in name, Gustavus Adolphus was Protector of the German Protestant League. What might thence arise was hidden by the future; and if we give credit to a contemporary Catholic historian, it was even declared. "During the king's stay in Mentz," says Khevenhüller, "some postulates came forth, which the king of Sweden had made, to the elector of Bavaria and other Roman Catholic states, for the re-establishment of peace in Germany. The principal were: that the emperor should revoke the Edict of Restitution⁴; that both religions, the Evangelical and Catholic, as well in towns as in the country, should be free and undisturbed, without constraint of conscience; that Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia should be replaced in their old condition, and all refugees recalled; that the palgrave Frederic should be

restored, and recover his electoral rank, of which Bavaria had deprived him; that Augsburg should be reinvested with its freedom, the exercise of the Evangelical religion being allowed; that all Jesuits should be expelled from the empire as peace-breakers; that ecclesiastical dignities should be thrown open to the members of both religions; and that the king of Sweden, since he had saved the empire from ruin, should be chosen king of the Romans⁵.

It is safer to abide by the words of Gustavus Adolphus himself, addressed to the deputies of Nuremberg at the same period. "From his friends," he said, "he wished for nothing more than their gratitude; what he had taken from the enemy he intended to keep; the Protestant League must sever itself from the Catholics, and provide itself with a suitable chief, especially for the war; with some months' pay he could not, like a runaway soldier, be satisfied; and he might by the law of nations (as Grotius taught) demand, although he had enough of it; Pomerania he could not, on account of his maritime objects, abandon, and if he restored any thing, he might nevertheless demand the same rights of superiority as the emperor had formerly possessed; the old imperial constitution was of no further effect." The Nurembergers declared, that they knew of no better or more auspicious choice for the supreme headship than they had in his majesty⁶. He had at the same time requested the opinion of the Swedish senate respecting the terms which might be deemed a firm foundation for a peace. The conditions which they proposed were: freedom of religion, abolition of the inquisition for ever, and restitution of the Evangelics; the indemnification of Sweden for the expenses of the war, and security for their payment; an alliance between the evangelical party and the king of Sweden, to whom should pertain the directory of all their wars with the emperor or other potentates; the cession of Pomerania and Wismar to Sweden, in return for which Brandenburg should obtain Silesia, Saxony, and Lusatia, and the Landgrave of Hesse, the princes of Weimar and others, should be benefited at the cost of Austria⁷.

The distance and interruption by the war rendered communication with Sweden difficult. Months passed away without intelligence, which led to irregularities and misapprehensions. From Wittenberg, on the 30th August, 1631, the king had ordered the convocation of a Commission of Estates, to which application might be made for the prolongation of the so-called cattle-tax. On the 30th of October, from Wurtzburg, he had promised to send the warrant for calling together the diet. This not arriving, the council pretended to have received it, and appointed the 1st February, 1632, for the day of meeting. In the interval, after a long delay, arrived a letter of secretary Grubbé, in which the royal will was signified, that no diet should be held, but instead thereof the

emperor by a manifest error of the press, and the ninth article also appears to be inaccurate.

⁵ Khevenhüller, xii. 86.

⁶ Breyer, Contributions to the History of the Thirty Years' War. Munich, 1812, p. 207.

⁷ Opinion of the council of state upon the conditions of peace. Stockholm, March 26, 1632. Register of the Council. In the public archives we have not found any register of the king's letter of 1632.

the Spanish designs, and that Farnsbach had come to Dunkirk and offered, if he should get ships, to take Gottemburg. The council sent a military force thither. See their letter to the chancellor, Jan. 23, 1632. Reg.

⁴ So runs the first article of this project in Richelieu, *Mém.* vii. 45, who gives it more shortly, and without mention of the election of king of the Romans. In this first article in Khevenhüller, the king of Sweden is substituted for the

lieutenants of the provinces should deal with the people on the subject of the cattle-tax. By this time the Commission of Estates had already assembled, as the council tells their sovereign⁸, and the deputies had been received with an account of the heroic victories and actions of his majesty. The estates declare, they had learned that the war and its difficulties had led the king far from the borders of Sweden, thank him most humbly for his great toils and cares for the welfare and security of themselves and the oppressed Evangelicals, and promise the continuance of the tax for two years more. Afterwards the council, in letters to the chancery, requests his decision upon various exigent affairs, wherein they had received no answer by reason of the daily fatigues and burdens of warfare which engrossed his majesty's time. Some of his majesty's servants, councillors of the exchequer, lieutenants, assessors in the palace court, were taken off by death, others old and in bad health, others past service; several provinces were without lieutenants. The council beg for warrant to appoint and deprive, as also to decide in high criminal cases on petitions for pardon, which powers they had not ventured to assume. They express also apprehensions of Denmark, and complain, that from the king's prohibition of any other copper coins than kreutzers, so great a want of copper money was felt in the country, that the people knew not how to help themselves⁹.

While duke Bernard of Weimar, Christian, Palsgrave of Birkenfeld, and the Rhinegrave Otho Lewis, spread the king's victorious arms on the Rhine, Horn carried them from Franconia to the Neckar; Tott completed the conquest of Mecklenburg, by the capture of Rostock, Wismar, and Dömitz; Baner made himself master of Magdeburg, given up to him by Pappenheim. Yet in so brilliant a sky the storm-clouds were already rising. It was chiefly Protestant princes and states of the second and third rank who acknowledged Gustavus Adolphus for their protector. Saxony and Brandenburg, the most powerful of them, allies upon compulsion, more in name than deed, kept themselves remote, and followed their own counsels. The Saxon army had indeed advanced without opposition to Prague; but there the elector rested, to the ruin of the country and his army¹. In Torgau he held a conference with the elector of Brandenburg in reference to the re-establishment of peace, but they were unable to come to any agreement as to the means to be adopted. Howbeit the elector of Saxony declared, that they should demand from the emperor a bond for his abdication of the imperial dignity, if he would not consent to reasonable terms²; a sentiment which

in one like John George of Saxony may be cited as an indication of the political temperature of the moment. Furthermore, the elector declared, that "his highness and reputation" would not permit him to place his troops under Swedish command, whereas he requested the king to take up on account of Saxony the contributions which the Protestant estates, at the convention of Leipsic, had promised to him as their head³. Austria, "whose best ally is time," as Bernard of Weimar said warningly to Gustavus Adolphus in Mentz, had meanwhile found opportunity to collect its strength, by great sacrifices, and especially by the unrestricted surrender of the destinies of the monarchy into the hands of that dreaded man, whom Ferdinand had lately sacrificed to the complaints of Germany. Upon conditions which, in regard to powers and rewards, were unheard of, Wallenstein created a new army for the house of Austria.

The king returned to Franconia to support Horn against Tilly, and summoned Bauer with duke William of Weimar to join him⁴. He now completed the conquest of Franconia, secured Nuremberg, crossed the Danube and the Lech, routed Tilly, restored the extinguished religious liberties of Augsburg, which paid homage to its deliverer, and entered Munich.

Of the bold passage of the Lech, against which the king's generals had advised him⁵, the Swedish council observe in their account to the estates, that Tilly and the prince of Bavaria had posted themselves near the town of Rain on the Lech, where they had great advantage, as well from the height of the bank as from a forest. Under a heavy fire, and in the face of the enemy, his majesty caused a bridge to be thrown over the river, and commanded some companies of Fians to cross it, who, in spite of all attacks and all the enemy's fire, threw up a small intrenchment on the other side. Presently afterwards his majesty caused some companies of horse to pass the bridge, who skirmished with the enemy, until he himself crossed with the army. Immediately the king fell upon the enemy, posted behind a small wood. From this he drove the enemy to the town, which also they were obliged to abandon, and so to flee towards Ingolstadt. Tilly was mortally wounded, Altringer badly hurt; about 3000 men were slain.—Thereafter his majesty took divers places, and with the greatest part of his force repaired, on the 8th April, to Augsburg. The enemy's soldiers surrendered on the 10th; whereupon the town of Augsburg concluded with his majesty an accord glorious for the country, of which the instrument is deposited in the royal chancery⁶.

would not demand of them that they should be beaten with double rods."

¹ This duke, who commanded in Thuringia, had before refused to support Horn. Röse, i. 161.

² Swedish Intelligencer, ii. 147. Horn was against the invasion of Bavaria, and counselled the king to march against Bohemia. Francheville, 130.

³ Proposition to the estates, with a relation of the war, Nov. 7, 1632. Reg. The king's court-preacher, Dr. Jacob Fabricius, preached, when the evangelical worship was again held on the 14th April in St. Anne's church at Augsburg. We quote from this sermon what follows: "It is not reasonable nor Christianlike, to strangle, kill, and extirpate mis-believers on account of their false belief and doctrine only, as the Jesuitical murder-drones (mordhummeln) and blood-suckers write thereof. For one of their principal ringleaders,

⁸ To his majesty, concerning the diet. Stockholm, Feb. 4.

⁹ The council to the chancery, Stockholm, May 5, 1632.

¹ "Whereas the elector's Saxons contented themselves with what God and fortune sent them at the close of the year, let no further care annoy them, rested in winter-quarters, and made good cheer." Chemnitz, i. 291. Withal they so oppressed the inhabitants, that in Prague two thousand houses were soon standing empty. From their intemperance a violent malady broke out in the army. Ibid.

² Chemnitz, i. c.

³ Chemnitz, i. 287. The king replied, "It would be almost impossible for the estates to take upon themselves, besides the load they were constrained now to bear, additional contributions. The elector, out of Christian condolence,

The re-establishment of the Confession of Augsburg in the town which had been its cradle, appears, of all his triumphs, to have been dearest to Gustavus Adolphus; and on public opinion it made a deep impression. The unfortunate Frederic of the Palatinate entered at his side (the only satisfaction he received) the capital of his enemy, Maximilian of Bavaria. Gustavus Adolphus in Munich we will portray in the words of a Bavarian annalist: "There was nought to compare with the strict discipline and order in which he kept the very moderate force which was allowed to enter the town (the army was obliged to remain encamped without it); incomparable also was his frank, glad friendliness, and the unembarrassed condescension which he showed in mixing and conversing with the inhabitants. He heard divine service with reverence, with his chief associates, in the Catholic churches, and looked upon the ceremonies (on Ascension-day, May 20, he was for two hours in the church of the Nunery); he demeaned himself every where as if he were at home in the midst of his people, heard with pleasure witty though biting replies, which he answered with a friendly jest, and was inwardly content when he, in case he went on foot, came into a throng of children and grown persons, among whom he usually scattered money ⁷." The town, however, was obliged to pay 300,000 rix-dollars, which were rigorously exacted. In Bavaria, which heretofore had been undisturbed by war, Ingolstadt alone, whose siege wellnigh cost the king his life ⁸, and the exasperated country people, offered any resistance. The whole of Protestant Swabia passed over to Gustavus Adolphus. Bernard of Weimar carried his arms to the lake of Constance and the Tyrol; and with the Swiss, who allowed the Swedes to hold levies, negotiations were opened for an alliance. Italy began to tremble, says Richelieu, while Vienna was in alarm; the revolted peasants of Upper Austria had already solicited Swedish assistance.

Wallenstein now put his troops in motion, drove the Saxons, whom he first lulled to repose by negotiations, out of Bohemia, and soon stood, united with the elector of Bavaria, at Eger. Gustavus Adolphus, who had vainly sought to hinder this conjunction by a rapid march, was obliged to confine himself to covering Nuremberg, which was threatened with the fate of Magdeburg. He had but 18,000 men ⁹ against 60,000; but Nuremberg con-

tained at this time 30,000 men fit to bear arms, and he surrounded it completely with a fortified camp, defended by three hundred cannon. Wallenstein came, says a contemporary narration, in thunder and lightning, with the Upper Palatinate in flames around him, to Nuremberg ¹, and sat down likewise in a fortified camp. "It was upon a height called Old-hill, where he occupied an old castle in the forest, with a hunter's lodge near, called the old fort, which he strongly intrenched with ditches and palisades, erecting likewise on the hill some large and strong sconces, covering also the ditches and breast-works with felled trees, and placing many casks filled with sand and stones on the batteries ²." Here the two greatest commanders of the time, with the eyes of the world fixed on their movements, stood from the beginning of July nine weeks against each other. "My army is new," said Wallenstein; "if it were overcome in a battle Germany and Italy would be in danger; I will show the king of Sweden a new way of making war ³." On the 24th August, after the king, by junctions with Oxenstierna, Bauer, the dukes of Weimar and others had raised his strength to 46,000 men, he assaulted Wallenstein's camp for ten hours in vain. Want and disease had laid low a far greater number than battle. The Nuremberg bills of mortality for this year state the amount of the victims at 29,000. The king left Oxenstierna and Kniphausen to defend the town, and on the 8th September led off his army, half melted away; unpursued by Wallenstein, who a few days afterwards set his camp on fire and departed.

In the camp at Nuremberg, where Gustavus Adolphus had assembled the largest force of any during all his campaigns, the bonds of strict discipline were still more slackened than during the distress of Werben, as we may learn from the king's vehement address to the assembled officers. "Ye princes, lords, and nobles," he exclaimed, "ye that help to destroy your own native land! My heart is embittered, yea, my bowels tremble when I hear the complaint made, that Swedish soldiers are reckoned more shameless than even those of the enemy. But it is not the Swedes, it is the very Germans who defile themselves with these excesses. Had I known that ye Germans bore so little love and truth to your own land, I would have saddled no horse for your sakes, far less risked my crown and life for you ⁴." At Nurem-

by name Becanus (Tract. de fide, spe, et charit. c. 15, quæst. 4, 5, et 6.) teaches 'Quod propter solam h. resin hæretici reges et alii principes privandi sunt bonis, imperiis, dominiis — et quod omnes alii hæretici pueniendi sunt pœna capitis.' Behold, these are the words of the Jesuit Becanus, where-with he shows himself the thirsting bloodhound of accused but not yet convicted heretics. And for further proof of this he mentions also the bull of the Papal ban, which is renewed every year at Rome on Maundy Thursday, whereby all pretended heretics are adjudged from life to death. Yea, the aforesaid Becanus says (qu. 8), 'Hæretici respicientes, tametsi recipiantur de ecclesia—non tamen permittantur vivere.' With these blood-thirsty allegations we do not in the least hold, since it is wholly unchristian to kill men for mere heterodoxy. For he that will not unconstrained embrace the right faith, may leave it, and him we ought not to compel thereto by violent methods. For God requires a voluntary worship, and every man will be obliged to give an account to the Lord, how or what he hath believed." Sermon of Thanksgiving and Comfort (Dank-und Trost-Bredigt) after the conquest of the city of Augsburg, printed in the

year 1632. Words like these issued out of the heart of Gustavus Adolphus.

⁷ Westenrieder, History of the Thirty Years' War. Historical Calendar for 1805, Munich, ii. 208.

⁸ His horse was shot under him. He rose, saying "The apple is not yet ripe." This was on the 20th April, 1632; the same day Tilly died. The king's entry into Munich was made on the 7th May.

⁹ In all eighteen thousand four hundred and forty-three men, as I have seen it written out of the army. Swedish Intelligence, ii. 240.

¹ Like Jupiter in the poet—all in thunder and light, all in fire and tempest, he takes and destroys the prince palatine's dominions, and the poor Protestant towns before him. Ibid. 238.

² New Chronicle of the War (Newe Kriegs-Chronica), printed in 1632, quoted by Schult. Military Occurrences about Nuremberg in 1632; Nuremberg, 1824.

³ Swedish Intelligence, iii. 13, 17.

⁴ We have followed and abridged an outline of his speech in the Swedish Intelligence.

berg Baner was early wounded, Torstenson was taken at the assault on Wallenstein's camp. A cannon-ball carried away the sole of the king's stirrup, and an officer fell at his side. Duke Bernard of Weimar had a horse shot under him.

Both the king and the duke of Friedland divided their armies after breaking up from Nuremberg. Gustavus Adolphus left Bernard of Weimar in Franconia to guard the Maine, but himself re-crossed the Danube and the Lech, and broke anew into Bavaria, where the enemy, reinforced by imperial troops from Italy, had again made some progress. Wallenstein despatched a division of the Bavarian force to Austria, to quell the revolt of the peasants, sent Gallas to Meissen, whither Holk with his wild bands had preceded him, and himself approached Thuringia⁵. Unquestionably Gustavus Adolphus had it at heart to secure his advantages in southern Germany, where Horn, in possession of Strasburg, stood victor on the Upper Rhine, and the king himself now founded the league between the Protestants of the four upper circles, which, after his death, was actually concluded at Heilbronn⁶. But it is equally indubitable, that his movement to the southward of Nuremberg was also calculated to entice the enemy to the same direction, and that to save Saxony he wished to remove the war again to Bavaria⁷. This purpose miscarried. The elector of Bavaria indeed now parted from Wallenstein to defend his own country; but the latter went not a step out of his way for Bavaria. The accounts of contemporaries describe his plan with as much completeness as verisimilitude. It was calculated for a longer time. Gustavus Adolphus broke through it suddenly, but at the cost of his life.

These two great antagonists in our days, the king of Sweden and the duke of Friedland, says the narrator, were now become the most famous per-

sons in the Christian world, and there was hardly a man, however insignificant he might be, in the whole Protestant party, who did not feel the influence of the Swedish king's enterprises upon himself, his activity and fortunes. The Swedish arms were still in the ascendant. Horn was victorious in Triers and Alsatia, whence he had driven away Ossa and Montecuculi. Arnheim with the Saxons, and Duwall, whom the king had sent to his reinforcement, had overcome almost all resistance in Silesia. In Bavaria there was little to do, until Montecuculi, just at this time, broke into that country. Duke Julius of Wurtemberg and sir Patrick Rutliven had still the upper hand in Swabia. The Swedish garrisons in Pomerania and Mecklenburg had no enemy. The Spaniards and Lorrainers were about this time expelled from Germany. Of all the Imperialist generals Pappenheim was the only one who still carried on a partisan war in Lower Saxony, and the court of Vienna had ordered him to unite with Wallenstein. Such was the position of the Swedish armies when the king and Wallenstein broke up from Nuremberg.—On Wednesday, the 12th September, the latter crossed the Rednitz with his army. The soldiers set on fire their huts and the country round about; for Wallenstein ever encompassed himself with flames. While the Imperialists marched off, the Swedish force left in Nuremberg stood under arms in and near the town, and exchanged some balls with the rear. From want of horses the enemy had been obliged to leave great stores in the camp, where the remnant became the prize of the Nurembergers. At some distance from the town the Imperial army was divided, as mentioned before. The dukes of Friedland and Bavaria marched onwards by the left bank of the Rednitz. The dragoons went in the front, the Croats were ever the last to leave quarters⁸. After the partition, and with the loss

⁵ Swedish Intelligencer, iii. 82. Compare Khevenhüller, xii. 175, and Francheville, 203. Khevenhüller says, that the king's first view, when he quitted Nuremberg, was to allure the enemy to an assault upon the town, and during it to attack them. After Wallenstein's upbreake he actually came in haste to Nuremberg, examined the deserted camp of the enemy, and judged thereby that they were not so numerous as they had been stated. Of Holk's Croats in Saxony Gualdo (himself an officer of Wallenstein) says, "They had imagined a new kind of torture to draw the last penny from the unfortunate Saxons. They despoiled men and women without distinction, and in this state caused them to be torn by famished dogs, whom they carried with them for that infamous use." Francheville, 192. "Their villany was so great, that after abusing the women; in satisfying their filthy lusts, they did burn them and their families." Monro, ii. 156. The king's second passage of the Lech was made on the 1st and 2nd October; on the 3rd he retook the town of Rain, lately given up by the Swedish commandant colonel Mitschetal, for which he was tried by court-martial and beheaded. The king was reinforced upon his march to Bavaria by from four thousand to five thousand Swiss (others say more), levied upon his account, who were afterwards among the troops left behind to maintain Bavaria. Svéd. Intell. iii. 60, 64.

⁶ "The king indeed had particular alliances with the majority of the evangelical estates; but these not being able to raise the stone, it was found that completely to heal all mischief, an unanimous general ordinance was highly needful. To lay as it were the foundation-stone thereto, the king resolved to call together at Ulm a convention of the four upper circles, the Swabian, Franconian, and two Rhenane." Chemnitz, i. 435.

⁷ Theatrum Europæum, which quotes both the opinions and narrations of this time, says that it was the king's intent, "by capturing the strong places of Bavaria, to draw the enemy's power to himself, to secure the Danube, and forthwith to transfer the seat of the war into the Austrian hereditary dominions;" ii. 746. "It is easy to perceive that the king wished to save Saxony by a diversion to Bavaria. But that was calculated as against an ordinary general, and Wallenstein showed here that he did not belong to that class." Bülow, Campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany (Gustaf Adolfs Fälttag i Tyskland).

⁸ "These dragoons, or horse-musketeers, were all picked men. Their duty was to sustain the cavalry, and when occasion offered, they dismounted and fired on the enemy. They served as an escort to convoys, formed sudden ambuscades, &c. These dragoons were armed with ordinary muskets, of which the match was turned on a small piece of wood fixed at their horse's headstall; their sword was short, and at their saddle-bow hung a little hatchet, which served to cut wood. These troops are of new formation. Others pretend that he who formed the first dragoons was count Ernest (de Mansfeld), who was placed under the ban of the empire; obliged to live like a man without fire or home, wandering from one place to another with his little army, he had, it is said, set his infantry on horseback that they might move more quickly." Gualdo, in Francheville, 164. Gustavus Adolphus first introduced dragoons into the Swedish army; they are said to have shot better than the Imperialists, and had probably already laid aside the matchlock. The Croats corresponded to the hussars of later times.—"The Croats did marvels in the little war. Wallenstein used them at all seasons to alarm the king's camp, and harass his cavalry. Gustavus found but one means of getting rid of

at Nuremberg, the whole force did not exceed ten thousand, or at the highest fifteen thousand foot, and nine or ten thousand horse; at least so far as was known to the king. In Forchheim Wallenstein stayed from ten to fourteen days. Here he first received information that the king of Sweden, with half his army, had turned against Bavaria, and left duke Beruard with the other half in the vicinity of the Maine. The elector of Bavaria now took his way homewards, requesting that Altringer with his regiment and Colloredo might be allowed to follow, to marshal the *laudwehr* of Bavaria, which Wallenstein permitted, escorting the elector to Bamberg. Although secret foes, they were an amicable mien at their leave-taking; yet it was remarked that Wallenstein was not so supple as the old elector. Wallenstein's sojourn in Bamberg caused suspicion that an assault was contemplated upon Schweinfurt, where the Swedish colonel Charles Hard was commandant. The latter augmented his force, and duke Bernard of Weimar hastened to the defence of the town⁹. Wallenstein therefore directed his march against Baireuth, Culmbach, and Coburg, took the first and last of these towns, but was repulsed in an attempt to storm the castle of Coburg, by the Swedish commandant Dubatell¹⁰. Duke Bernard had come about this time from Schweinfurt to Königshofen, and thence moved to Hildburghausen, on the edge of the Thuringian forest. Wallenstein designed to penetrate into Thuringia, where Pappenheim was to have joined him. Then all the passes across the Thuringian forest would have been barred against the king; Wallenstein and Pappenheim would have retaken Erfurt, made themselves masters of Thuringia, overrun the country of the dukes of Weimar, occupied winter-quarters in Saxony, and next spring invaded Lusatia and Silesia. Wallenstein would have gained the command of the Elbe, cut off the retreat of the king of Sweden, recovered once more his duchy of Mecklenburg, and soon again stood on the shore of the Baltic.—The first portion of this plan of Wallenstein, namely, the reduction of Thuringia and Weimar, was frustrated by duke Bernard, who, though not sufficiently strong for an engagement in the open field, yet defended the pass, by which he rendered the

king a great service. Nor did Pappenheim dare to seek a junction with the emperor's commander-in-chief, ere he learned that the latter had invaded Meissen upon another side through Voigtland. For thither Wallenstein now followed the tracks of Holk and Gallas with fire and sword¹¹ (the war, says the narrator, seeming to be waged not by enemies but furies), in order to essay the accomplishment of his main plan in this way¹. The elector of Saxony in his distress called Gustavus Adolphus for the second time to his rescue.

The king, before whom Montecuculi in Bavaria had retired to Ratisbon, was in the mind to pursue him and penetrate into Austria. He was busied in Newburg with despatching various stores by the Danube, and preparing to besiege Iugolstadt, whose garrison, weakened by the plague, was not supposed able to make a long resistance, when a courier from Oxenstierna, on the 8th October, brought him the intelligence that Wallenstein on the 5th had directed his march through Voigtland towards Saxony.—The king formed his decision in a moment. To the Palsgrave Christian of Birkenfeld he confided the care of defending Bavaria with the newly-levied Swiss and other troops. Three brigades of infantry he ordered to go with the queen (who accompanied him on this expedition), to Schweinfurt and the Thuringian forest. He himself, with the cavalry, took his way toward Nuremberg, the neighbourhood of which he cleared of the enemy. There he communicated with Knipphausen, who was ordered to proceed in the same direction, while he with his body-guard alone (three hundred Smaland dragoons, under colonel Frederic Stenbock), hastened from Nuremberg to overtake duke Bernard of Weimar, whom he found at Schleusingen on the 21st October. They continued their march through the Thuringian forest to Arnstadt, where the king stayed six days, waiting for his troops, who came up on the 27th October². His meeting with Bernard of Weimar was cold. The duke had wished to reap the honour of rescuing Saxony for himself, and, restrained by the king's express order, awaited his arrival with discontent. On the battle-field of Lutzeu Bernard of Weimar forgot his unjust dissatisfaction³. At

them, that was to reinforce the advanced posts, and send there good pickets of cavalry, mingled with dragoons and musketeers. These had orders to keep themselves concealed, and wait till the Croats came within range of their muskets, which carrying farther than carbines, pierced these lightly-clad runners without their being able to defend themselves; at the same time the cavalry, which had opened to allow passage to the fire of the musketry, was to surround them." *I. c.* 163. This was the same expedient used by the king at Leipzig against the Croats.

⁹ The king had committed to duke Bernard of Weimar the defence of Schweinfurt and the pass into the Thuringian forest. "As we are apprehensive on account of Schweinfurt and the pass, we beg your lovingness to keep a watchful eye upon it," writes the king to duke Bernard, *Dunkelsbühl*, Sept. 21, 1632. *Röse*, i. 172.

¹⁰ The name is also written Taupadell and Tupadel.

¹¹ "Then first did desolation rightly fall upon Saxony." *Theatrum Europæum*, ii. 743. Compare Gualdo's narrative before cited of Holk's proceedings in Saxony, and what the *Theatrum Europæum* relates of Gallas. From Wallenstein's letter to Gallas: "Pray the Lord ye keep sharp justice, and see that not the least thing is taken from the peasants and country-folk," &c. (*Förster's Wallenstein*, Potsdam, 1834,

p. 195). *Förster* takes occasion to impeach older historians, who have spoken of Wallenstein's cruel mode of war (even his soldiers called him the tyrant) of "unconscientious dishonesty." Even if we do not distinguish here between what Wallenstein wished and what he possibly could not help, yet the consideration will always remain, that we have to do with a man whose unshakable principle it was never to compromise himself in writing. *Förster* likewise, with all his merits as to the history of Wallenstein, has in our opinion the fault of having judged him too much according to the letter.

¹ This whole narration is an abstract from the Swedish *Intelligencer*, iii. 76—91, a collection which shortly appeared of the letters and relations of English and Scottish officers serving in the Swedish army. The fourth edition, London, 1634, lies before us. We subjoin the following from the *Theatrum Europæum*, ii. 740: "It then appeared as if the duke of Friedland's design would succeed, which was, to reduce in a short time under his power the electorate of Saxony, and after to repair through March-Brandenburg to his lost territories, Mecklenburg, Stargard, and Rostock—especially since the Saxon army was stationed a long way thence in Silesia, and could not be commanded back in such sudden haste."

² Swedish *Intelligencer*, iii. 64—71.

³ That the hero-souled, but too passionate Bernard of

Arnstadt Gustavus Adolphus parted from Axel Oxenstierna, who had followed him from Nuremberg, and now turned towards Frankfort on the Maine, in order thence to proceed to Upper Germany as the king's legate, with unlimited powers. The army marched to Erfurt, where it was mustered upon a beautiful plain not far from the town. A new division was adopted. Several regiments were consolidated; the Scottish and English, now too weak, were dissolved. In all, the infantry was reckoned at twelve thousand, and the cavalry at six thousand five hundred; this was the king's whole force in the battle of Lutzen⁴. In Erfurt, where the king arrived on the evening of the 23th October, he first of all visited his lieutenant, duke William of Weimar, who lay ill. In the marketplace the queen came to meet him. In the company of his wife and duke Ernest of Saxe-Weimar he swallowed a hasty supper, and spent the night in his chamber perusing letters, issuing orders, and despatching couriers. Early in the morning he rose, took a tender leave (the last) of his spouse⁵, exhorted the burghers of Erfurt to be faithful to her, if by God's pleasure any thing fatal should befall him, mounted his horse, and followed his army.

Wallenstein meanwhile had taken Leipsic, made a new movement towards Torgau, and lastly communicated with Pappenheim at Merseburg, the same day the king came to Erfurt. The Swedes had as it were flown, and made incredible marches, says one of Wallenstein's officers⁶; hence the arrival of the king was unknown to the enemy. Pappenheim had just advised Wallenstein to turn his whole force against Erfurt, when the news came that the king was already approaching from that place. Wallenstein now went to Weissenfels, and sent in haste to occupy the pass over the Saal at Naumburg, where only a weak outpost was stationed. It was too late. Naumburg had been already taken by the king, who, on the 30th October, crossed the Saal. The inhabitants on his way fell upon their knees, and stretched out their hands to their rescuer, who exclaimed: "I fear that God will punish me; these people honour me like a god." The armies were so near one another that the outposts skirmished; but neither of the leaders seemed yet determined on an engagement. Gustavus Adolphus had begun to construct a fortified camp at Naumburg. Wallenstein on his side intrenched his army. The difficulty of the pass between Weissenfels and Naumburg prevented

him from immediately attacking the latter place; and he requested the opinion of his generals. They dissuaded a battle; the king had already taken up an advantageous position and fortified it; the season was now far advanced; on the Rhine the enemy threatened to be an over-match. Pappenheim actually obtained the permission of his chief to betake himself thither; on the way he was to drive the Swedes from the castle of Moritzburg at Halle. They held it to be improbable that the Swedish army, so much weaker as it was, would venture to attack the Imperialists. Wallenstein arranged his plans for winter-quarters, and retired to Lutzen.—A Spanish officer in his army states, however, that this was in connexion with a secret object. Wallenstein is said to have intended to go from Lutzen to Merseburg, in order to be nearer to Pappenheim at his assault of Halle; he had sent colonels Contreras and Suys to Altenburg and Zwickau, hoping that the king would avail himself of the opening so left to advance to Dresden, where he purposed then falling upon the Swedes in the rear with his collective force⁷. He had ordered Gallas to march from the Bohemian frontier to join him; but this officer did not arrive early enough for the battle of Lutzen⁸.

The last days of Gustavus Adolphus are for us too important not to obtain more detailed notice. The king came to Naumburg on Thursday, the 1st of November, O.S., and lingered there till the following Monday; spending only the nights in the town, but the days in his camp, whence he was at last obliged by the cold to remove his infantry into the town. On Sunday a Saxon peasant came to the king, and delivered into his hands a letter from the Imperialist general count Colloredo to the chief of his regiment at Querfurt, with information of Wallenstein's march to Lutzen, and Pappenheim's to Halle. In a council of war with duke Bernard of Weimar and general Kniphausen thereby occasioned, the opinion of the latter, that no battle should be hazarded, overcame that of the former. When the king broke up from Naumburg, his first intention therefore was to proceed to meet the elector of Saxony and duke George of Lüneburg. He had calculated upon a junction with both. Duke George, with the troops under his command in Lower Saxony, had received timely instructions with this view. The duke, who had lately assured the king that he desired no greater honour in this

Weimar, could harbour this discontent, and declare in a letter to his brother William: "It hath almost the appearance as if some jealousy were springing up, and the king would not entrust to me the performance of this work, or did not reckon me competent thereto"—is excusable; but that a historian like Röse should here insinuate envy, and ascribe motives like these for the king's conduct: "He resolves the accomplishment of the enterprise for himself, in order alone to reap the renown, and to bind the elector of Saxony to himself, but not to the hero of Weimar,"—and this of the expedition to Saxony, where Gustavus Adolphus was playing for his *all*, and where he, even after his junction with duke Bernard, had hardly 20,000 men at Lutzen!—this we say is hardly excusable, even if one be the historian of Weimar. Compare Röse, duke Bernard the Great of Saxe-Weimar, i. 174, 176.

⁴ "And this was the king's whole strength (and after the largest reckoning too) in the day of the great battle of Lut-

zen." Swedish Intel. iii. 69. Comp 71. The *Theatrum Europæum* states the king's strength at 20,000 men, adding that they were his best and oldest soldiers. So Khevenhüller, xii. 182. Forgetting this, he speaks in his description of the battle itself of 25,000 men, although the king had, after the review of Erfurt, received no reinforcement, but, on the contrary, left garrisons at Naumburg and Weissenfels.

⁵ According to a narrative mentioned by Philipp (death of Gustavus Adolphus, Leipsic, 1832), the queen came after the king to Naumburg, and first parted from him there on the morning of November 5.

⁶ Gualdo, by Francheville, 205.

⁷ Swedish Intel. iii. 113. The Spanish relation alluded to was printed at Lisbon in 1633. Compare Khevenhüller, xii. 187.

⁸ Förster, Wallenstein's Letters, ii. 278. Gualdo incorrectly mentions him as present. Khevenhüller makes the same mistake as to Horn, whose actions in Alsace at the same time he nevertheless relates.

world than to shed his blood for his majesty's and the general weal⁹, instead of this went his own way, and appeared not, any more than the elector, at the battle of Lutzen¹.

It was at four o'clock in the morning of the 5th November that the king broke up from Naumburg. Halfway to Pegan, towards ten in the forenoon, the tidings of Pappenheim's departure were confirmed, with the addition, that Wallenstein's troops, unprepared for an attack, were lying in the villages round Lutzen. The king exclaimed: "Now do I verily believe that God hath given the enemy into my hand," and then resolved to attack Wallenstein. He caused Weissenfels, abandoned by the Imperialists, to be occupied. Count Rudolph Colloredo, who was despatched to withdraw the last hundred men remaining there, from the high castle of Weissenfels beheld the king advancing on his way to Lutzen, and was the first to bring the knowledge of the fact to Wallenstein. The latter wrote forthwith to Pappenheim to return without delay, since the enemy was approaching, and already at the pass. The letter, steeped in Pappenheim's blood, is extant in the archives of Vienna²; he carried it about him in the battle. The pass referred to is at Rippach, a village on a brook of the same name, that flows through low-lying meadows between heights, from which the wide level around Leipsic and Lutzen extends. When the king, having routed Isolani's Croats at the pass, descended into the plain the night had already set in. He spent it in his chariot, with Kniphausen and Bernard of Weimar; the army on the open field. In the Imperialist leaguer there was great confusion. Three cannon-shots called the regiments together; orders were sent in all directions to hasten to camp. The regiments took their places in the array as they came up. The Imperialist dragoons and pioneers worked throughout the night, to deepen the ditches on both sides of the high-road from Leipsic to Lutzen, so that they might serve as breast-works for musketeers. Wallenstein's position was north of this road, which covered his front. His right wing rested on the town of Lutzen and the windmills, which lay before him; in the gardens between

these and the town musketeers were posted. The left wing stretched into the open plain (here Pappenheim was to come up), and had at a little distance from it a canal (the so-called float-ditch), which connects the Saal with the Elster, and traverses the field in a north-west direction. Four great brigades of infantry, each of several regiments, occupied the centre of the Imperial army, where Wallenstein himself took post. Immense squares, ten men deep, with similar smaller squares at the corners, they resembled fortresses with projecting bastions. Before them, on the high-road, they had that battery of seven cannon, which was to be the object of so murderous a struggle. The remaining artillery grazed the front from the windmills in a slanting direction. On the left of the masses of infantry which have been mentioned, were seen in great columns Piccolomini's cuirassiers, on whom the attack of the Swedes was broken, and where the king lost his life; on the right likewise deep columns of cavalry, and then infantry again; on the extreme of both wings the Croats. In order to plant themselves over-against the enemy, the Swedes, on their side, were obliged to pass the canal just mentioned, and their right wing reached in its first position some distance beyond it.

Wallenstein's strength is very differently stated. Prisoners of the Swedish army, whom he caused to be examined by Pappenheim in Weissenfels, heard it alleged to be 50,000 men³, but they themselves remarked the exaggeration of this statement. For the rest, we may form a notion of one of Wallenstein's armies, when we know that in this were found no fewer than 10,000 women, baggage-lads, and children. In his account to the emperor after the battle, Wallenstein himself states its force at Lutzen as not higher than 12,000 men; an assertion still more improbable, which Catholic authors however have adopted. Gustavus Adolphus estimated his enemy on the field at 30,000 men, according to ocular measurement, and the extent of his front⁴. By the lowest statement the last military writer upon this battle assumes, that Wallenstein was at least 20,000 men strong, even

⁹ "His royal majesty may safely and surely depend upon this, that his princely grace is eager to shed his blood for his majesty and the commonwealth, seeing that he desires no greater honour in this world than to display this on occasion offering, and really as well as corporally to demonstrate it." Duke George's relation to the king, Brunswick, Oct. 2, 1632. See v. d. Decken, duke George of Brunswick and Luneburg, ii. doc. 100. The duke, instead of going to the king, hastened to join the Saxons, and was now with his corps at Torgau, where a thousand Saxon cavalry had placed themselves under him, l. c. ii. 103. Others state the number of the Saxons as considerably higher, and their whole strength at 8000 men or upwards. But it is certain that the main body of the Saxons was still detained in Silesia by Arnheim, in spite of all the elector's injunctions. Arnheim came with 2000 men on the 28th October to Dresden, thereafter inspected the Swedish corps under duke George of Luneburg at Torgau, came back on the 31st October, and repaired again to Silesia. Chemnitz, i. 459. Arnheim consequently at this time was neither with 10,000 men, nor with the Saxon main army at Dresden, as the above-mentioned historian of duke George says, ii. 106, 109.

¹ Gustavus Adolphus, on the night before the battle, is said to have complained of the untrustworthiness of duke George of Luneburg. He resolved on battle without waiting for the effect of his last orders. The king's last letter to the elector

of Saxony in Torgau was despatched on the 4th November from Naumburg; he bade him march straight to Eilenburg, informed him that he was himself going to Pegan, and appointed Grimmer for the place of meeting. Swedish Intel. iii. 121. To this letter duke Bernard appeals in his memorial to the elector after the battle of Lutzen, Nov. 11, 1632, where he again presses for a junction. In this second instance it is said: "Since God hath assisted his grace in this, and the enemy hath retired in affright, therefore his grace finds it highly needful (according to his majesty's own opinion, as shown by his last letter), that his electoral highness may determine himself to give his people the order to conjoin themselves with the royal army, as his grace, being one in the service of his majesty of Sweden, would have prayed, to the end that his grace duke Bernard may march the 9th to Peja (Pegau), and the 10th to Grimmer." Thirdly, duke Bernard prays the elector (as it is said, also according to the view expressed by the king in his lifetime,) to leave Arnheim and his army in Silesia. Glafey, de gladio Gust. Adol., Leipsic, 1749. Hereby is contradicted the assertion of Röse, i. 176, that duke Bernard, after his difference with Gustavus Adolphus at Arnstadt, never styled himself a Swedish general. Yet Röse cites this very memorial! (i. 368. n. 66.)

² Förster, Wallenstein's Letters, ii. 273.

³ Swedish Intel. iii. 119.

⁴ Ibid. 133.

after he had sent away about 10,000 with Papenheim⁵.

The Swedes, as we have said, crossed the canal above-mentioned; a portion of their right wing did not pass it before the first attack. The order of battle was the same as at Leipsic; the whole army stood in two lines; the infantry six, the cavalry three to four men deep, the former in the middle, the latter on the wings; yet the cavalry was every where separated by platoons of musketeers from fifty to a hundred men. The king led on the right wing, consisting of six regiments of cavalry, Finns, Westgothlanders, Sudermanians, Uplanders, Eastgothlanders, Smalanders in the first line, and of German horse in the second. Eight brigades of infantry formed the centre, whereof three in the first line next the king were Swedes; among them the guard or the so-called yellow regiment, and the blues, under colonel Winkel. The first line of infantry was led by count Nicholas Brahe, the second by Knipphausen. The left wing, under duke Bernard of Weimar, counted likewise six regiments of cavalry in each line, Germans, Courlanders, and Livonians. Behind the infantry stood two regiments in reserve, one of foot, under the Scotsman Henderson, one of horse, under colonel Oehm, from the Palatinate⁶. Before every brigade of the first line were placed five large cannon; forty lighter pieces were distributed before the platoons of musketry between the cavalry; the whole artillery consisted of sixty cannon; the greatest part of the baggage was left at Naumburg, the rest was stationed at the village of Meuchen, beyond the canal.

On Tuesday, the 6th of November, 1632, lay a thick fog over the plain at Lutzen, which did not begin to disperse till towards noon. The Swedish army said prayers, and sang Luther's psalm, "To us our God is a strong tower;" after which the king himself intoned another spiritual hymn of praise⁷. Since his wound at Dirschau, he had ever found it painful to wear armour, and he set generally no value on the heavy accoutrement hitherto used, which he in great part abolished in his army. "God is my harness," he said, when his equipments were brought to him on that morning. He mounted his horse, without having taken any refreshments. Clad in his doublet and great coat, as usual, he rode through the ranks, and spoke to his troops in words which have come down to us⁸. To his Swedes and Finns he said; "Dear friends and countrymen, this day the moment is come to show what ye have learned in so many combats. There ye have the foe, not upon a high mountain, or behind strong intrenchments, but on a clear

field. How this enemy hath heretofore shunned the open plain, ye well know; and that he lets it now come to a battle, proceeds not from his free-will, nor from hope of victory, but because he can no longer escape your arms. Therefore make yourselves ready, and hold you well as becomes brave soldiers; stand fast by one another, and fight like true knights, for your God, for your fatherland, and your king. I will then so reward you all that ye may have cause to thank me for it; but if ye fight not, no bone of you shall ever come to Sweden. God preserve you all!" To the Germans he thus spake; "You, my sincere brothers and comrades, I pray and exhort by your Christian conscience and your own honour, now do your duty, as ye have done the same with me often before, and especially a year ago, not far from this place. Then ye beat old Tilly and his army, and I hope that this enemy shall not slip for a better bargain. Go freshly to it! Ye shall not merely fight under me, but with me and beside me. I myself will go before you, and here venture life and blood. If ye will follow me, I trust in God that ye will win a victory which shall come to good for you and your descendants. If not, there is an end of your religion, your freedom, your temporal and eternal welfare." Wallenstein did not address his army¹. On both sides the watchword was as at Leipsic; "God with us," in the Swedish, "Jesus, Maria," in the imperial force. Bernard of Weimar, and the other generals, received the king's last orders. After his speech, which both nations answered with clash of arms and joyful shouts, the king called out, with his face upturned to heaven, "Now will we in God's name onward! Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, may we fight to-day for the honour of thy holy name!" Therewith he waved his sword over his head, and gave the command, "Forward!" The town of Lutzen was observed burning; it had been set on fire by the Imperialists. The king was at this moment surrounded by duke Francis Albert of Saxe-Lauenburg, his court-marshal Kreilsheim, the chamberlain Fruchsess, the page Leubeling, several officers of regiments broken up at Erfurt, who now did staff-duty, and two life-guardsmen.

About ten o'clock the fog parted³ for some time, and the sun shone forth. The cannonade began, in which the Imperialists had the advantage of the Swedes, who marched straight upon the enemy's batteries. Some balls fell close to the king, who, during this advance, changed his horse⁴. The Swedes drew near the high-road, where they were

cious, the king's court-preacher, heard it from his own lips. Others ascribe it to John Altenburg, a minister in Thuringia.

⁸ We follow Chemnitz, with abridgment of his diffuse style, and some variation according to other sources.

⁹ The conclusion is as it is given by Jens Mansson.

¹ "Wallenstein by his presence solely and the severity of his silence, seemed to signify to his soldiers, that as he had been accustomed to do, he would recompense or chastise them." (Wallenstein par sa seule présence et la sévérité de son silence, &c.) *Mémoires de Richelieu*, vii. 258.

² This said, he drew out his sword, which waving over his head he advanced forward, the foremost of all his army. *Swed. Intel.* iii. 127.

³ Richelieu, *Mém.* vii. 258. His narrative is a literal translation of the report of the battle, which duke Bernard sent to Louis XIII., quoted (after Sirr, *Mém.* vii. 541) in the Appendix to Wallenstein's Letters by Förster, ii. 336.

⁴ Richelieu, i. c.

⁵ Vincke, Battle of Lutzen. Berlin, 1832.

⁶ *Swed. Intel.* iii. 129.

⁷ Chemnitz, i. 464. "Thereupon his majesty himself began to sing gladly 'Jesus Christ our Saviour, death he did overpower.' Narrative of the court-trumpeter, Jens Mansson, written in German, entitled, 'Actions and Campaigns of me Jens Mansson, which I have made with his Royal Majesty Gustavus Adolphus, &c., my most gracious King and Lord, from the year 1621 unto his last day.' Translated into Swedish in the Historical Archives, Stockholm, 1774, i. 45, by Lönbom. The psalm above quoted is in the Stockholm German Psalm-Book, among the Easter Psalms. Some say that the king at his own morning prayer sang the psalm "Despond not yet, ye little flock," (see the Swedish Psalm-Book, No. 378.) which he is himself said to have composed. Wolinhaus (in his "Lutheran Church") relates that Fabri-

met by a lively fire from the musketeers, posted partly in the deepened ditches, partly behind walls in the rear of these. Some say, that when the infantry here did not advance quickly enough, the king, reproaching them, took pike in hand himself, and prepared to lead the assault on the ditches; but allowed himself to be moved by the exclamations and entreaties of his soldiers to desist from his purpose, whereupon he mounted his horse and put himself at the head of the cavalry⁵. The onfall was made with such impetuosity, that the three Swedish infantry brigades of the centre, under the command of count Nicholas Brahe, pushed across the high-road, took the hostile batteries on the other side, repulsed two immense squares of the enemy, and were on the point of overpowering the third, when, outmaneuvered in an attack by the enemy's reserve and cavalry, they were obliged to give way, lost the batteries again, and were driven back over the high-road. The Swedish cavalry, which at the first onslaught had partly halted at the ditches, came up afterwards; the king was among the foremost. The tidings of the first capture of the battery had reached him; he uncovered his head and thanked God. Over-against stood the Croats and the imperial cuirassiers; the latter from head to foot in dark accoutrements. He pointed to them, and said to the Finnish colonel Stalhandske (Steelglove), "Tackle to the black lads; they are coming to do us mischief⁶." At the moment he learned that the infantry was giving way. He placed himself at the head of the Smaland cavalry⁷, to hasten to their aid; too impetuously, for he was separated from his troops, and fell himself among the enemy's cuirassiers, the fog again spreading at the same moment. His horse received a pistol-

shot through its neck; a second broke the bone of his left arm. He now prayed the duke of Lauenburg to lead him out of the thick of the battle, but at the same moment received a fresh shot through the back⁸, and fell from his horse, which dragged him some distance in the stirrups. The chamberlain Truchsess saw the shot aimed at the king by an imperialist officer, who was immediately slain by Luchau, the equey of the duke of Lauenburg⁹. The duke fled. Of the king's two orderlies, one lay dead, the other wounded¹. Of all his attendants, only a German page, Leubelfing, remained by him. This youth of eighteen, who some days after the battle died of his wounds, made a statement in his last hours, which was taken down and preserved, that when the king fell from his horse, he had dismounted and offered his own to his lord; that the king stretched out both hands to him, but he was not in a condition singly to lift him from the ground; that cuirassiers of the enemy came up and inquired who the wounded man was, which he, the page, would not tell, but the king himself had given them to understand it, upon which he received his death-shot through the head². Herewith the account given by duke Bernard of Weimar agrees³, and adds, that these cuirassiers likewise ran their sabres through the king several times, and stripped the body naked. Adler Salvius, referring to the king's secretary Grubbé, writes home to the council, that towards one in the afternoon, his majesty having placed himself at the head of Stenbock's regiment, which encountered with the enemy during the thick fog, was first shot through the left arm, so that the arm-pipe came out through the clothes, upon which a man shot

⁵ Harte, History of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus, ii. 366. Gualdo (Francheville), 218.

⁶ Thus much did Stalhandske himself oftentimes and at table relate unto divers gentlemen of our nation. Swed. Intel. iii. 134.

⁷ "Since the colonel of the regiment (Frederic Stenbock) was shot in the foot, his majesty in person led it." Relation of Jens Mansson, l. c.

⁸ Richelieu, vii. 260. Khevenhüller says that the shot struck his head. "The relation which was transmitted to his imperial majesty of this death, *in hoc passu*, states, that as the king tried to go to the aid of his flying troops, an Imperialist corporal took a musketeer by the hand, directing him, since he saw that every one yielded to the king and made room for him, 'to shoot upon him, for he was some chief one'; thereupon he presented, fired, and shot the king through the arm. A squadron of Imperialist dragoons now coming up, one among them in white accoutrements, who is said to have been the lieutenant-colonel of the Florentine regiment of Falkenberg, shot the king through the head, so that he fell from his horse to the ground and was stripped." Khevenhüller, xii. 192.

⁹ Swed. Intel. iii. 137. "Falkenberg, lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of Imperial cavalry, pushing straight to the king with bridle loose, without any one's believing that he was an enemy, discharged a pistol-ball at him at ten paces, which hit him in the middle of the back and made him fall to the ground; on the instant the equey of duke Francis, running after the cavalier, despatched him with his sword." Richelieu, vii. 260. That this dual equey, who could not possibly have attempted to avenge the king's fall if his own master had been the murderer, was called Luchau, as stated in the Swedish Intelligencer, is confirmed by a private letter from Francis of Lauenburg to Wallenstein, some weeks after the battle (Förster, ii. 357). He sends back a servant of Wallenstein, made prisoner, requesting him to release the

father of his equey Luchau, who had been taken, and assures Wallenstein of his willingness to be of service to him in other matters. Thus would not write a man who could have made a merit to himself of the death of Gustavus Adolphus.

¹ Of the guardsmen who rode with the king one was called Anders Jenson (relation of Jens Mansson); that the survivor was named Jacob Ericson appears from what follows.

² The relation, written down by the youth's father, baron von Leubelfing, captain of Nuremberg, was first made public in Marr's Journal, Nuremberg, 1776, iv. 65. The young Augustus Leubelfing died at Nuremberg, where his grave-stone is still pointed out in the church of St. Wentzel.

³ Richelieu, Mémoires, vii. 260. Leubelfing is here called Lasbelfin. "The king being on the ground, Lasbelfin, who was one of his gentlemen, leaving the thick of the fight, and finding him on the ground, prayed him to mount his horse and save himself, seeing the enemy coming to him; but he could not speak, and three Imperialist cavaliers came up, who asked Lasbelfin the name of the wounded man. He would not give it, and told them that it was apparently some officer. Irritated by his answer, they gave him two sword and pistol wounds, took his horse, and left him for dead, as was afterwards learned from himself, who died five days after. Then one of them gave the king a pistol-wound on the temple, which finished him, besides several sword-thrusts, and they stripped him, leaving only his shirt." To the same effect nearly are the statements regarding Leubelfing in the Swed. Intel. iii. 139, from a letter of Nicophorus Kessel, field-chaplain to duke Bernard. Gualdo says, "By a first pistol-shot Gustavus was wounded in the arm, and by another ball, which he received in the back below the right shoulder, he was thrown from his horse and fell dead. Such was the end of this great king. We can say no more upon this death; we should not even know the circumstances, if we had not then from a young page who served the monarch." Francheville, p. 220.

him with a pistol between the shoulders; that the king still wished to save himself, but could not hold out, falling from his horse, which carried him along with it amidst the enemy; that one of them approached him, and inquired who he was, to whom he answered, "I am the king of Sweden," whereupon the man wished to lead him off; but as our cavalry at the same moment, seeing the king's horse running riderless and bloody, made a desperate charge, the hostile trooper gave the king a pistol-shot through the head, and saved himself by flight ⁴.

The right wing of the Imperialists stretched at first beyond the left of the Swedes; wherefore the king had here ordered three squadrons to march from the second line to the first. Nevertheless, Isolani with his Croats passed round this wing and fell upon the baggage, at the same time that the infantry was driven back across the high-road. This attack, which caused disorder, and in part flight among the rear-troops ⁵, was however repulsed. At this moment the king fell. Truchsess carried the information to the court-marshal Kreilsheim; both communicated it to duke Bernard of Weimar, and he to major-general Kniphausen. According to the duke's own declaration Kniphausen answered that his troops were in good order, and could make a fair retreat. The answer agrees not ill with his character. He was an officer of the greatest merit, sagacious, trusty, brave, but often unlucky, and therefore mistrusting fortune ⁶. Bernard exclaimed, with heat, that here there was question of no retreat, but of revenge, victory, or death. Nevertheless, general Kniphausen's steadiness on this day, no less than duke Bernard's heroism, deserved the wreath of triumph.

The duke hastened from the left wing, which he committed to count Nicholas Brahe, to the right, and himself assumed the command ⁷. The bloody charger of Gustavus Adolphus running loose, was the first messenger of disaster to his army. A murmur that the king was wounded and taken flew through the ranks. They rushed with such fury on the enemy, that not only the battery was for the second time taken, but the whole of the im-

perial cavalry on this wing was driven back. The confusion was terrible among the vast baggage-train ⁸; several powder-waggons were blown up. Large bodies of cavalry fled, and a crowd of women, who had gained possession of the baggage horses, followed them. Prisoners in the hostile camp heard the fugitives calling, "We know the king of Sweden (they had not yet heard of his death); he is ever worst at the end of the day." At the same time the left wing of the Swedish army, which had with difficulty held its ground against the numerous hostile artillery at the wind-mill, drove back the enemy on this side also, and turned their own cannon upon them. Pappenheim now deployed into the field of battle ⁹. His first question was, where commands the king? A heroic, although cruel defender of his religion, he was the enemy whom Gustavus Adolphus had most esteemed. He now threw himself amidst the right wing of the Swedes, burning with the desire of a personal conflict with an adversary who was no longer among the living. Two balls struck him; he died of his wounds (colonel Stalhandske, who had just wrested the king's body from the hands of the enemy, is said to have shot him); but on his arrival the combat was renewed with redoubled violence. Wallenstein's cavalry and infantry rallied, and Bernard of Weimar was amazed at the multitude of fresh troops whom he found in his way ¹. The hardest onslaught of all was now made, and sustained by the Swedes with great valour; and never, says a contemporary, was a battle better fought by troops who had stood so long under fire. Of the Swedish infantry brigades, the two midmost, under count Nicholas Brahe and colonel Winkel, suffered most severely. The Imperialists fell upon them in columns of two to three thousand men, and once again took the battery on the high-road. Count Nicholas Brahe was struck by a ball on the knee, of which he died ². Colonel Winkel was wounded in the hand and arm; his lieutenant-colonel Caspar Wolf fell. Several standards, with the royal banner itself, were lost. But of these brigades, which were the flower of the army, and mostly old sol-

heim with his horse and dragoons arrived, whom some will needs have to have been in person at the beginning of the battle.—He being shot, the Walsteiners, whom Pappenheim's coming had set on, fell to it closely. Piccolomini advanced, and Terscia, with their cavalry, and the foot regiments seconded them with the utmost resolution. And now began the sorest, the longest, and the obstinate conflict that had been since the king was killed." *Swed. Intel.* iii. 143. According to duke Bernard's own statement, Pappenheim first came on the field about two o'clock in the afternoon. He brought with him eight regiments of cavalry. Gualdo says, that the king fell when he had parted from his men for a moment, in order to recognise on receiving information of Pappenheim's arrival. Gualdo was however not himself present at Lutzen, but about this time in Montecuculi's army.

² "My brother, of happy memory, count Nicholas, received the life-guard regiment of the late king after the battle of Leipsic, was afterwards also at the battle of Lutzen, where he led the foot and the vanguard of three strong regiments, and put the enemy to flight, taking six pieces from him, and following up the victory, till Piccolomini with his cuirassiers took him in the flank. Our troopers gave no help to him, and therefore he suffered great loss in his men, especially the king's company of body-guards. So he was shot in the left knee, and brought to Naumburg, where he expired on the 21st Nov." Count Peter Brahe's *Note-Book*.

⁴ The letter is printed by Glörwell in the Swedish Library, Stockholm, 1760, and dated Hamburg, Nov. 25, 1632.

⁵ Something upon this point is found in a letter to duke William of Weimar the day after the battle, wherein complaint is made of some loose fellows, who at the beginning of the engagement, when it went ill with the Swedes, took to flight. *Röse*, i. 367, n. 54.

⁶ He used to say, "An ounce of luck is better than a pound of prudence." He is called major-general of the royal armies, and was consequently chief of the king's general staff—a system which seems to have been organized by Gustavus Adolphus.

⁷ In his own report (compare Richelieu, vii. 261) it is said, that the duke, when he placed himself at the head of Stenbock's regiment, transfixed the lieutenant-colonel with his sword, because he refused to obey. Waiving this circumstance, we will only observe that this cannot refer to Stenbock, who had been previously wounded and carried out of the fight.

⁸ On Wallenstein's plan for his order of battle at Lutzen, delineated with his own hand (communicated by Förster), he marks the baggage with the words, *canally, baggy*.

⁹ Letter of the resident Hallenius to the government, Straßburg, Nov. 20, 1632.

¹ "Greatly wondering whence so many new troops came upon his hands." Richelieu, i. c. "The count of Pappen-

diers, who had served in many of the king's campaigns, even the enemy were obliged to acknowledge, that their dead bodies covered the same spot which they in life defended³. The carnage among them was so great, that five out of six men were killed or wounded⁴. The third Swedish brigade, under colonel Charles Hard, which was nearest to the cavalry, suffered less; yet, after the battle, hardly more than four hundred men of it remained. During this whole time, general Knipphausen kept his brigades in the second line, and his reserve, out of the conflict, which, it is said, "was no small cause of the victory, as the troops of the first line found here a point of support in a great and unbroken mass; and duke Bernard was not a little joyful, when, at the lifting of the fog, he saw Knipphausen, whom he, in his own phrase, feared to find hewn in pieces, now in so good order." For some time before sunset, the fog again broke, and it was clear, though only for half an hour, which gave duke Bernard opportunity to survey his position, and encourage the army to a new assault. The tired soldiers were heard crying to one another, "Comrade, shall we to it again?" and thereupon embracing each other with vows to conquer or die⁵. This last charge won the victory of Lutzen, and even Pappenheim's infantry, which came up in the twilight, was carried away in the general flight of the Imperialists. The battle lasted nine hours. The victors spent the night on the field, where ten thousand had fallen along with Gustavus Adolphus.

We must not pass by two accounts of the battle, preserved in the Saxon archives⁶. The one, a letter of some lines to the elector of Saxony from count Brandenstein, the Swedish commandant at Naumburg, written on the night of the 6th November, states that the battle lasted the whole day with extreme violence, that the king fell, shot through the arm, body, and head; but that the general of the infantry, duke Bernard, the major-general of the royal armies, Knipphausen, the prince of Anhalt, and the valour of the superior and inferior officers and soldiers, compelled the enemy to quit the field with the loss of many men and all his pieces, except three. The other, a more detailed narrative to the elector, dated the 11th November, is drawn up by two officers, who were stationed in duke Bernard's wing⁷. They begin with mentioning the skirmish at Rippach, where, by the hamlet of Posern, is a narrow pass, and beyond it an eminence; on this a line of imperial cavalry showed itself, which the king drove off, and descended into the plain on the 5th, in the evening. There the enemy were still scattered in the hamlets, and the king's cannon played ere the watch was set in their head-quarters. As darkness had now set in, the king kept his army in battle array; the enemy's watch-fires were seen in the villages. With the morning grey of the 6th the king continued his march against the enemy; prisoners brought information that Pappenheim had marched with eight

regiments to Halle. When the king had come near Lutzen the enemy shot with muskets from the walls; on the side of the town stood four troops of cavalry; above, at the windmills, they saw a line of cavalry and infantry, and could plainly make out that more men were coming up. Then the king advanced in order of battle on the right of the town towards the canal, and when both armies were facing each other, charged straight upon the enemy. Here they began to shoot first some salvoes from two demi-cannon, which the enemy answered as well from his battery at the windmills as from the batteries he had on the side of Scheiditz. Thus keen firing on both sides continued for about the space of an hour, till the king's right wing was so far advanced, that its rear was almost turned towards Ranstadt, whereat the action began with horse and foot on both sides, amidst incessant firing. The enemy's right wing, which at first gave ground, at length obtained firm footing at the windmills, until here also they had penetrated into the enemy's intrenchments, and turned his own guns upon him. Then count Pappenheim came back, and the action began anew with inexpressible heat on both sides, until night put an end to it. Yet the king's army kept the field, taking the enemy's artillery, with the greatest part of his ammunition. But the king himself, having ventured too boldly, and fallen with three troops of horse upon eight companies of cuirassiers, was shot through the arm and breast, and died lamentably.

The lifeless body of the hero was found stripped, trampled, disfigured by blood and wounds, with the face towards the ground. The Finns under Stalhandske had recovered it. It was brought in an ammunition waggon to the hamlet of Meuehen, behind the Swedish lines. A written narration of the proceedings at its removal was preserved till 1826 (when it was consumed by fire) among the descendants of the person who was then schoolmaster of the village, purporting⁸ that the king's body was brought in the night between the 6th and 7th November, 1632, from the battle-field to the church of the village, attended by several troopers and officers, who rode into the church and round the altar, before which the body was laid; it was so disfigured by wounds, that it was considered needful forthwith to open it, after which a portion of the entrails was interred in the church⁹; the schoolmaster previously performing divine service in the night, and one of the military making a funeral oration. Thereafter the body was carried into the schoolmaster's house, and this being found too small, into that of a neighbour. Here it was laid upon a table (which is still preserved), while the schoolmaster, who was also the joiner, prepared the simple coffin in which, next day, it was conveyed to Weissenfels. With the body a trooper, who had been wounded at the king's side, had come to Meuehen, where he stayed until his wounds were

³ "They were seen lying dead afterward by their arms, in the very order in which a little while before they had stood living with great bravery and valour." Khevenhüller, xii 194.

⁴ Swed. Intel. iii. 145.

⁵ Swed. Intel. iii. 148.

⁶ Published by Adam Fr. Glaffey, de gladio Gustavi Adolphi, Lips. 1749, and copied into Hallenberg's Collections.

⁷ The narrative is in the form of a postscript to the before-

mentioned memorial, which was written by direction of duke Bernard (by Bodo von Bodenhausen) to the elector, Nov. 11, 1632. The postscript bears the signatures John George Wiltzumb of Echstedt and Eric Volkmar Verlepsh.

⁸ Compare Death of Gustavus Adolphus by Philippi, assessor of taxes to the king of Prussia in Lutzen, Leipsic. 1832, p. 79.

⁹ The spot, recognizable by the Swedish arms (seen through a coat of whitewash), was examined in 1832, and a half rotten urn of oak-wood found under the raised stone in the wall. I. c.

healed. The same person then attempted, with the help of thirteen peasants of the hamlet, to roll a great stone to the spot where the king had fallen. With sighs and wailings they were only able to bring it to where it now lies (at the so-called Swede's Stone); but the place where the king actually expired is said to be forty paces further, on a balk, where formerly an acacia tree stood¹. The trooper was called Jacob Ericson. In Weissenfels the king's body (against his will declared in life) was embalmed by the apothecary Casparus, who counted in it nine wounds². His inconsolable spouse carried about her his heart (which was uncommonly large) in a golden casket, and for a long time after would not be parted either from the heart or from the body, so that the Swedish clergy were at length obliged to make her earnest representations on this head³. At Lutzen Gustavus Adolphus had with him only a small coffer with Maria Eleonora's letters⁴. The king's body was conveyed from Weissenfels to Wittenberg, where it lay one night in the church of the castle. Four hundred Smaland troopers, all that were left of the regiment at whose head the king fell, formed the guard of honour. Beholders found the countenance still astonishingly like. From Wittenberg the mournful procession repaired to Wolgast. In the following summer the high-admiral Gyllenhielm brought the corpse to Nyköping. Here it remained until its solemn burial on the 21st June, 1634, in Stockholm, where the earthly relics of Gustavus Adolphus obtained that grave in the church of Riddarholm which he had himself appointed in his lifetime⁵.

Intelligence of the king's death first came to the government of Sweden after the lapse of a month. "First came tidings," says count Peter Brahe, "that the battle had had a prosperous issue. The next day after, which was the 8th December, 1632, at half-past nine in the forenoon, word was sent to me, when I was sitting in the palace court, that I should come into the treasury chamber. When I entered, I saw all the councilors mightily troubled, some wiping their eyes, others wringing their hands. The Palsgrave came to me at the door lamenting. My heart misgave me, and I knew not what to fear, till I heard to my sore grief what had occurred. Both strangers and countrymen were in great woe and perturbation, despaired of the public welfare, and deemed that all would go to wreck and ruin. We of the council, as many as were present, agreed to a well-considered resolution, before we parted, to live and die with one another in defence and for the weal of our fatherland; and not only here at home to uphold our cause with all our power and in unity, but also to finish the war against the emperor and all his party, according to the design of the king of

happy memory, and for a secure peace⁶." We read with emotion the report on the war addressed to the estates by the government, as yet ignorant of the calamity, dated November 7th, consequently the day after the battle. It comes down only to the king's upbrek from the camp at Nuremberg, and ends with these words: "Whither his majesty further went, of that we have no certain knowledge."

Those of whom Gustavus Adolphus was the hope lost in him too much, for their grief not to have sought an object of accusation. Apprehensions were at an early period expressed that he would fall by the hand of a traitor. Reports of his assassination were several times spread, and unsuccessful attempts had been made. Remarkably enough, a broadside which appeared—probably at Leipsic—immediately after the battle⁷, assumes these very rumours as a ground for denying the king's death. The fight lasted, it is said, the whole day, and up to nine o'clock at night; Wallenstein is asserted to have been saved only by the fleetness of his Turkish horse, and to have come wounded to Leipsic about midnight⁸. Some say that his majesty at the first received some hurt in the left arm; and because the enemy in Leipsic immediately gave him out to be dead, it is thought that the Jesuits bought some arch-knave and murderer in his army to shoot him secretly, and just as the battle began. But it is well enough known that a year ago the Papists, after the battle of Leipsic, alleged the king to have been shot, which was likewise an invention. Since the king's majesty for certain not only spent the night after this noble victory on the field of battle, but also the following morning held a general review in Lutzen.—Thus far the journalist. It is true that the king's death was earlier known in Weissenfels than in Leipsic. To the former place the tidings were brought by duke Francis Albert of Lauenburg, who on his flight from the field of battle did not halt until he arrived there; although on the report of the victory he returned again directly. "This caused him," says a narrative of the time, "to come into evil repute with the whole army, and to be accused of worse than cowardice, for the soldiers spared not to charge him with treason. Those who knew him better have sought to excuse the scandal given. The truth is, that he had been in Vienna at the end of the past January, then served with the Imperialists, and had only come to the king three weeks or a fortnight before, and fearing that all was lost had left the battle, in order that he might be able to pretend, in case the Imperialists conquered, that he had never been present. With the first news that the Swedes were victorious, he was back again on the field of battle at four o'clock the next morning, as bold as any one. It is certain

¹ According to an account received by me at the spot.

² Letter of Salvius to the council above cited.

³ Opinion of the bishops and clergy against inspection of the dead and opening of their graves, July 16, 1634. Adlerparre, *Hist. Col.* iii. 49.

⁴ L. c. 354, where we see that in disposing of the effects left by the king great irregularities took place.

⁵ Report to the elector of Saxony by Daniel von Koseritz, Wittenberg, Dec. 1, 1632, in Glaffey, *de gladio Gust. Adol.*

⁶ Count Peter Brahe's Note-book.

⁷ "Gustavus Victor Augustissimus; that is, a hasty and yet authentic account in what manner the most invincible

king and lord, Gustavus Adolphus, king of the Swedes, Goths, Vandals, &c., by the Divine help, succour, and grace, utterly routed the armies of Wallenstein and Pappenheim at Lutzen, two miles from Leipsic, anew upon the 6—16th Nov. anno 1632." Without name of place. *Palmköld Collections*, t. 38.

⁸ "His serene highness was struck by a musket-hall in the left hip, but was preserved by God's help for his and the emperor's service, as well from this shot, which did not pierce further than the skin, as from a thousand other cannon and musket balls. Diodati's Report to the Emperor." Förster, *Letters of Wallenstein*, ii. 302.

that it was he who first related the king's death; and through him it was earlier known in Weissenfels than in the king's own army. This duke, who after the battle found neither countenance nor good-will in the army, repaired after some days to his kinsman the elector of Saxony, who sent him to Silesia, where he is now field-marshal under lieutenant-general Arnheim⁹."

We have mentioned a name loaded with the blackest suspicions, and also the circumstances under which they arose. We may add, that no proof can be alleged to substantiate the assertion that Francis Albert of Lauenburg, in the midst of the enemy's fire, murdered Gustavus Adolphus,—who so little spared his own life, while the whole course of the affair, and the accounts of eye-witnesses, deprive the suspicion even of probability. Howbeit all this did not prevent the suspicion from becoming the creed of the soldiers in the Swedish army, and growing with time into the belief of the people. This may be quoted as an example how a preconceived opinion gains strength with time, takes its place in history, is propagated first as a conjecture, next as a suspicion, and lastly is proclaimed as a certainty. The first accounts say nothing of it; but in December, 1632, Adler Salvius writes, "It is averred that a certain prince murdered his majesty the king, with the privacy not only of the elector of Saxony, but of the emperor and other great princes; and now we hear it publicly said in Hamburg that a like complot is in progress against our incomparable, hero-like chancellor. Advise therefore, exhort, persuade, beseech him to look closely and warily to himself in eating and drinking, in visits and converse¹." Chemnitz, who wrote under the eye of Axel Oxenstierna, states that the king had been slain by the imperialist troopers, but adds, "This is the general account; for what else is loudly whispered, that the king was not shot by the enemy, but by a lead-

ing person on our side, we refer it to God's secret doom²." Puffendorf, Swedish historiographer, fifty years after the occurrence, and at a time when national prejudices were not offended with impunity, declares the accused guilty. His reasons, except some trivial circumstances unconfirmed, are principally general probabilities, as: "there can be no doubt that the Imperialists believed the cause of the Swedes to depend singly and solely on the bravery of Gustavus; hence they tried all means to make away with him, and who could be better fitted for such a deed than Francis Albert?" What weight Puffendorf himself laid upon his own testimony, is shown by one of his private letters, wherein he complains that the existing duke of Lauenburg was angry with him for his expressions regarding duke Francis; "albeit herein," he adds, "I expressed not my own, but the general opinion of the Swedish nation, which it was necessary to support with some grounds, that this prince might not appear to have been wrongfully accused of such a crime³." It is true the duke was passionate, variable, untrustworthy, changed his party constantly, and at last his religion, and when taken prisoner as imperial field-marshal at Schwednitz, in 1642, by Torstenson, could only be saved with difficulty from the rage of the Swedish soldiers⁴; but this does not prove him to have been a murderer. We have remarked that according to several accounts, Gustavus Adolphus received a shot in the back or through the breast, while Francis Albert attempted to support the already wounded king on horseback. The duke, who expresses in his letters concern at the scandalous reports spread abroad respecting him, left a journal, wherein the following observation occurs: "November 16 (N. S.), we fought at Lutzen with the enemy, won the battle, and kept the field. His majesty the king of Sweden was then shot in my arms. At night to Weissenfels, two miles⁵."

letters, vol. ii. As little credible are other stories of the king's murder by a groom, wherewith inquisitive travellers from Sweden were formerly entertained in Saxony. See note H.

⁴ Cum tamen non meam, sed communem, Suecicæ Nationis sententiam expresserim, quam aliquot rationibus adstruere placuit, ne is Princeps injuria istius facinoris insimulatus fuisse videretur. The letter is to the council of Wirtemberg, Pregitzer, July 29, 1687, and is to be found in Arkenholtz, l. c., quoted from Nettelbladt's Schwed. Bibliothek. In order to save his conscience as historian, however, Puffendorf adds in the same letter two new circumstances, in his opinion demonstrative, the one from the chronicle of the Pole Piasecki, that duke Francis of Lauenburg is said to have given Wallenstein the first account of the death of Gustavus Adolphus (which this foreign writer appears to have confounded with the actual circumstance, that in general the king's decease was first known through the duke⁶); the other, that Francis Albert, during his abode at the Swedish court, is said to have received a box on the ear from Gustavus Adolphus.—It is not known that the duke was ever at the Swedish court; but his brother was there, and to this alludes an observation quoted by Warmholtz (Biblioth. Sviog. vi. 10) from count Abraham Brahe's manuscript note-book: "1613, inter 18 et 19 Maji, nocte fuit Duellum inter Regem et Ducem Saxonie, Henricum Julium, ob Stjernsköld." The duel was consequently on account of Stjernsköld; the proximate cause is unknown.

⁵ The duke died of his wounds.

⁶ (Nine miles English. T.) Historical Magazine of Meiners and Spittler, vii. 2, quoted in the Universal Literary Gazette of Halle, 1832, iii. 129.

⁹ Swedish Intelligencer, iii. 137.

¹ Salvius to Grubbé, Hamburg, Dec. 10, 1632. Arkenholtz, Mém. de Christine, l. II.

² Chemnitz, l. 466.

³ Puffendorf, Commentar de reb. Suet. German translation, iv. 112. The confirmatory circumstances mentioned by Puffendorf are, that Francis Albert said that he saved himself from the enemy's shot by his green scarf (which thus should have been the colour of the Imperialists); but we know that Wallenstein's officers had red scarfs, and an account quoted by Rühls (History of Sweden, iv. 274, n.) says that the colours of the Swedes were green. Further, that the duke some time after is said to have shown the bloody clothes of the king, and consequently not only murdered him, but also given himself time to plunder him; all which is just as improbable as Mauvillon's conjecture, that since a costly jewel disappeared from the king's neck-chain (which became the prize of an Imperialist trooper), the duke of Lauenburg must have stolen it (see the well-known work Histoire de Gustave Adolphe composée sur les manuscrits de M. Arkenholtz par M***, p. 598, a book in which good materials were used with very indifferent judgment). The evidence of a pretended eye-witness of the murder was first produced after Puffendorf's time. It is a narrative partly in verse, partly in prose, by one Hastendorf, a life-guardsmen, who declares that he followed Gustavus Adolphus in the battle, and saw him murdered by a great lord. It was delivered to Charles XII. during his residence in Saxony, who upon the field of Lutzen declared that he gave no faith to it. The narrative is full of absurdities, and bears manifest traces of being fictitious. Compare Förster on the death of Gustavus Adolphus in the Appendix to Wallenstein's

Gustavus Adolphus was taken away in his thirty-eight year. Never has one man's death made a deeper impression throughout a whole quarter of the world. Wheresoever his name had been heard, a ray of hope for the oppressed had penetrated. Even the Greek, at its sound, dreamed of freedom⁷; and prayers for the success of the Swedish monarch's arms were sent up at the Holy Sepulchre⁸. What then must he not have been for the partners of his faith? We may conceive this; nay rather, it is no longer possible to do so. The feelings with which the inhabitants of Augsburg, with streaming tears, crowded to the evangelical worship restored by Gustavus Adolphus; the feelings with which the people in Saxony, on bended knees, stretched out thankful hands to the hero, for the second time their saviour, are become strange to the world in which we live. In those days men felt their dangers, and knew how to requite their deliverer worthily. We speak of the people, whose champion Gustavus Adolphus was by his cause as well as by his qualities⁹. The agency of both extended far, and burst even the bonds of hate and prejudice; for he is perchance the only man (so great was the might of his virtue) whose image is reflected with truth, even in the portraiture of his enemies. It is not only Axel Oxenstierna who has said of him, "He was a prince God-fearing in all his doings and transactions, even to the death¹." Lutheran theologians have wished in some sort to erect him into a saint of their persuasion. If withal he had too much of Caesar and Alexander (whom he admired), we must acknowledge on the other side, that he was better than his spiritual advisers, and far above his age in Christian tolerance.

What of mortal destiny befell him at the height

of greatness to which he had ascended—by his designs and plans dying with him,—belongs, how extraordinary soever he was, to the common lot of mankind, and may silently be added to the immeasurable sum of hopes frustrated. There is a higher presence in the whole life of Gustavus Adolphus, which may more easily be felt than described. There is that boundless reach of view over the world which with conquerors is inborn. Like all his compeers, he was by no means surprised at his own fortune, amazing as it may appear. His deep belief in it is conspicuous in all the transactions of his life. Nothing hardens the heart so much as prosperity². That Gustavus Adolphus was nevertheless humble and meek, speaks most loudly for his work as a man. In his vocation he acknowledged a guidance from on high. He was far from looking upon himself as indispensable; for his goal was placed far above his own personality. Therefore was he, like the high-hearted Roman, not niggardly of his great life³. "God the Almighty liveth," he said to Axel Oxenstierna, when that statesman warned him in Prussia, not so rashly to expose himself to death. More cheerful and heroic courage never walked on earth.

What beside did he purpose? A great monarchy, without doubt; for whose future props in Germany he counted upon the young Frederic William of Brandenburg, afterwards the great elector, and Bernard of Weimar, intending for the one the hand of his daughter, for the other that of his niece⁴. Probably even a Protestant empery was not foreign to his contemplations⁵. For the rest nothing was determined, even in his own breast. The sphere of his vision stretched wide around. It was his pleasure to hold in his hand the threads of many

⁷ A plan for the liberation of Greece through Gustavus Adolphus was given by the Greek Romanus Niecphori (though after the king was no more) to Adler Salvius on the 12th December. Palmisk. Col. Acta ad Hist. Reg. Suec. Appendix, t. i.

⁸ Cyrilli Patriarchæ Constantinopolitani Litteræ ad Axelium Oxenstiernam (manu senili et tremula), with complaints ament the encroachments of the Catholics, to the injury of the Greeks, at the Holy Sepulchre. Nordin Col. n. 175.

⁹ In Germania plurimi, præsertim rustici, si non palam, saltem secreta, Calvinii aut Lutheri heresim sectantur, says a Catholic contemporary who fought in the emperor's army. Petri Baptistæ Burgi Genuensis de Bello Suecico Commentarii, l. iii. c. 2.

¹ Protocol of the Council, 1641. Palmisk. MSS.

² The only man who, so far as is known to me, arrogated to himself the name of "the fortunate," I mean Sylla, was by nature rather sensitive than hard. (See his Life in Plutarch.) He was cruel through his trust in fortune.

³ Animæ magnæ prodigium.

⁴ In a Latin letter of March 28, 1633, from the Swedish council to the chancellor in Germany, it is said: "The council knew that between his late majesty, of happy memory, and the elector of Brandenburg some secret treatings (tractatus quosdam secretiores) in relation to the marriage of his majesty's daughter with the son of the elector had occurred, although the matter had come to nothing by reason of the unexpected death of his majesty; wherefore, as they learned that the elector was anew inclined to it, Oxenstierna was commissioned to continue the negotiation, but first to ascertain whether the stipulations made therein by the king, that the electoral prince should quit the Calvinistic for the Lutheran confession, and be educated in Sweden, would be acceded to." In a memorial to the chancellor of the 29th March following, among other grounds which spoke for

such a marriage the following are enumerated:—That the persons, as well in respect to their age as their extraction and power, were fitted for one another; that it had been the will of the deceased king; that by this connexion between Sweden and Brandeburg the Swedish power would be considerably reinforced, the acquisition of Pomerania prepared, the dominion of the Baltic established, and the carrying on of the German war made easier; hence the council, in spite of divers scruples, as the safety and increment of the country outweighs all, is of opinion that this match must not be rejected, if it went forward with tolerable conditions, especially in reference to religion. Concerning duke Bernard, the letter of the council to the chancellor, of August 14th in the same year, says: "It seems advisable that duke Bernard of Weimar be contented (with the investiture of the dukedom of Franconia) as well on account of his qualities as because he is the only man whom we have to consider, and from the marriage with Christina, daughter of the Palgrave, which was in treaty. Although what he asks appears too much, yet we must consider that the country is far distant, and if we should lose it, as good it should be taken from him as from us." All is referred to the chancellor. Reg. for 1633. The princess mentioned was Christina Magdalena, daughter of the Palgrave John Casimir by Catharine, half-sister of Gustavus Adolphus, born in 1616, and married in 1642 to Frederic VI., Margrave of Baden-Durlach.

⁵ The interpretations given to the medal struck during his stay in Augsburg, with the inscription: Gustava et Augusta, caput Religionis et Regionis, are well known. The letter of Adler Salvius to the Council, Hamburg, Oct. 24, 1631, states of the elector, John George of Saxony, that at his conference with the king at Halle, after the battle of Leipsic, he presented himself as the man who would truly counsel and help to have the Romish crown set upon the head of his majesty." Stockholm Magazine, 1781, 324.

possibilities. Thus we see him entertain the proposal to be himself, after Sigismund's death, elected king of Poland through the Polish dissidents⁶. Thus we find him in alliance with the prince of Transylvania, the Crimean Tartars, and Russia, for the weakening of the Austrian interest, as well in Poland as Germany.

Designs so great were not the greatest which were extinguished with his life on the battle-field of Lutzen. But even in death he conquered. In that he set bounds to constraint of conscience his immortality consists; and therefore does human-kind reckon him among its heroes.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHRISTINA'S MINORITY. THE GUARDIANS.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE CHANCELLOR WITH THE COUNCIL OF STATE UPON THE KING'S DEATH. DIET OF 1633. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF QUEEN CHRISTINA BY THE ESTATES, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A REGENCY OF GUARDIANS. CONSTITUTION OF 1634. INTERNAL REFORMS PROJECTED BY OXENSTIERNA. THE DIRECTORY OF THE GERMAN WAR COMMITTED TO HIM. UNION OF HEILBRONN. SEDITION OF THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY. DISSENSIONS OF THE SWEDISH AND GERMAN COMMANDERS. OPERATIONS ON THE RHINE AND DANUBE. DEFEAT OF NORDLINGEN. OUTLAWRY AND ASSASSINATION OF WALLENGENSTEIN. PEACE OF PRAGUE CONCLUDED BY SAXONY. CHANGE IN THE PROSPECTS OF THE WAR. INTERVENTION OF FRANCE. CAMPAIGNS OF BANER AGAINST SAXONY AND AUSTRIA. RETURN OF OXENSTIERNA TO SWEDEN; HIS ADMINISTRATION OF DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. VICTORIES OF TORSTENSON IN SILESIA AND MORAVIA. SECOND BATTLE OF LEIPSIK. RUPTURE WITH DENMARK. ACCOUNT OF THAT COUNTRY AND ITS GOVERNMENT AT THIS TIME BY A SWEDISH MINISTER. REDUCTION OF ITS CONTINENTAL PROVINCES BY TORSTENSON. TERMINATION OF THE DANISH WAR BY THE PEACE OF BROMSEBRO.

A. D. 1633—1645.

As soon as the king's death was known in his dominions, the council convoked the collective estates to a general diet in Stockholm, for Feb. 6, 1633, and immediately sent count Peter Brahe to Germany, to wait upon the queen-dowager, and take the advice of the chancellor upon all affairs, and especially upon the manner in which the German war should be waged⁷. In a letter to the chancellor, the councillors say, they had understood that no form of government had been subscribed or appointed by the late king, which yet they would have wished from their hearts. They requested, therefore, that the chancellor might communicate to them that constitution which he men-

tioned as drawn up by himself, that they might thereby in time have some rule for their guidance⁸.

The first letter of the chancellor to the council, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, is dated from Frankfort on the Maine, November 14th, 1632. "I know that it will have come to your ears," he writes, "ere my letter arrive; and I leave the more detailed account (which I have not yet myself received) to others, or spare it to a more convenient season. But I lament for my fatherland, my queen, the commonwealth imperilled herein, and my longsoiement of life, that I should have lived to see this day. Such a king the world hath not now, and his like it hath not had in many

⁶ The dissidents requested, in reliance on the arms of Gustavus Adolphus, equality in religious and political rights. *Piasecki Chronica*, p. 528.—In respect to the design on Poland the following is found in the King's Answer to the Queries of the Chancellor, Berwald, Jan. 6, 1631: "His majesty can admit no mediation in a treaty of peace with Poland, as far as concerns his own acknowledgment as king of Poland; and his majesty willeth that the chancellor should privately remonstrate with the principal Polish lords, especially the evangelical and those who are disgusted in any thing, that there will be little hope of reconciliation between the two kingdoms, if these cannot be brought under one head after the present king's death. Although his majesty doth not very eagerly desire the Polish crown, it might yet be profitable to raise factions in Poland to that end." With his first negotiator in this matter, Rousset, who incautiously applied with his letters to the Polish Estates (the Poles caused the letters to be burned), the king was discontented; wherefore it was now his will that the chancellor, who had more intelligence and respect, should charge himself with the affair, in order to correspond with Radziwill and others, who might be

inclined to the Swedes for religion's sake. At least the matter must be brought to this point, that none of the sons of Sigismund, but some one who might have a more moderate disposition towards Sweden, should become king of Poland. In a subsequent letter from Demmin, of Feb. 13, to Oxenstierna, the king says: "We remark by your last note what difficulties you believe to exist for us, in setting on foot any competition for the Polish crown. We have also a fully sufficient burden in one government. But our meaning is, that you should publicly spread abroad what profit the Polish Estates might have therefrom, so that we might bring some confusion into their councils." After the death of Sigismund (April 30, 1632,) and Gustavus Adolphus, Uladislaus, the Polish king then elected, caused secret proposals to be made at the close of the same year to the Swedish legate Steno Bielké in Stettin, whether peace could not be made between Sweden and Poland on condition that he (Uladislaus) might be king of Sweden as well as Poland. *Adlersparre*, Hist. Col. v. 16.

⁷ Count Peter Brahe's *Note-Book*.

⁸ To the chancellor, Jan. 7, 1633. *Reg.*

hundred years, nor knoweth whether one will come soon again. My heart's woe and longing for him that hath departed do so engross me, that scarcely I know what I write. Yet herewith is little to be done. Calamities are to be deplored, but not to be altered. It besemeth us to bear with patience what God hath laid upon us, and to call upon his grace for help, that mature counsel, firm courage, and manly resolve, may prevent and avert all further disaster⁹. On the 5th December following, the chancellor wrote that the king had wished to govern the realm by the five colleges, whether he were present or absent, living or dead; so that under an able sovereign its affairs might be well managed, and under a feeble prince not so speedily brought to ruin. The king had also wished to entrust the government during the minority of the ruler to the heads of these five colleges, and had long before his death commissioned him, the chancellor, to draw out a form of government. For this he had had little time, and afterwards it would have been somewhat dangerous to him as a private person, seeing that the matter was as hot iron to the touch; yet he had prepared the draught in Prussia, and shown it to his majesty, who had been pleased to approve the part which concerned the regalities. In order that it might be signed, he had given orders that a clean copy should be made, which had been forgotten in the multitude of pressing occupations¹.

On two subsequent occasions Sweden's prospects were a subject of discussion between the king and the chancellor. First at Frankfort on the Maine, of which Oxenstierna gives the following account in a letter to the council, dated Berlin², Feb. 4, 1633: "His majesty, of Christian memory, when he was a year ago at Frankfort on the Maine, himself proposed to the commissioners of the elector of Brandenburg, a match between his daughter and the young elector, and commanded me to communicate further regarding it with the envoys, as I have also divers times done, according as his majesty, upon his journey to Bavaria, repeated by written order. The principal motive was, that his majesty would not cede Pomerania, and yet found that it could not be kept without notable detriment and great umbrage to the elector of Brandenburg; next, that the king also perceived, that if Sweden and Brandenburg, with their dependencies, might be conjoined, hardly such a state would be found in Europe, and they might offer the headship to whomsoever they would. To try means thereto, if it were possible, and at least to use this

affection for the moment, the king caused a proposition to be made through me; that he was resolved to give his daughter to the son of the elector, and to treat of the matter with the estates of Sweden, in the hope of their consent under the following conditions as the principal:—1. If the king should have a son by his wife, he should possess the crown of Sweden, Livonia, and what had been conquered in Prussia, and the electoral prince all that the king had already acquired, or might acquire, a fast alliance being made between the two states. 2. If the king should have no male heirs, the electoral prince should receive with the king's daughter the crown of Sweden, and in this case such an alliance was to be concluded, that the king of Sweden might also be elector of Brandenburg, and conversely; in the absence of the king, Sweden was to be governed by its own constitution, as also Brandenburg; that the dignity and regalities of each might be unimpaired, and both united with strong, indissoluble bonds. 3. In order that the electoral prince might be instructed in our religion, and accustomed to our language and manners, he was to receive his education in Sweden. With this communication another matter was separately fallen upon,—whether the differences as to religion might not be adjusted in some way, and how it would go with the alliance in case the princess died; but on account of the frequent expeditions of the war nothing further was done in the matter, than that the commissioners of Brandenburg referred the same to the elector, who was afterwards better affectioned to our party." The second occasion was in the camp at Nuremberg, as the chancellor likewise informs the council, who request him "to impart to them these discourses of the king, since if any thing mortal happened to himself the whole would otherwise be concealed from them³." Upon this, however, nothing farther is known to us, than that the secretary Grubbe, who was sent home from Germany, being questioned by the council, replied, that the chancellor held in keeping some written record of what the king had declared at Nuremberg, which his excellency might produce in case any disturbances arose. Probably this relates to the removal of the queen dowager from the government, whereon two letters from the king, written to the chancellor during his stay at Nuremberg, are preserved⁴. Christina, who says of her mother, that she "had all the weaknesses as well as virtues of her sex," undoubtedly alludes to this letter, when she states, in reference to her father's last directions to Oxenstierna, "He reminded the chancellor of the com-

⁹ Transcript of the chancellor's letter to the councillors of state. Palmisk. MSS. t. 370, p. 95.

¹ Palmisk. MSS. t. 369, p. 239. On the 12th February, 1633, the chancellor again wrote, "Concerning the government during the minority of the queen, a great number of heads (a polygarchy) will be a hindrance and the ruin of the kingdom, especially in a country which is accustomed to the government of a single person. Therefore no other counsel remains than that either one or a few should be appointed. Arguments pro and contra there are enough in politics, and we must fully acknowledge that an administrator is suitable for the rest of the time. But as his late majesty was never minded thereto, so far as I know, but constantly, as the council of state knows, destined the administration of affairs to the five heads of colleges, and approved that, when he saw the method of government made out; therefore can I, for myself, discern no fitter counsel, than that the five heads

of colleges should be declared administrators by the estates of the realm, and if such be their pleasure, that the ordinance should be enacted and solemnly ratified. If any of the articles should be found doubtful, it may be left to another time, for better deliberation, and the government noneless be formed, —*ut sit aliqua potius respublica quam nulla*. Better we should dispute upon one or the other point, and seek to redress errors, than that we should let the force of the state fall asunder, and then be compelled to seek a remedy in the matter by dangerous means and intestine discords, where no cure is to be made *sine sectione venæ* (without bloodshed)." Ibid. 249.

² Cölln on the Spree. Palmisk.

³ Letter of the council to the chancellor, January 7, 1633. Reg.

⁴ Of July 21 and August 1, 1632. Arckenholtz, Mémoires de Christine, iii. 34, n.

mand which he had already given, in case of any accident to his person, enjoined him to give me an education worthy of a daughter who was to inherit his throne, bound him to serve and aid the queen my mother, to honour and comfort her, but never to let her take any share in the government, or in my education⁵.”

Axel Oxenstierna's concept, drawn up by his own hand, for the form of government of the year 1634, under the title, Ordinance aient the State and Government of the Realm, is preserved in the library of Upsala. This sketch, in some heads not so minute, and in others (although unimportant) differing from that afterwards adopted by the estates, is without date, but composed in the name of Gustavus Adolphus. Internal signs appear to indicate that this was done several years before the king's death, probably after his wounds in the Prussian war. That Gustavus Adolphus approved in the main his chancellor's project we are along with his daughter convinced⁶, although the king himself looked upon it only as an outline; and we may doubt whether he, upon his far-stretching career, had irrevocably fixed his views on this head more than on others. His intention to regulate and determine the constitution of the realm is attested by his words at his setting out for the German war,—“A monarchy consists not in persons, but in the laws,” and furthermore by the whole spirit of his government, which in this respect constitutes an epoch. The problem, as it was presented to him, was to reconcile finally to the hereditary monarchy, as soon as possible, that nobility which his father had oppressed. To their power he opposed that of an official class dependent on the sovereign. The form of government of 1634, in this respect, merely develops the fundamental principles laid down by his administration. That this official class rose to be a new aristocracy was occasioned by circumstances inevitable to a government of guardians, which perhaps contributed thereto still more by its merits than by its faults.

Until the assemblage of the estates affairs were administered by the councillors conjointly. The councillors of the realm,—it is observed in their letter to the chancellor,—have constantly managed the government hitherto, and will manage it henceforth, until the opinion of the diet can be taken upon the form of government; meanwhile we keep a watchful eye upon the border fortresses and the fleet, and incite the superior functionaries to fidelity in their charge. For what concerns the taxes, it is undoubted that as in the late king's time not a few complaints were heard thereupon, such will now be still more loudly uttered, especially anent the enhancement of the mill-toll and licences (grain and salt taxes), which for a long time have been collected without any statute of the diet; but since great inconveniences would follow if they should be abolished instantly, the government will at least maintain them so long as the body of his majesty is still above ground; yet some alleviation might be necessary to prevent

any disorders arising⁷. Foreign intrigues had not been ineffectual. Among the peasants, especially in Smaland and Finland, a report was propagated that the souse of Sigismund had offered to pass over to the Augsburg Confession, and to come from Poland into the kingdom; as also, that the deceased king had himself wished them to be his successors on the Swedish throne, seeing that he had no male heirs⁸. “Who is this Christina,” a peasant at the opening of the diet is said to have called out, “we know her not, and have never seen her.” When the six years' old queen was placed before him and his associates, and they had viewed her, the same person said; “It is she, it is Gustave Adolph's nose, eye, and brow; let her be our queen⁹.”

In the dietary statute of 1633, the estates say that as it had pleased God to take from them their head, the king and father of the country, without male heirs who could sit upon his chair, so they had not unseasonably called to mind what had been covenanted at Norrköping in 1604, on the renewal of the hereditary settlement, respecting the daughters of kings and hereditary princes, and especially what had been resolved at Stockholm on the 4th December, 1627, that if the king's majesty died without male heirs, they would then take his daughter for their queen; wherefore they now unanimously declare the most mighty and high-born princess and lady Christina, daughter of the late king Gustavus the Second and Great, for the queen elect and hereditary princess of Sweden. They would indeed have wished that some stable and consummate ordinance, as to how the government should be carried on during the queen's minority had been made by his late majesty with the assent of the estates. But inasmuch as this had not been done, and they natheless understood that the king in his lifetime had intimated his opinion thereupon to the council, and given command to draw up an ordinance whose contents he had approved, and which had now been communicated to some of the estates; therefore until the same should be confirmed by the collective estates, and made publicly known, the good lords of the council, especially the five high officers, the steward, the marshal, the admiral, the chancellor, and the treasurer, as administrators of the realm during the queen's yet immature years, might meanwhile adapt and bring into operation this ordinance of government to the well-being of the country. Of these high offices of state only two were vacant. The steward, count Magnus Brahe, died on the 3rd March, 1633, as is said from grief for the death of Gustavus Adolphus. The office of treasurer the king had left unfilled, while he latterly committed the business to the palgrave John Casimir, his brother-in-law, who showed great skill in its management. At the solicitation of the council he continued in it until the convention of the estates. The young queen's education remained under the constant supervision of his wife; but no place was left for him in the administration of the guardians. It has

⁵ Life of Queen Christina, by herself, id. iii. 35.

⁶ “He ordered all according to the instructions of the late king; adding to them of his own what he judged proper for the regulation of several other very important affairs of the government and finances during the minority,” *ibid.* 36.

⁷ To the chancellor, Jan. 14, 1633. Reg. In the diet of

1633 the augmentation of the petty toll and the mill-tax, which had been passed, was remitted. The cause of the increase had been the depreciation of the copper coins, on which account the government, June 16, 1631, ordered both tolls to be collected in silver money. Reg.

⁸ Puffendorf.

⁹ *Mémoires de Christine*, i. 23.

been frequently suspected, that in this point there was a departure from the will of Gustavus Adolphus, as appears to us, without sufficient ground¹. The count Palatine was not a Swede; he was a Calvinist; and the Palatine house was already giving intimations of its claims to the eventual succession to the throne². All this was of importance at the time. "Her majesty the queen-dowager, the palsgrave and palsgravine, were in great dispute with the council of state regarding the manner of government and other pretensions," says count Peter Brahe³, "but the council held on their course, without letting themselves be hindered by the one or the other."

On the 17th January, 1634, the number of the guardians was complete, a steward and treasurer being nominated by the votes of the council. In both cases their choice devolved upon an Oxenstierna. Gabriel Gustavson (brother of the chancellor) was made high-steward, and Gabriel Benetson Oxenstierna, high-treasurer. Both were proposed by the chancellor⁴. But already on the 5th April, 1633, the guardians had been sworn in. Count Peter Brahe then took the oath instead of the steward, Clas Fleming in place of the treasurer, Peter Baner in that of the absent chancellor, and the following was the sum of the subject-matter: "Forasmuch as I, according to what hath been unanimously resolved at this diet now holden, together with four others my colleagues in the council, will take upon me the guardianship of my most gracious queen elect, and direct the government of the realm, with the other lords of the council of state, without prejudice to the rights of the estates of the realm; even so will I uphold the five colleges and fraternities (broderskap), which consist of the palace-court, the council of war, the admiralty, the chancery, and the chamber of accounts, as the same have been established by former kings, but especially by his majesty our last reigning sovereign,—maintain the rights of her majesty and of the realm, and every man's well-won freedom,—dispense and defend the law, justice, and polity of Sweden,—represent and dispute for the realm, as I shall stand to answer before God, my

most gracious queen, the estates of the realm, and every honourable man: so may God send me help for body and soul⁵!"

With respect to the final version of the form of government, the council of state had sent two of its members to the chancellor with charge to deliberate thereon, in consequence of which the first draught received sundry alterations. One of them is perhaps more important in its tendency than in the literal significance. The chancellor's concept begins thus: "In Sweden the sovereign is hereditary, not elective." The council refers it to him whether this may not be ambiguous, and be construed to mean that the hereditary settlement should be applicable likewise to the future consort and heirs of the young queen. It appears as if the old leaning to an elective monarchy were not yet fully extinct. The words quoted were omitted. The enunciation of general principles was avoided, and appeal was made only to the hereditary settlements of 1544 and 1604, together with the statute of the year 1627, whereby Christina's right to the throne was acknowledged. For the rest, her title ran in this phrase: "Queen elect of the realm." Probably it was intended in this way to meet the more secretly the hereditary pretensions of the Polish branch of the Vasas. The revival of these claims, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus⁶, led to a remarkable letter from the Swedish government to the elector of Brandenburg, who had tendered his mediation in the negotiations which had been opened for peace with Poland. "Your lovingness knows," thus run the words which were placed in the mouth of Christina, "that the monarchy of Sweden was of old elective, and that through the merits of our great-grandfather, it was assigned to his family as hereditary; not without limitations, but upon certain conditions, agreed to between the king and the estates, on the acceptance of which by the king, his subjects are bound to obedience, but with their impairment and neglect these are released from their obligation; if strife arise therefrom, God alone is judge, and saving the estates of the realm, no other judicatory is acknowledged⁷."

obliged to (a blank space for the Palsgrave's name) and his heirs." Memorial to the chancellor, March 29, 1633. Reg.

³ Journal.

⁴ By letter dated Frankfort on the Maine, Oct. 2, 1630. The council had prayed his opinion hereupon, and sent thither in April, 1633, Gabriel Gustavson Oxenstierna and Matthias Soop, to deliberate with him as well upon this as divers nicer matters anent the form of government.

⁵ Bond of the lords of the ministry, April 5, 1633. Reg.

⁶ Uladislavus hereupon issued a Swedish manifesto, which was printed and disseminated, and is dated Thorn, June 30, 1633, "of our reign in Sweden the fourth, and in Poland the third year." He styles himself therein, "by birth and inheritance the legitimate king of the realm of Sweden;" says that "duke Gustavus Adolphus," through the rigorous punishments of God, had spilled life and blood, deplores the intolerable thralldom with taxes, tallages, post-service, and incessant levies, wherein the Swedes were held, promises peace with the emperor and Poland, protection for the evangelical faith, and the privileges of their class for all. Palmisk. Col. t. 40.

⁷ Novit Dilectio vestra regnum Sveciæ ab antiquo electivum fuisse, datum vero id meritis proavi nostri, ut suæ familiæ hereditarium transcriberetur; non absolute, sed certis pactis inter regem et ordines, quibus a rege servatis, subditi obsequio teneantur, solvantur violatis et neglectis; et

¹ His grace the prince made mention of a testament which he believed to have been made in Prussia, and wherein he was named. Protocol of council, Aug. 15, 1633. Adlersparre, Hist. Col. iii. 354.

² "The lord Fleming came back from his grace the Palsgrave, and related that the prince was somewhat discontent, and when he requested to know the cause his grace answered, that he could not leave his children in that uncertainty in which they now were. Whereto it was replied, that whatever his grace had requested, as confirmation of his estates and else, all this he had received. He rejoined, that the senate had promised him its best recommendation for his due place, thereby indirectly signifying that such should lately have been done by the estates. The lord Fleming thereupon asked what that might import, to mention his grace to the estates; for it was our basis to keep together the knot which was formerly tied, namely, that the queen's majesty, after her lord and father, of happy memory, should be maintained upon the throne." Protocol of the council for April 12, 1633. Adlersparre, id. iii. 347. The council's solicitude went so far, that they would not permit the Palsgrave to give an account of his administration before the estates. In a letter to Oxenstierna upon the Brandenburg overture of marriage, the council enters the chancellor "to consider the case (which God avert!) of Christina dying before marriage,—how far then the kingdom of Sweden might be

The form of government, again revised by the chauceor, was adopted by the collective estates, through the dietary statute of July 29, 1634¹. It is an ordinance for the administration of public affairs, affecting both the exercise of the regal authority, and the privileges of the estates, though properly defining neither of them, but, on the contrary, presuming both. Of the sovereign, in his relation to the government here created, it is laid down that his rights and dignity are unimpaired, and in no wise prejudiced²; of the estates, "that their congresses, meetings, and resolutions must be esteemed and held true general diets, against which no one is to speak, that is subject to the king and realm in fealty and obedience³." Yet there were some who already declared that they regarded the mode of government introduced as new in Sweden, and dangerous to regal authority⁴.—The government is conducted under the king, and in his absence, illness, or minority, by the five grand officers, the steward, marshal, admiral, chancellor, treasurer, with the advice, and at the head of five colleges, the palace-court, the council of war, the admiralty, the chancery, and the chamber of accounts⁵. The palace-courts are four in number, the principal in Stockholm, with the high-steward (Drots) as president, and four councillors of state as assessors, six of the baronage, and six other learned and discreet men; the others in Jenköp, Abo, Dorpt, with a member of the council as president, and six noble, six un noble colleagues. A court of state (Riksrätt) is besides mentioned, with reservation of the old view that the diet was the highest court of the realm. "If any man should be delinquent," it is laid down, "of so high condition, or in such highest concernment, that it toucheth the majesty of the king and the crown, and inquiry and decision in the matter cannot be conveniently had otherwise than by the convocation of the estates, then shall all these palace courts, with the rest of the councillors of state and the provincial lieutenants who are present, as well as one burgomaster of the towns of Stockholm, Upsala, Gottenburg, Norrköping, Abo, Wiborg,

fill the place of the estates, and have power to pass sentence in this cause." The second college, the council of war, is directed by the marshal, with two councillors of state as assessors, who have served, or still serve, in the army, and four officers, with the field-marshal, the ordnance-master, and the general watchmaster⁶. In the third college of the admiralty presides the high-admiral, and has for assessors two councillors of state (those who have served at sea being preferred), and four vice-admirals, or the oldest and most intelligent ship captains, among them the Holm-admiral (governor of Skeppsholm, or Ship Island at Stockholm). No one of these colleges is allowed to dispose of any public funds, but this is wholly the business of the chamber of accounts, where also an account is to be rendered of all and every receipt and expenditure. The fourth college is the chancery, under the high-chancellor, with four assessors, councillors of state, one chancellor of the household⁷, and two secretaries of state, if possible of the nobility. The high-treasurer's college, the fifth and last, is the chamber of accounts, in which sit two councillors of state, three others of the nobility, and two of the oldest chamberlains⁸. These five colleges (the Stockholm palace-court alone being understood), to whose special instructions reference is also made, shall at all times sit in Stockholm, unless the king, on account of the plague or other disaster, should remove his residence for some time⁹.—The government of the provinces is divided into certain prefectures, of which, besides the town of Stockholm, under its own chief lieutenant¹⁰, there are twenty-four, under as many prefects (or land-captains, landshöfdingar). In frontier provinces, a supreme prefect, or governor-general, may be appointed; these must be councillors of state, like the chief lieutenant of Stockholm. The assizes (lagsagor) in Sweden are fourteen¹¹, under as many justiciaries or lawmen, whose tribunals form the second instance of the country, and receive all appeals from the court of the hundred. In the council-chambers of the towns shall always preside a bailiff, whom the king appoints thereto, and neither the prefect

cum de ea controversia incidit, Deum solum judicem, nec, præter comitia regni, nullius alterius forum esse. Electori Brandenburgensi, d. 28 Martii, 1635.

¹ The council, in their letter to the chancellor, May 10, 1634, pray him to remit "the corrected form of government." On the 5th July it was read to a commission of the estates, and then to all the estates, whereupon some changes were made. The secretary Grubbé was sent to Germany to inform the chancellor of these, and to communicate to him the remarks offered by each of the estates. Reg.

² § vi. The form of government of 1634 (but with many disfiguring errors of the press) may be read in Stiernman, ii. 387.

³ § xlv. The composition of the diets remains as usual.

⁴ Collegiis quinque eorumque capitibus summa non tantum rerum agendarum cura, verum et potestas conceditur. Unde venient quidam fieri posse, ut, prout ingenia illorum, qui officiis summis præsent, ad virtutem aut ambitionem prona fuerint, ita quoque rempublicam cum illis florere aut periclitari posse, atque ita rex ipse, quem curis vacuum sub hoc prætextu cupiunt, potentia quoque solutus, Venetorum instar ducis, ociosus degat. (To the five colleges and their heads, not only the highest cares of administration but even the power are conceded. Whence some fear that it may happen that, just as the wits of those who wield the highest functions are prone to virtue or ambition, so also the republic may flourish or be jeopardied with them, and thus the king

himself, whom they desire to be relieved from business, under this pretext stripped also of power, like a duke of Venice, may be reduced to inactivity.) Schering Rosenhane to secretary Schmaltz, August 3, 1634. Mém. de Christine, iii. 187. n.

⁵ Hofrätten, Krigsrådet, Amiralitetet, Kansliet, Räkningekammaren.

⁶ He appears to correspond to the adjutant-general of the army.

⁷ The chancellor of the household is wanting in the first concept by Oxenstierna.

⁸ The special instructions of the colleges mentioned in the form of government still remained to be made out.

⁹ The chancellor's concept even binds all the higher functionaries to possess houses in Stockholm. This section was omitted.

¹⁰ In the concept, Burgrave (burg-grefve, borough-reeve).—"He shall, for the more convenient execution of justice, have a captain to himself, who shall be entitled town's captain, and with him twenty-four soldiers, of whom twelve shall constantly attend on him, clad in a fixed livery, namely, blue and yellow." § xxiv. So far as I know, this is the first time in which the so-called Swedish colours appear in uniform.

¹¹ In the concept thirteen. But Nerike and Vermeland, which make each one jurisdiction in the form of government, make but one together in the concept.

nor any captain of a castle shall intermeddle with the council-chamber.—No one shall be prefect in the jurisdiction where he is lawman; no prefect shall have the command of a fortress, or any authority in the castles and strengths of the crown, unless the king grant special warrant thereto to the governors of the frontier provinces. Neither a prefect nor a captain of a castle shall remain, unless the king shall otherwise appoint, more than three years in his office; and after the expiration of these he shall repair, on the 1st of June, to the capital, to give an account of his administration before all the five colleges. If any one be found unfaithful or negligent, he is to be called before the palace-court, arraigned by the state-fiscal, and to be mulcted as the court shall award. Colonels in the provinces and regiments of foot and horse, the strength of each being proportioned to the size of the prefecture, shall be twenty-eight in number, namely, eight of horse (including the troopers of the trained bands) and twenty of foot¹. No prefect has any command (further than for the maintenance of the law and peace) over the military force, without especial warrant from the king; no officer of the latter is to interfere in matters of taxation on pain of death.—These are the principal functionaries whom the king has at hand in his service and the realm's, and every officer is bound to give account and answer to the king himself, as often as he may please to make demand, and also every one before his college,—lawmen, judges of hundreds, and all justiciaries before the palace-court; the ordnance-master, colonels of regiments, captains of castles, before the council of war; all those who have the fleets of the realm in their hands, before the admiralty; ambassadors and agents, before the council of chancery; and finally, all who have to do with the public disbursements, before the council of the exchequer. The marshal of the household, the equerry of the stud, and ranger of the forests of the crown, with all justiciaries, prefects, and colonels of regiments in Sweden, shall yearly come to Stockholm on the day of the Epiphany, to render account; if any one have lawful excuse of non-appearance, he is to give an account by his clerk, book-keeper, or other deputy. The lawmen, prefects, and colonels in Finland, Ingermanland, Livonia, and Prussia, are not indeed bound to appear, but shall, nevertheless, yearly send their deputies to Stockholm, on the first day of September². The five "councils" of the realm are holden from Twelfth-day to Candlemas, to revise and examine the papers of the specified functionaries of the government of the household and country; in like manner they shall themselves, from Candlemas to Lent, render an account to the king, if he be present and can receive it, but otherwise before the five grand officers, it being understood that the

fifth, with his assessors, is constantly ready to make account, during which his place in the government is filled by the chief lieutenant of Stockholm. If affairs of state arise so onerous and difficult, that this examination cannot possibly be made in the appointed term, then trustworthily and discreet men, from the assessors of the colleges, may be deputed for the investigation of particular matters, in order that all may be set to rights during the winter, and nothing deferred from one year to another. If any one in a college is found culpable, he is to appear before the court of the five high officers, who shall appoint in addition two members of each of the colleges, and with these rests the power of reprimanding, or punishing with infamy and removal, according to the nature of the case, yet taking the king's decision, if he be present. But if any offence is brought home to a whole college, or one of the five high officers, then it depends on the king alone, whether the matter shall be stayed with a reprimand, or be referred to him and the council to adjudge. All these investigations, congresses, and processes, shall be held in a chamber in the castle of Stockholm thereto appointed, one of the two secretaries of state being permanent prosecutor, the other notary; unless one of them be himself interested in the matter, sick, or absent, in which case another upright man may be named to those functions.—At the before-mentioned yearly conventions of the official servants of the state, exact information is to be taken as to the whole condition of the realm, and the affairs which do not require to be brought before a general diet, may be discussed and disposed of. If it should occur sometime, that the opinion of the estates is required, where yet the time or other circumstances do not allow the like general deliberations, then besides the above-mentioned officers of state, two of the baronage from every assize, the bishops and superintendents of Sweden and Finland, with one deputy from the towns of Stockholm, Upsala, Gottenburg, Norrkœping, Åbo, and Wiborg, shall be summoned to consultation. In the absence, illness, or minority of the sovereign, no new laws can be made, no new privileges conferred, no letters of nobility granted, no crown or taxed estates or other dues of the crown be alienated or exchanged, but all such matters, as all nominations and resolutions, shall await the confirmation of the reigning person; yet so that if any resolution has been passed at a general diet, it can only be confirmed or abrogated in the general diet.

Circumstances, yet more than principles, afterwards made the constitution of 1634 distasteful to the people of Sweden. It never was carried into effect in all its branches. For its epoch, the work was one of statesmanlike wisdom³, from which our own might still learn.

¹ The concept has but seventeen regiments in the whole, eight of horse and nine of foot. This surprising disparity confirms the opinion that the chancellor's draught of a form of government is really considerably older than the present, and made out before the army received its further development in the latter years of the reign of Gustavus Adolphus. That this was actually the case is evinced by another circumstance: in a memorial of Oxenstierna to the government and council of the 18th October, 1633 (thus contemporary with the form of government), he reckons not nine but eighteen regiments of foot in Sweden and Finland. These were increased in the form of government, which gives

twenty, reckoning three regiments to West-Gothland, instead of two in the memorial, and two instead of one to Carelia.

² The presidents of the palace-courts in Gothland, Finland, and Livonia, shall be personally present yearly on the 1st of June, or by Midsummer at latest.

³ One of the principles of this form of government was expressed in another shape by the chancellor, when he declared in the senate on the 15th July, 1636, that "he held it not undesirable to appoint censors, who should censure each man's duty, as at Rome." Adlersparre, *Histor. Saml.* iv. 98. The prescribed mode of rendering account was at first ob-

Axel Oxenstierna is one of those who enforce our admiration all the more, the closer our knowledge of him is, and the greater the obstacles with which he had to contend. There can be found no more honourable example of what a great intellect and a well-ordered industry are able to accomplish. And yet this man was of inert temperament, and slept his full measure⁴. While the burden of war abroad rests upon his shoulders, his glauce embraces in the distance all the internal relations of the country. In his opinions⁵ we discern the mind of a great statesman, an upright patriot, and a politician more liberal than the world deems him. In this respect we would direct attention, especially, to that memorial which he charged the nobles delegated to him to communicate to the collective ministry and council of Sweden, dated Frankfort on the Maine, October 8, 1633⁶. This contains the outlines of a complete plan of public defence and finance for Sweden, and is full of instructive suggestions on several conterminous subjects. We quote some of its heads, in order to show how this aristocrat comprehended as well lordly as civic freedom. "When I bethink me of the true causes for which former kings so often made aggressions on our privileges, loading heavily us and our vassals, or even bereaving us of all our property, I find that it was often not just so much the pleasure of the authorities in oppressing us by need and poverty, as want of resources to defund the realm effectively, and uphold its reputation among other nations. For these causes I perceive nothing at this time so highly incumbent on the council, the ministry, and the estates, as that they, setting aside all other considerations, should endeavour to get into their hands good and permanent means, which may remove these embarrassments; holding, that if this be not done, the reputation of our kingdom and nation, won by the laudable actions and blood of his late majesty, of happy me-

served. The ministry writes, April 27, 1636, to the chancellor, "We send you by Salvius copies of the points, which we have caused to be made out touching those errors, whereupon it seemed to us useful to make suggestions at the impending examination of the four colleges, which, according to the form of government, shall be held yearly; we conjecture that it will not pass off without amendment of the persons. We are minded also soon to hold an examination with the treasury."

⁴ Christina's judgment of him deserves to be quoted: it comes from a pen not partial to the chancellor. "This great man had made large attainments, having studied much in his youth. He continued to read in the midst of his great occupations. He had a great capacity and knowledge of the affairs and interests of the world. He knew the strong and the weak points of all the states of our Europe. He had consummate wisdom and prudence, a vast capacity, a great heart. He was indefatigable. He had an assiduity and application to business incomparable. He made them his pleasure and his only occupation; and when he took relaxation, his diversion was business. He was sober, as much as one could be in an age and country where that virtue was unknown. He was a full sleeper, and said that no affair had ever hindered him from sleeping in his life except twice: the first was the death of the late king, the other the loss of the battle of Nördlingen. He has often told me that when he went to rest he stripped off all his cares with his clothes, and let them repose till the next day. For the rest, he was ambitious, but faithful, incorruptible, a little too slow and phlegmatic." (*Ce grand homme avait beaucoup d'acquis, &c.*) *Mém. de Christine*, iii. 46. We subjoin his daily prayer, which, written by his own hand, is preserved in the

mory, and the life of many an honourable Swedish man, will in no long time be lost, the conquered territories again be wrested from us, the estates and privileges acquired be foregone, and, which God avert, the realm come under foreign domination. In general I know well that every man gives his due, but when it comes to the specification, so that one is privately conscious of any real or imaginary grievance, and begins to draw conclusions as to what shall follow therefrom, he cannot rid himself of the apprehension, and forgets for a trivial pressure or an imagined consequence, the welfare of the country and his own safety, as well as the conservation of his privileges. And what is most to be lamented is, that those who so oppose and seek to hinder all wholesome counsels, ever ready with difficulties and objections, pass for the only wise; albeit if we hold such to be good, and only require from them plans how affairs shall be sustained, they know less than others." Further: "It must be well considered by all the members of our order, that departed kings have invested our forefathers, parents, and ourselves, with feudal and heritable estates, not only in the conquered countries, but also in the realm, which as they have now been sold, exchanged, or heiried away, cannot revert without the greatest confusion and perturbation; but have diminished the yearly rents of the crown. This decrement must necessarily be not only again covered by other means, but regard must also be had how the country, according to the course and need of this world, may now be strengthened against foes and enviers, whereof there are now more and mightier than ever before. These and other grounds move me not to dissuade the baronage and nobles from ceding their toll-freedom to the crown, or at least from suspending it for some time, and in this way helping the crown in return for all the property enjoyed by its bounty⁷. Lastly, that a treaty should be set on foot with the nobility

Palmusköld Collections, t. 370, p. 53:—"O Lord, my God! I know and am fully certain of this, that thou art my Creator, my Redeemer, my tower, the horn of my salvation, my mild and merciful Father, who lettest not the sighing of my heart pass by his ear, but hearest me. This day and all time I commend me to thy divine protection, with my house, my fatherland, and thy holy church in the wide world. May thy good Spirit govern us; may thy holy angel guard us; give us what is well-pleasing to thee and profitable for us, and turn from us what misliketh thee or is hurtful for our body and soul. Graciously grant that thy holy and saving word may be preached pure, clear, and undefiled to us and our posterity, and the holy sacraments after thy institution be dispensed without abuse, and bring forth fruit in our hearts. Avert all false worship, heresy, and scandal, as also variance and discord in thy holy congregation. Confer on us true preachers and teachers. Defend and protect them. Bless our churches and schools, and let thy holy word shine in them, and our youth be educated in the fear of God."

⁵ The chancellor's letters arrived oftener than the answers of the ministry were transmitted. Generally the latter took a good interval. Oct. 12, 1633, the lords of the ministry excused their delay, "because they are obliged to attend the burials of two well-deserving men." *Reg.*

⁶ Concept under his own hand in the Cronstedt Collection in the Library of Upsala. There is a copy in the Nordin Collections.

⁷ In their answer to the complaints of the nobles, at the diet of 1633, the council finds it reasonable that the nobles should escape the payment of taxes on land held in their own hands. At the diet of 1634 the latter gave up their exemption, but only for two years.

for a contribution, as is customary over the whole world, and the affairs of the realm allow nought else⁸." The chancellor deplores the want of business in the towns arising partly from their irrational management, partly from the exorbitant burdens and exactious by which they are vexed, especially post-service, free-quarters, and unjust contributions⁹; all which bring with them such a slavery that no honourable man can endure to sit under it, wherefore the towns are now almost quite desolate. Concerning the regulation of trade introduced in the time of Gustavus Adolphus, the chancellor says: "Although at the time when it was passed there were grounds for it, it is now clear and manifest that trade, which ever loves freedom, suffers under it; since also the towns do not increase by one, two, or three persons only having liberty of dealing and traffic, but their growth comes from multiplication of inhabitants, and in the concourse, whence all the burghesses of a town derive advantages; therefore the greatest part of the corporate bodies and their rigorous laws, especially the needless cost, should be abolished. Generally it were advisable to open Stockholm also, at a convenient season of the year, both for inlanders and

strangers. We may be convinced of the advantages of such an institution by the foreign towns, and by Gottenburg; and although some few hucksters should set themselves against it, and it should have the appearance of impairing, by free trade, the maintenance of the burghesses, yet he who observes the matter with intelligence, and without bias, and considers the welfare of the whole, will find that our inland wares will thereby only be more in request. It would be better that the salt-license were rescinded, since the subject thereby suffers, and the fisheries are kept under; the great customs should be taken out of the hands of the farmers, and such arrantations generally be abolished, the sooner the better¹. Instead of the copper coinage, which his late majesty had determined to let fall of itself, as it had already mostly disappeared, a good and sterling coinage, yet somewhat under the standard, should be issued². In the copper trade no improvement could be expected, so long as it was carried on in the name and on behalf of the crown; it was best that the crown should seek its advantage in a reasonable duty, and commit the trade into the hands of its subjects³.

⁸ This counsel was the rather to be taken to heart, as after the death of Gustavus Adolphus we find statements like the following from the protocol of council for April 7, 1636: "The lord John Skytté declared that he had represented to his late blessed majesty not to alienate so many estates from the crown, where to his majesty made answer that he did this in order that those who obtained the estates might be so much the more true to his family; he might well suppose that if another family came to the government, they would disapprove his concessions, and revoke the estates to the crown."

⁹ Thus the chancellor complains that those who came to Stockholm by horse or boat were bound to portage. In the protocol of the council for Oct. 30, 1633, the councillor of state Clas Fleming laments that it was impossible speedily to procure bread for the men who were to be sent off, since the bakers excused themselves on the plea that they were not allowed to grind. Jacob de la Gardie thought that soldiers should be billeted in their houses, when they would soon get bread enough. In consequence it was intimated to the bakers that if they did not furnish three hundred tuns bread within three days, they would be set in the tolhooth (smedje-gard, lit. smithy) of Stockholm.

¹ At the diet of 1633 the three unobedient estates collectively presented complaints respecting the farmers of the crown revenues. The high-marshal Jacob de la Gardie (who declared in the council, March 1, 1633, "There was no man before who dared to speak the truth," but had himself shared in the crown-leasings,) severely rebuked some of the representatives of the clergy, because they had said that the vengeance of God followed such contrivances.

² The copper cross-pieces, struck and issued by order of Gustavus Adolphus, seem to have had no currency. The Swedish agent in Holland, Eric Laurencson, offers to send them back again. Letter of the council to the chancellor, Jan. 14, 1633. The government was constrained to order that debts which had been contracted in copper money, should be paid according to the value which the rix-dollar bore at the time, namely, until 1628, $6\frac{1}{2}$ marks to the rix-dollar; 1629, 10 marks, and afterwards 14 marks, as ascertained by the crown receipts. Thenceforth the rix-dollar was to be worth 6 marks, or 48 öre; but the copper öre or rundstycks in circulation were at the same time depreciated to the half value, and the government undertook to cause silver coins to be struck. Compare Stierman, *Economical Ordinances*, ii. 13, seq.

³ A remarkable document, of which a copy exists in the Nordin Collections, delivered by Axel Oxenstierna to Gus-

tavus Adolphus, bears this title, "According to his majesty's gracious command, this is my poor opinion touching the copper trade and copper coinage." On the coinage he thus speaks: "so long as copper was at a good value, and the coinage was small in amount, so that it only supplied the wants of the commonalty and answered to their requirements, and was so proportioned that he who wished to have silver could obtain it, so long the one coinage was as good as the other. But after the value of copper had receded, it drew down the coinage with it, and even diminished its amount; so that we may indeed suffer and be silent on account of the prince's edict, but that does not alter the opinion and common sense of men." "Upon these and other inconveniences I would rather hear another opinion than give my own. But since your majesty commands it, I do it only out of submission to your high pleasure. Because the present course of things and many other causes have disturbed and defeated the design, I remark, after my small understanding, that all traffic which is conducted either in the name of the public or in the interior of the realm by companies, is more hurtful than profitable; I will therefore submissively press that the copper-mines should be thrown open to enterprise, the freer the better. That traffic by the government, for the use of the king and the realm, is seldom profitable, I judge not only from experience, but especially from this, that all trade requires exact and accurate credit, and its observance, according to reasons not of state but of commerce; since in matters of public concern it often happens that we must take where any thing is to be got, and let alone where is nothing; but in trade, if we would not make a bankruptcy, we must keep promise and submit to common laws. Companies, indeed, I formerly held to be useful, and do still deem that those for foreign commerce are of great benefit (at the congress of Heilbronn the chancellor invited the Germans to take shares in the South Sea Company privileged by Gustavus Adolphus, and in Sweden, conjointly with the duke of Holstein, a Persian company was even founded); but inland companies are nothing else than monopolies, obstructing and contracting commerce, and the prosperity of towns and country. I can find no other way good than that your majesty should direct by duties the copper-mines, trades, manufactures, and their revenues, no otherwise than as a steersman steers his ship." March 9, 1633, the council writes, "We have observed that the chancellor seems inclined to release the copper trade for toll and teind. This the council finds wholly unadvisable, as leading to the certain ruin of the factories and manufactures, deeming that it would be better again to set up the Copper Company." Reg. The copper trade was opened in 1634, but private industry was still too weak to carry on

It would be of great benefit to the kingdom if the navigable lakes of Sweden could be connected by means of sluices with the Baltic and each other, so that men might come from lake Hielsing to Stockholm⁴, from lake Vetter to Norrkeeping, from lake Vener to Gottenburg, from lake Silian to the Kopparberg, whereby the country and towns might be peopled, our forests and wastes made productive, as also the revenues and customs of the crown be largely augmented by navigation and commerce. Furthermore, for the encouragement of shipping, it deserves to be taken into consideration whether a remission should not be granted upon all the goods which are carried in Swedish ships, in all trading towns and havens which are at the disposal of Sweden." These reflections, sent forth into a world convulsed by disputes and troubles, mostly returned to their author without fruit, since for none of them was it possible to bring home a leaf of the olive-branch of peace; but they are as little alien to his fame, as to the welfare of his country and mankind.

The war engaged his liveliest solitudes, the rather as the dearth of the year 1633 had stricken with especial severity the northern provinces of the kingdom (several scanty harvests following), and the levies, although they continued to be voted by the estates, were so dreaded, that examples of voluntary mutilation occurred, and in the border districts flight out of the country was resorted to in order to escape them⁵. "We have fallen into an embarrassing state," the chancellor writes home from Germany. "If we let the difficulties overcome us, all is lost. If we meet them manfully, there is hope that by God's grace we may escape from them with honour⁶." "For the avoidance of embroilments with our neighbours we hold the following counsels the most appropriate; to observe parties, to give on our side no occasion for contrariety, to raise no disputes about small matters which befall, and are of no great consequence. When this resolution is taken, that other too may be embraced, of maintaining the dignity, right, and majesty of the realm in honour and esteem, no where letting be seen or discovering any pusillanimity, fear, or indecision, but doing all, by God's help, with understanding and courage; so that every where it may appear as if the realm had lost nothing by the death of his late blessed majesty, in the constant thought that kings are no less mortal than other men, but that the commonwealth should be immortal⁷."

In the beginning of 1633 the chancellor had presented an account of the state of the war in Germany, from which we extract some outlines: "After I had broken up from Erfurt towards Dresden, I despatched to you the secretary Laurence Grubbé, with a letter and memorial respecting all matters which it occurred to me at the time to remind you of, and stated besides the cause for which I was

obliged to travel to the army and the elector of Saxony. When I came to Altenburg in Meissen, I found there that army quartered in the neighbourhood which had been under the late king's own orders, and was commanded by duke Bernard of Weimar and major-general Kniphausen. The major-general had the same day taken the castle of Leipsic, and delivered it again to the elector. Chemnitz was captured some days earlier; the enemy had abandoned Freiberg as well as Frauenstein, and in Meissen nothing but Zwickau remained in his possession. Therefore I resolved that our men should draw together and assault Zwickau, to try whether it might be taken, and thus Meissen be wrested out of the enemy's hands. Meanwhile I journeyed to Dresden, where I arrived on the 15th December, and was treated as a legate of the crown of Sweden, no otherwise than as if the king's majesty was still living. I said; whereof appear to me to be three counsels or means, wherof one must be selected. The first, that a body of all the evangelical electors and estates in the Roman empire should be formed, allied with the crown of Sweden, and obliged to the carrying on of the war, —and since his late majesty laid the foundation of this war, heretofore directed it and sealed it with his blood, as also the crown of Sweden possesses the principal bishoprics of the empire, and much of the hereditary territories of the emperor, therefore Sweden should have the direction of the war; yet so that a formal council of the estates were joined. Or, secondly, that two bodies should, as at present, subsist, the crown of Sweden and its allies under its directory, and the elector of Saxony for himself, and that a strong correspondence should be arranged between them for mutual succour, no one concluding upon any treaty or peace without the knowledge of the others; or, thirdly, in case they professed no further to need the assistance of Sweden, or the senate and estates of Sweden should no longer be willing to adhere to the agreement, that then my country should enjoy a reasonable satisfaction, and the evangelical princes and estates should arrange matters among themselves, as might be pleasing to them, and they might conceive to be most expedient in their condition. More methods that would avail I could not see. But if one of these three were not embraced in time, and affairs guided accordingly, no doubt was left that the ruin of all interested would ensue. I represented to them their danger from Spain, from France, the Netherlands, England, Denmark, and even from Poland and other quarters, as also from their domestic differences. All this they heard with patience, and though I would willingly have had conversation with them upon the subject, yet they would give no answer beyond this decision, that since affairs were so weighty, and the elector considered himself bound, according to the hereditary settlement between the families of Saxony and Brandenburg, to do nothing

mining pursuits; the teinds imposed also were not collected, and on the 9th June, 1636, the Copper Company was renewed by letters patent, calling upon the public to take shares. The lowest shares were of 100 dollars specie. *Stiernman, Econ. Ordin. ii. 25. 40.*

⁴ The works on the Hielsing Canal were still in progress. June 7, 1635, some remission of taxes was granted to the mining districts of Akerbo, Glanshammar, and West Rekarne, "since something still remained to be done on the sluices." *Reg.*

⁵ To Joachim Hansson, respecting a peasant lad of Frötuna, who had cut off four fingers, that he should be brought before the court. June 6, 1633. *Reg.*

⁶ "I see—he adds—that the dog who shows his teeth escapes with a whole skin sooner than he who takes to his heels with his tail between his legs." To the council, May 13, 1633. The simile is not a noble one, but noble-minded.

⁷ *Regum personas non minus quam ceterorum hominum esse mortales, rempublicam immortalem esse debere.* To the council, Feb. 12, 1633. *Palmsk. MSS. t. 369, p. 249. 259.*

without communication made, therefore he was necessitated to defer the matter until the arrival of the elector of Brandenburg. And so for this time with such resolution I travelled thence to the army again. Hereupon I ought fully to describe to you, my good lords, the electoral court of Dresden and its state in order to your information, as also my own judgment of affairs, but now I am not adequate to that end. Only this in brief; at the court is no resolution, nor any application, and I fear too that there are some of them who have their eyes turned to the emperor. They are entirely ignorant how to adapt their steps to these dangerous times, are accustomed to good days, cross in a word both hands and feet, and nourish vain hopes, deeming that thus they can escape misfortune. Long orations and reasons for doubting, with many ceremonies, are not wanting to them. But nothing real have I either seen or heard there, and if one would treat with them effectually, he is held to be dealing imperiously. Their opinion upon my proposals I have not been able from themselves at all to understand, only I have heard underhand from others that the first, for the crown of Sweden to have the direction of the war, pleaseth them not; nor the last, inasmuch as they know not how they should satisfy us, or (which I rather believe) because they have no goodwill thereto; but I understand them to be inclined to the second. I am now drawing the army from Meissen, and about to restore the territory to the elector. The troops I am dividing into two bodies, one to be conducted by duke Bernard of Weimar to Franconia, the other by Kniphausen to the Weser. The rest of the Swedish force I remove to the sea-coast.⁸

On the 13th January, 1633, the chancellor was appointed by the council of state to be legate plenipotentiary of the crown of Sweden in the Roman empire and with all the armies.⁹ The views held in Dresden acquired further strength, and matters went on as in the time of Gustavus Adolphus. The most powerful Protestant sovereign houses of Germany, Saxony and Brandenburg, still ever kept aloof from

supporting the great cause. Brandenburg's apparent inclination to an alliance with Sweden on account of the matrimonial overture soon cooled. The Swedish relations with both, as also with Denmark, which followed the same policy with them under pretence of mediating for peace, ended by becoming hostile.¹ The estates of Lower Saxony aimed only at neutrality. Westphalia was still the theatre of war. Thus in the whole of northern Germany the main limbs of Protestantism were lopped off. It is the mournful history of this war that it was fought out by others than those whom it most nearly concerned. Howbeit, this reproach is not applicable to all; the heroic state of Hesse, represented by the undaunted landgrave William V., and after his early death by his widow, that Amelia Elizabeth, whom no one that studies this war can name without reverence, forms a brilliant exception. Despite the opposition of Saxony, the Protestant princes and towns of South Germany, at the convention of Heilbronn, April 9th, 1633, concluded, under the guidance of Oxenstierna², that alliance among themselves and with Sweden of which Gustavus Adolphus had laid the foundation.³ On the same day the alliance between Sweden and France was renewed. Their amity had grown cold in the king's last days, and after the passage of the Lech by Gustavus Adolphus, Lewis XIII. said to the Venetian minister: "It is time to set bounds to the progress of this Goth." The French minister in Heilbronn now contributed to form this alliance, but likewise to limit the supreme direction of the war, which was committed to Oxenstierna as legate of Sweden.⁴

Measures, dictated by equity, favour, or necessity, marked his entrance on the exercise of this authority. The Palatinate was ceded to the heirs of the unfortunate Frederic⁵, Mannheim only retaining a Swedish garrison. The Swedish legate was surrounded by suitors. Bernard of Weimar availed himself of circumstances to request and obtain from the reluctant chancellor, Swedish letters of investiture to the duchy of Franconia.⁶ It was on

⁸ Dated Leipsic, Jan. 3, 1633. Compare Adlersparre, l. c. T. v.

⁹ Cum plena potestate et commissione absolutissima. Reg. His commission was afterwards confirmed by the guardians.

¹ All three, nevertheless, made proposals of marriage to Christina. That of Brandenburg has been already mentioned. Christian IV. eagerly sought the hand of Christina for his third son, prince Ulric; and that the same proposal was in question for Saxony we learn from Richelieu's Memoirs, vii. 282. The French ambassador Feuquières was thus instructed: As to the marriage of the daughter of Sweden with the eldest son of Saxony, the king would follow in that the course of things, and express his approval of it, if Saxony desired it, which, being already allied with the king of Denmark, could by this means appease the differences which might spring up between these two kingdoms. (Quant au mariage de la fille de Suède avec le fils aîné de Saxe, &c.)

² "The duke of Saxony, who is the most vain-glorious of the Germans, had wished to be chief of the whole confederation, and to have the direction of affairs. He foresaw well that the great credit and reputation of Oxenstierna and the consideration of the late king his master would get the better of himself—drunken, brutal, hated and despised by his subjects and foreigners—and this incited him by jealousy to obstruct him. These intrigues were so effectual, that the chancellor found himself obliged to pray the sieur Feuquières not to content himself with the good offices he had rendered

him towards the individual members of the assembly in the conferences, but to demand there public audience to speak to them altogether." (Le duc de Saxe, qui est le plus glorieux des Allemands, &c.) Mém. de Richelieu, vii. 337.

³ "They chose for their place of deliberation the house of Oxenstierna, who, seeing a dispute on the subject of precedence sliding in among them, caused all the seats to be removed, and affairs to be discussed by them standing." (Ils choisirent pour lieu de consulter, &c.) Mém. de Christine, iii. 84.

⁴ "The said Oxenstierna wished to have his elbows free in the direction of the affairs of Germany, which was of great prejudice to the Catholic religion." Ibid. 349. Compare Lettres et Négociations du Marquis de Feuquières. "It was found good to assign him a constituted council of well-qualified persons, and sufficient instructions, yet that the final resolution in matters of war should at all times remain with him." Chemnitz, ii. 49.

⁵ The delivery had no sooner taken place than the councillors of the elector palatine, who were of the reformed confession, began to persecute the Lutherans, and take from them the churches which Gustavus Adolphus had conceded to them, so that Oxenstierna was constrained to interpose. Chemnitz, ii. 139.

⁶ The royal Swedish letter donatory for the duchy of Franconia, and the two bishoprics of Wurtzburg and Bamberg (referring to the promise of Gustavus Adolphus), was subscribed by Oxenstierna at Heidelberg, June 10, 1633. It may be read in Röse, Duke Bernard of Weimar, i. paper 25.

the issue of similar letters that Oxenstierna declared, "Let it remain in our archives for eternal remembrance, that a German prince solicits this from a Swedish nobleman, and that a Swedish nobleman in Germany grants it to a German prince, which I hold to be as absurd for the one to request as for the other to grant."⁷ "There was almost no state, no leading officer or functionary," says Chemnitz, "who did not request some office, abbey, convent, or lordship; all appealed to the late king's promise, and the chancellor was obliged to leave matters to their course, if he would not give up all; especially as the wide-extended confederacy of the officers in the army of the Danube was added to his other embarrassments. For the groundwork of his military system was to keep the soldiers, as well as princes and states in goodwill, for which there were no other means. Thus the provinces conquered from the enemy, the longer the more, were lost, and little thereof remained for the crown of Sweden, except the archbishopric and electorate of Mentz, which also was partly broken up." It is not surprising that to him who gave so much, something should also have been offered. Richelieu praises his negotiator Feuquières⁸, for having so skilfully counterworked Oxenstierna's plan to obtain at the convention of Heilbronn the electorate of Mentz for himself. The plan of making his high-chancellor with this possession chancellor of the German empire, is said to have been that of Gustavus Adolphus himself. That the matter was in question is indubitable. The high-steward, Gabriel Oxenstierna, announced in the Swedish senate, on the 15th April, 1634, that his brother, the high-chancellor, had prayed him to obtain the opinion of the council touching the proffer which had been made, and on the 4th August the ministry write to the chancellor himself⁹: "In case the German estates, as we have been informed from several quarters, will gratify the great industry and labour of our beloved brother with any recompense in his own person, we would gladly see it; and as we do not suppose that our beloved brother will thereby withdraw himself from the service of his country, we doubt not that our most gracious queen and the estates of the realm will also see it gladly." But he, least of all, has the right to re-

proach Axel Oxenstierna with intrigues for his own advantage, who promised the co-operation of France to procure for his son the hand of Christina, and the Swedish crown¹. This overture Richelieu made to Oxenstierna, but in vain; and the chancellor was so little inclined to the French interest, that the envoy of France, on the contrary, complains of his growing arrogance and rudeness².

Proud this statesman undeniably was. It was about this time that he wrote to field-marshal Tott, who wished to be promoted to some recompense by the duke of Mecklenburg: "That I should recommend your pretensions will not at all beseech me; for it appears to me not to be for the honour of the country that I, in this my office, should solicit any foreigner for your reward, just as if my country were not adequate thereto. If it concerned my own person, and the duke proposed it not himself out of his own courtesy, I would hold my rank in the kingdom so high and noble, that I would not make myself obliged either to him or to any other foreigner for any benefice."³ Long afterwards the French ministry employed the proposition of marriage thus made by him between Christina and Oxenstierna's son, as the means of improving the chancellor in the queen's good graces. In a letter to his son Eric, of June 29, 1647, Oxenstierna calls it a figment in itself worthy of laughter, but requests his son to marry in order to repress all suspicions⁴.

We pass on to the consideration of the military occurrences.

The late king, says Chemnitz, had shortly before his death so made his dispositions for the war, that he left two armies in Upper Germany, one in Alsace under field-marshal Gustave Horn, the other in Bavaria under general John Baner, or for the present (since Baner still suffered from the wounds he had received at Nuremberg), under the palgrave Christian of Birkenfeld. On the Lower Rhine he had likewise an army under general Baudissin. For himself the king had determined to advance into Lower Saxony, and meanwhile to send duke Bernard of Weimar with a smaller body to Franconia. The high-chancellor steadily followed out this plan of the king. He divided the main army in Saxony. The larger division, from 12,000 to

⁷ Maneat, inquit, in perpetuum rei memoriam, in archivo nostro, Germanum principem a Sueco nobili id petisse, et Suecum nobilem, in Germania, Germano principi id contulisse, quod tam illum petere quam me donare æque absolum et absurdum reor. Arckenholtz, Mém. de Christine, i. 28, n. (after Wassenberg, Parænesis ad Germanos, who quotes it as a proof of Oxenstierna's arrogance). Rôse (duke Bernard, i. 222.) mentions an expression of the duke to Oxenstierna, "that a German prince had more to say than ten Swedish noblemen." It was doubtless a reply to the above-cited words of the chancellor, which were thus spoken in the duke's own affair.

⁸ "The sieur Feuquières discovered that he was carrying on a secret canvass to incline the princes, states, and deputies of the said assembly (of Heilbronn), to dispose of the electorate of Mayence in his favour, which he adroitly turned off." Mém. de Richelieu.

⁹ Extract from the Protocols of the Council in the Palm-sköld Collections, T. 40. p. 157. Letter of the ministry to the chancellor, Aug. 4, 1634. Reg.

¹ Richelieu instructs Feuquières: "As for the chancellor Oxenstierna, it behoved him to take care principally to acquire his confidence and friendship, and to assure him that the king wished to embrace his interests with all affection,

and that he would support the marriage of his son with the heiress of Sweden, promising him that in this case the king would assist him with money to maintain the war against those who would wish to trouble his said son when he should be king." (Quant au chancelier Oxenstjern, il falloit &c.) Mém. de Richelieu, vii. 285.

² The expressions of Feuquières show his embitterment: "We find ourselves not a little embarrassed, Mr. de la Grange and I, as to the manner in which we have to conduct ourselves with respect to the said chancellor, whom haughtiness and brutal pride make to lose his judgment." (Nous ne nous trouvons pas peu embarrassés, &c.) Lettres et Negotiations de M. de Feuquières, i. 277.

³ Palmisk. MSS. T. 309. p. 261.

⁴ Arckenholtz, Mém. de Christine, i. 106. iii. 79, n. In a treatise, revised and corrected by Christina herself, Sur ce qui s'est passé après la mort du grand Gustave, she does Oxenstierna the justice to acknowledge that he at once rejected the proposal. "M. de Feuquières, to attract Oxenstierna to the side of France, promised his assistance, if he had any desire of augmenting his private fortune, even to the furnishing him with troops and money, if he wished to marry the queen to his son. But Oxenstierna modestly refused these offers." Mém. de Christine, iii. 78.

14,000 men, was sent under duke George of Luneburg, and general, now field-marshal Kniphausen, to the Weser, and into Westphalia, which was occupied by the enemy; the smaller, under duke Bernard, across the Thuringian forest to the Maine, whence he was to put himself in connexion with the army of the Danube. The estates of Swabia, who did not feel themselves a match for the superior force of the enemy, had meanwhile called Horn to reinforce this army, whereupon the Palsgrave of Birkenfeld (after Baudissin had taken his leave) received the command of the troops on the Lower Rhine. The command in Silesia, where matters had hitherto proceeded irregularly, was committed to old count Thurn. There he was to renew his connexions with the Protestants of the country, and to preserve as much as possible unison with the generals of Saxony and Brandenburg⁵.

The various divisions of these large masses of troops, of whom the Swedes formed the least part, continued for some time longer their victorious progress. Soon, however, the absence of the guiding hand was remarked. The colonels of the army of the Danube, which was at last united under Horn and Bernard of Weimar, met in the month of April, 1633, and declared, "That in the capitulation entered into with them, the late king had promised them punctual disbursement of their pay every half-year, and besides a liberal recompense in land and vassals, which he had already conquered or expected to win; they had followed him truly, summer and winter, without rest or repose, to siege and battle, and finally, after his fall, conquered under duke Bernard's command at Lutzen, driven the enemy out of Saxony, and for the most part also out of Franconia, and on the other side, under field-marshal Horn, shown themselves not less unwearied on the Rhine; but after Gustavus Adolphus, the deprivation of whom, as their head, must shake even a body of iron, they had neither seen nor heard any thing of payment or thanks from the lord high-chancellor; they wished to know whom they served; at the convention of Heilbronn, no thought had been given to them, but to the satisfaction of Sweden, to lieutenants, commissaries, presidents, and residents; therefore they had resolved to advance no farther against the enemy, but rather with the soldiers under their command to hold the conquered territories for themselves as a legitimate hypothec, which opinion of theirs they intended also to impart to the other armies in Westphalia, Saxony, and the circle of the Rhine⁶." These points of complaint they reduced to writing, and demanded an answer within four weeks. Horn, who severely rebuked the confederates, repaired to his father-in-law the high-chancellor, in order to consult with him. Bernard of Weimar, who remained in camp, declared, "that the demands were reasonable, but

the expressions too strong⁷." Christina accuses him of having been the secret head of the cabal⁸. It is certain that the duke did not ill choose his time for enforcing his own demands on the high-chancellor, who was vainly incensed at this occurrence. The others it was found necessary to satisfy in the same manner, namely, by Swedish letters of investiture to estates and lordships in Germany, to the value (together with the money then expended) of 4,900,000 rix-dollars⁹. The distribution was made by duke Bernard¹, according to agreement with Oxenstierna, in Frankfort. In respect of the possessions granted to them, the officers were to be regarded as members of the league of Heilbronn, and the army as bound to this league and the crown of Sweden conjointly.

After the sedition thus quelled, victory still continued for some time to illustrate the arms of Gustavus Adolphus. But they were soon to be parted. The mutiny we have just described was likewise a rupture between the king's general staff of princes and the Swedish commanders; for although only the colonels appeared, higher interests were manifestly at stake. Among the princes who had entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus, Bernard of Weimar considered himself as the nearest heir of his fame. He had avenged the king's death. When at Weissenfels, after the battle of Lutzen, he showed the hero's body to the troops, and conjured them to pursue the career of victory, the whole army is said to have cried that they would follow him whithersoever he led, even to the end of the world². He requested the command-in-chief, but was hindered from obtaining his object, not only by his elder brother William, whom Gustavus Adolphus had named his lieutenant-general, but especially by Oxenstierna, who availed himself of the dissensions of the brothers to evade the claims of both, and insisted on placing field-marshal Horn, victor with Gustavus Adolphus at Leipsic, at the head of the army. Weimar and Horn in one command foreboded disaster.

Neither were duke George of Luneburg and Kniphausen on the best terms, though meanwhile they made progress. The duke, according to the plan of operations prescribed to him by Oxenstierna, swept the enemy from northern Westphalia, afterwards crossed the Weser with success, and besieged Hameln. The landgrave William V. of Hesse, whom the Swedish major-general Kagg was ordered to succour, made himself master of southern Westphalia, and besieged Paderborn. In order to relieve Hameln, the imperialist general, count Grönsfeldt, who had assembled his army in the district of Hildesheim, called count Merode out of Westphalia to his support. Duke George, on the other hand, requested and obtained a reinforcement from the landgrave of Hesse, under generals Kagg and Melander. On the 28th June, 1633, the

army, which he harangued, saying among other things, that he did not wish longer to conceal the misfortune which had happened, of the death of so great a prince; and conjured them all, by the glory they had acquired in following him, to aid him in taking vengeance, and in letting all the earth see that he commanded soldiers who had made him invincible, and even after death the terror of his enemies. All the army answered by crying that they would follow him wherever he wished, and even to the end of the world." (Il fit amener le corps du roi, &c.) *Mémoires de Richelieu*, vii. 263.

⁵ Chemnitz, ii. 35.

⁶ *Id.* ii. 700, &c.

⁷ Röse, i. 211.

⁸ Cette cabale fut formée par le duc même, she remarks. *Mém. de Christine*, iii. 92, n.

⁹ Puffendorf, v. § 40. (£1,102,500.) See the formulary of the letters donatory issued in Oxenstierna's name in Röse, i. paper 36. Wallenstein is said to have declared that the emperor had not given away more in ten years.

¹ Röse, i. 237.

² "He caused the king's body to be brought in front of the

united forces of the enemy were utterly routed at the village of Hessian Oldendorf, near the eastern bank of the Weser. Knipphausen had, according to his custom, dissuaded from the battle, but yet decided the victory (which also was not unusual with him) by a masterly movement executed with the Swedish cavalry³. In the action all the Swedish officers and soldiers wore an image of Gustavus Adolphus on their breast. His natural son, the young Gustave Gustavson, fought by the side of Knipphausen⁴. The surrender of Hameln was the only fruit of the victory. Duke George wrote to Oxenstierna that he had received the homage of the town for himself, enforced old claims of money, land, and towns, and, like others, spoke of promises from Gustavus Adolphus. The high-chancellor replied to these demands by new promises; but as the duke's views for his own aggrandizement more and more revealed themselves, he gradually withdrew from him the command of the Swedish troops. Knipphausen went, at the chancellor's order, to northern Westphalia; Kagg was sent to the army of the Danube, and when duke George got himself chosen general of the circle of Lower Saxony, the chancellor induced the estates of Saxony to set Baner, who had now been removed to the Elbe, at his side. It is the same spectacle every where. In the battle of Nördlingen these scenes were to find their solution.

On the Rhine and the Danube likewise, the Swedes yet for some time ran their old course of victory. With the capture of Heidelberg (on the 24th May, 1633), the conquest of the Lower Palatinate, by the palgrave Christian of Birkenfeld, had been completed. His victory of the 1st August, won by the Swedish infantry at Pfaffenhof, drove the Lorrainers out of Alsace. After the quelling of the sedition in the army of the Danube, Horn had turned with one division of it against Upper Swabia, to hinder the Spaniards coming up from Italy, under the duke of Feria, from uniting with the imperialist general Altringer. Duke Bernard also was called to Swabia by the advance of Altringer, whose junction with Feria, however, could not be prevented. The Swedish leaders, after having been divided in opinion whether a battle should be hazarded (Horn's dissuasions prevailed), parted anew; Horn to recover his advantages in those tracts, Weimar to seek new conquests on the Danube, where, after he had received reinforcements with general Kagg, the taking of Ratisbon,

on the 15th November, 1633, crowned his progress. Of this key to Austria and Bavaria, the duke took possession in his own name⁵. In the beginning of 1634, he stood ready to invade the hereditary dominions of the emperor, and requested Horn's assistance in that project. The latter would not abandon Swabia, which was still threatened by Altringer and Feria. The high-chancellor approved the opinion of his son-in-law, but transferred the troops heretofore under the command of the palgrave of Birkenfeld to the duke, who concealed his dissatisfaction so little, that he seemed to wish to bring about a violent rupture. Under the pretence of not being able to maintain his troops in Franconia (although he had not opened the magazines he had formed there), he threw himself suddenly, with hostile incursion, upon Horn's quarters in Swabia⁶. They met in Ulm, and words of passion were interchanged, in which the notorious colonel Mitzlaff, leader of the mutiny just suppressed, took part, being now openly received into the duke's protection. Bernard brought his claims to the supreme command before the diet of the league, now sitting in Frankfort, which, however, does not appear to have been inclined to his interest. The estates of Swabia complained that they were treated by him like enemies; and colonel Mitzlaff, notwithstanding the dual protection, received his dismissal. Meanwhile the emperor's son, the king of Hungary, with 15,000 men, moved against Ratisbon on one side, Altringer on the other; while Bernard, between disgust at the power of the chancellor, and the desire of saving this important town, gave himself up to vacillating, discrepant, and headstrong impulses. We see him now hastening in person to the relief of Ratisbon (the garrison of which he succeeded in reinforcing), now in despondency rejecting Horn's offer to unite with him for that object, and again, when the danger rose, vehemently pressing for this junction. At length it took place. Between the 3rd July, when Horn and the duke, with 24,000 men in all, met in Augsburg, and the 27th, when they retreated with an army almost dissolved by sickness and want, lay the devastations of the predatory foray into Bavaria, the capture of Landshut, and the loss of Ratisbon.

The main strength of the league of Heilbronn was in Swabia. The enemy, who now advanced against this circle, crossed the Danube, took Donauwerth, requited the devastation of Bavaria with the most inhuman cruelty⁷, and besieged Nördlin-

³ Compare von der Decken, duke George of Luneburg, ii. 32. Count Merode, a Netherlander, who by his differences with Gronsfield principally contributed to the loss of the battle, made himself, as colonel of one of Wallenstein's regiments, formed in 1620, so notorious by his plunderings, that the word *maroder* (marodera) thence originated. He died of his wounds received in this battle.

⁴ On a page of count Gronsfield, who was taken, was found the general's portfolio, with various papers written in French. In the head-quarters of duke George there was no one who could translate them but the young Gustave Gustavson. So little was the French language yet known. Von der Decken, ii. 180.

⁵ Röse, i. 259.

⁶ "Instead of forcing the dilatory Franconian estates to furnish provisions, for which he had orders, and opening his own stores in Wurtzburg, he resolved, to the great alarm of the chancellor, to let his starved regiments refresh themselves in the district of Swabia, hitherto spared, and destined

to the support of Horn's army; and threw himself with impetuosity, as it were in hostile guise, on Horn's quarters, so that it remained doubtful whether the junction sought with the field-marshal was to be made difficult, or the direction of the high-chancellor odious." Röse, i. 277.

⁷ See the description of Isolani's Croats in Hochstedt. "Very many women are outraged so that they are dead; men and women (without respect had) thrown amidst hot or cold water, ice, puddles of mire or ordure; some with chains and ropes at their heads haled to death; to some thumb-screws applied; others hung up by the privy parts, and pierced therein with needles until the blood ran down; their shin bones sawn through; the feet grated to the bone with billets; the soles crushed and beaten so long that they fell away from the feet; the arms bound to the backs, and they thus hung behind themselves; dragged much about the town stark naked, slashed, beaten, and wounded with axes and hammers in such sort, that for blood they seemed as if they had been dyed no otherwise than black-red. In the whole,

gen. For the relief of this town, Weimar and Horn, who had separated, were obliged anew to unite, while the chanceller hastened reinforcements, partly from Franconia, and partly from the Rhine. The enemy was joined by the troops coming from Italy, under the Spanish cardinal infant. Duke Bernard wished for a battle. "We have allowed Ratisbou to be lost,"—he said—"the banks of the Danube are overrun with enemies, the Rhine and Mayne threatened; if we help not Nördlingen in its strait, all is over with our fame." The besieged unceasingly announced their distress by messengers and signals. Horn urged that against so superior an enemy reinforcements should be waited for. The troops coming from Franconia, under field-marshal Kratz and general Kagg, at length arrived, by which the Swedish force was increased to nearly 18,000 men, while the enemy were 30,000 strong². Horn therefore advised waiting likewise for the Rhinegrave Otho Lewis, who, hitherto busied with the siege of Brisach, was now approaching with five thousand men, and this opinion prevailed in the council of war; although Bernard's officers expressed themselves insultingly upon Horn's scruples. According to the resolution, the army was to approach Nördlingen by the road of Ulm, and occupy a height lying near, until the Rhinegrave, who was expected within two days, had come up. Bernard's heat during the execution of this movement changed a skirmish into a battle, which, already commenced on the evening of the 26th, and continued through part of the night, ended on the 27th August, with the complete defeat of the Swedish army, the captivity of Horn, and the flight of the duke³. Bernard of Weimar, to whom the league of Heilbronn finally committed the command-in-chief,—with the remark, that "He who had overturned the car, must also help it up,"—found, however, his views no longer subserved by it, and sought the assistance of France for his own plans. But those times wherein the sword alone founded new sovereignties were past. This had already been shown by Wallenstein's fate.

This soldier-prince had, after the flight from

they dealt with such hideous cruelty to every man, of high or low rank, that all prayed but for death, to escape greater martyrdom." Chemnitz, ii. 521. In the Swedish army also the disaster at Nördlingen obliterated the last traces of the discipline of Gustavus Adolphus. "The Swedes and their allies," complains the ejected elector of Mentz, "rob, murder, scorch, burn, gag, force, and practise other tyrannies, like heathens and Turks, such as have never been heard." Röse, ii. 9.

² Le Laboureur, Hist. du Maréchal de Guebriant, p. 67.

³ See the description of the battle of Nördlingen in Röse's Duke Bernard of Weimar, i. 297; as also Horn's own account, which is written without any bitterness, and inspires respect for his character, in Chemnitz, ii. 521. Horn's captivity lasted almost eight years.

¹ Chemnitz, ii. 237.

² When he declared this to duke Francis Albert of Saxe-Lauenburg, the latter took it ill, and answered wrathfully: "That is not honestly done." Förster, Wallenstein, i. 214. The elector of Saxony besides appealed in his own proposals of peace to Wallenstein's promise to induce the emperor to make great cessions and a peace. Chemnitz, ii. 167.

³ He sent thirteen couriers after one another to duke Bernard to accelerate their junction. Richelieu, viii. 99. At the same time he sent his chancellor to the margrave Christian of Brandenburg-Culmbach, and begged a personal conference for the furtherance of a peace; he would afterwards

Lußen (for which he held a bloody reckoning with several of his officers), again collected his force behind the Bohemian mountains, in whose neighbourhood, like a storm-cloud, it seemed to linger. Meanwhile, words of peaceful sound only were heard out of the threatening darkness. Wallenstein, after he had advanced into Silesia, availed himself of the mediation for peace now opened by Denmark, and embraced by the emperor, in order to make highly dissimilar proposals to the combatants, each for itself. He offered his alliance to Saxony and Brandenburg, to expel the Swedes from Germany², but at the same time also to Sweden in conjunction with Saxony and Brandenburg, and France in conjunction with Sweden, to compel the emperor to peace. The speedy result was a general distrust towards the author of these proposals; and this suspicion was not extinguished at the imperial court, although the apparent confidence between Wallenstein and the enemy, after two truces, was suddenly broken off by a brilliant military activity. After Arnheim with the Saxons had parted from the Swedish army in Silesia, he found himself, when the last truce was at an end on the 21st September, 1633, quite unexpectedly surrounded in Steinau on the Oder by Wallenstein, who made prisoners 5000 men, with Duvall and Thurn, and then threatened Berlin and Dresden. Recalled by duke Bernard's progress on the Danube, he advanced into Franconia, yet too late to save Ratisbou, and afterwards turned back to Bohemia. These were the last exploits of Wallenstein. Declared an outlaw by the emperor, he was assassinated in Eger, on the 14th February (O. S.), 1634, together with his principal confidants. That he was then on the point of uniting with Bernard and the Swedes, is undoubted and acknowledged on all sides³. Great obscurity rests on the enigmatical character of Wallenstein; and this is by no means cleared up through his correspondence lately made public, which discloses to the attentive reader under circumspect phraseology, relations between the emperor and his general strained to the uttermost⁴.

himself repair to Oxenstierna, and likewise consult with the French ambassador. "For he was fully minded, when he had been to the margrave, decidedly to take his way to the lord high-chancellor, and converse orally with him, as also with the French ambassador." Chemnitz, iii. 229.

⁴ How little in these circumstances words express the real disposition several examples might be adduced to show. After the demands which the emperor in December, 1633, made known to Wallenstein by Quesenburg, had been remitted, and the general in return assured the emperor that he would do every thing for his service that utility and necessity permitted, "should he even burst for it," (according to Quesenburg's letter to the emperor; Pilsen, Dec. 30, 1633, Förster, Wallenstein's Letters, iii. 137.) Wallenstein in the beginning of 1634 makes the same demands a pretext for setting on foot a confederacy between his officers. Further, on the 21st February (N. S.) Wallenstein sends to Vienna the declaration that he was ready to subscribe all that was asked, to lay down his command, and to render himself to answer where the emperor pleased. The same day he sends Francis Albert of Lauenburg to duke Bernard, to make known to him his defection from the emperor. (Förster, Wallenstein, 274, 276.) On the other side, although the emperor had let fall an observation, that it appeared to him as though he had got a colleague king at his side,—(and we know what such words from a sovereign import,)—he declares, nevertheless, by letter to Wallenstein of Jan. 3, 1634, that he was willing to let it rest "on the duke's good mean-

Even the most strenuous defender of this general must confine himself to the question, in itself idle, whether he was a voluntary or coustrained traitor to his lord. The imperial court, in order to cloak a murder, naturally insisted on the former. Great contemporary statesmen, Oxenstierna, and still more Richelieu (although the cardinal had offered him his assistance in gaining the Bohemian crown), appear inclined to give admittance to all that alleviation which the latter character can bring with itself⁵. To us, no words appear sufficient to adjust or reconcile transactions in themselves conflicting. These, so far as they are explicable, can only be explained by Wallenstein's position, which was in itself so slippery that we almost pardon a great ambition, when on its neck-perilling career it asks counsel of the stars. A few words are sufficient to describe this position. Already on the first dismissal of Wallenstein, at Ratisbon in 1630, his friends ventured to indicate its dangers; "since he," they said, "as being a man otherwise resentful, might seek revenge, associate himself to the emperor's enemies, and draw the soldiers to and with himself, who would give more obedience to his wink than to the law and order of another." Wallenstein himself submitted without complaint, with the expression that what had happened stood written in the records of heaven. But at what a height he aimed is best shown by those conditions which he afterwards, in the emperor's extreme need, imposed and obtained on resuming the most unlimited command; among others, an imperial hereditary province in reward, and the superiority of all conquered territories. He that can ask like this, must place himself in a situation to watch over its fulfilment. Wallenstein had, in his former command, both won and lost Mecklenburg, his title from which he continued to bear. The character of prince of the empire which he had won strengthened his independence as general. Under such circumstances, to decide on what side that suspicion and those apprehensions first arose which led to so violent a breach, is, and remains perhaps, as impossible as it appears inevitable, that such should sooner or later have occurred.

In order rightly to comprehend the consequences of the battle of Nördlingen, it is necessary to cast a glance upon the internal relations of the Protestant party in Germany at that time. Count Peter Brahe was sent from Sweden to the assistance of the chancellor, and visited the convention in Frank-

ing,"—i. c. 236. 240; and such gracious expressions are continued even after orders had been given for the seizure or removal of Wallenstein.

⁵ "We doubt not without reason, whether from the commencement of the pending treaties he meant in right earnest a conspiracy against the emperor, or whether the whole transaction was not intended to cheat the evangelical party; whereas he, by too coarse a trick, and using too extravagant and whimsical manners in his discourse and actions, fell into suspicion with the emperor, which was so fomented and increased by his mistakers and opponents, that he was at length hereby obliged to embrace the counsels which he had at first taken up fraudfully and deceitfully in semblance against the evangelicals, now as it were compulsorily and from necessity in earnest, although too late. However this may be, the issue showed that the lord high-chancellor judged rightly of him and his purpose; it would be impossible for him to accomplish such designs, and he had taken more upon himself than he could perform. Since the imperial officers, when he had fairly discovered his intent of de-

fort. "The estates," he writes in his journal, "allowed free course to pomp and state, many living in daily riot and excess, troubling themselves little about the general weal, envious of Sweden's fortune, and grudging it the directory. The elector of Saxony disturbed and threw down what others built up; the elector of Brandenburg looked only to Pomerania, the Calvinists to the king of England, duke Bernard of Weimar to his dignity, and how he might rule and govern alone, and be dependent on no man; the dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg had a rivalry with the landgrave of Cassel; every one sought his own advantage; French money seduced high and low; the baronage and towns quarrelled about seats. No where was confidence to be found; one envied the other; princes, counts, and lords, were as children, following that which their doctors and jurists preached before them, who stood at all the meetings behind their masters, speaking and answering as for mutes⁶. Every one wished to live for himself, and act both as king and general⁷. They bore lawless arms against their lord the emperor, whom they so entitled; for so long as they called him their lord, and drew the sword against him, their war could be called nothing else than rebellious. But whatever argument a man used, it helped nothing; they would never declare the emperor their enemy, much less unworthy of the Roman crown; they played and trifled with the war and the state of public and private affairs. The high-chancellor they honoured much as Swedish legate and director of the evangelical league, and paid, both to him and me, great respect; but when the chancellor meant it best with them, they interpreted it worst, and in truth with them neither reason nor counsel availed for the right and their own good weal. Thus delays and disputes continued, and time was consumed in vain, until the unfortunate battle of Nördlingen was fought."

This defeat at once brought the so-called third party to consistence; as moisture at the freezing point is changed into ice on the first shock. Saxony concluded for itself, and without commission, for its religious associates likewise, the peace of Prague, which gave no security, deferred the main question, but gained Insatia for the elector. He for whose rescue Gustavus Adolphus had fallen, mentions in these negotiations for peace, the immortal achievements of the hero under the expression, "the troubles which arose in the empire in 1630," whose traces must be obliterated⁸, and remarks

fection, laid more stress on the duty which they owed to the emperor than the respect they bore to him (Wallenstein), and for the most part renounced him. So that even his own creatures, in whom he put most trust, became his murderers." Chemnitz, ii. 338. In the protocol of the council for 1650, Oxenstierna reckons "Wallenstein's business" among the things on which right knowledge could never be attained. Richelieu's favourable judgment of Wallenstein may be found in the *Memoirs*, vii. 100. The reflections upon the dangers of faithful servants in high place from envious appear not to be written without reference to the cardinal's own position.

⁶ Quantum degeneraverint a pristina virtute! the author exclaims.

⁷ "Not reflecting that they were all only members of a body under one head, whence it follows that while individuals fight all are conquered."

⁸ "Touching the restitution, there should be restored to the emperor and his adherents all that of which they have been deprived since the troubles which arose in the year 1630 and

that the Swedes should content themselves with free egress from Germany. So great was the despondency, that almost all the Protestant states (of Sweden's German allies all except Hesse) acceded to this universally disapproved peace, which protracted the war for thirteen years longer. This is the last and most deplorable period of the great struggle. What yet impeded, what Gustavus Adolphus before his death predicted, and thought it gain not to live to see⁹, was so adverse, that the Swedish government, and even Oxenstierna, sought for peace sincerely, if it were obtainable on other conditions than dishonour. We shall see that only this choice was left them.

The first intelligence of the disaster at Nördlingen was received in Sweden without despondency. "We doubt not of your wonted courage," write the ministry to the chancellor, "and hope that the cause is not to be despaired of, although it be hard, and fallen into embarrassment¹." The results which speedily unfolded themselves appeared to frustrate this hope, and the peaceable inclinations which the government constantly cherished after the king's death, gained new strength by new perils. The truce with Poland was drawing near its term, and it was feared that Denmark might likewise break the peace². The danger from this side was sought to be averted by granting the see of Bremen to the second son of Christian IV., duke Frederic, already named coadjutor of the deceased archbishop³. With Poland negotiations for peace were opened, which count Peter Brahe managed on the Swedish side. But these were conducted under arms. King Uladislaus seemed to wish for war. Jacob de la Gardie carried over to Prussia 20,000 men from Sweden in June, 1635. "But," the ministry write to the chancellor⁴, "if we obtain no prosperous issue with the treaty, the war will fall grievously upon us in the long run; since the poverty of the country every where is so great from the scarcity and the dear times, which have now lasted for some years over the whole kingdom, that the people could pay their taxes neither this nor the former year, and the crown has besides suffered great loss through the bursting in of water in the coppermines; all which hath plunged us into so great want of means, that we know not how we shall maintain the ordinary economy of the state, much less furnish any considerable sum, especially in money, for the prosecution of the war. The mint is at a stand-still, and there is very little money in

the arrival of the king of Sweden on the soil of the empire,"—it is said in the Saxon preliminaries of peace at Pirna, Nov. 13, 1634. Chemnitz, ii. 602. The peace was concluded at Prague, May 20 (O. S.), 1635.

⁹ "King Gustavus Adolphus shortly before his death confessed with deep sighs that he wished for nothing else than that God might call him hence, since he saw war imminent with his friends for their great faithlessness, which would afflict him the more that the world would not guess the true cause of such a war." Axel Oxenstierna in the council, 1644. Palmström. MSS.

¹ To the high-chancellor, Oct. 2, 1634. Reg.

² "If the Pole begins aught, he for certain draws the Jute with him." The ministry to the chancellor, June 12, 1634. Reg.

³ "We have been unable to avoid according Bremen through the lord John Skytté to the son of the king of Denmark, and declaring ourselves not disinclined to admit him to neutrality, with the cession of Verden. Yet we have re-

ferred the matter to you and the evangelical estates." The ministry to the chancellor, March 22, 1635. Reg. Meanwhile the secretary Grubbé had already, on the 18th March, received a commission to congratulate duke Frederic on his accession to the government of Bremen, and deliver the ratification of the treaty concluded by Skytté in Denmark. Reg. 4 July 18, 1635. Reg. 5 April 8, 1635. Reg. 6 The ministry make their excuses in the letter to the chancellor of Sept. 12, 1635, for having resolved to ratify, "although we gave no warrant to conclude so short a truce for concession of advantages so great." Reg. 7 Oct. 12, 1636. Reg. 8 "We lament that some have shamelessly dared to fill the world with lies of many excellent conditions of peace which you are said to have rejected. The best remedy is, that you should publicly bring to light both the ingratitude practised to us, and your moderation and reasonableness." The ministry to the chancellor, Nov. 15, 1635. Reg. 9 Mémoires de Richelieu, viii. 352. ix. 5.

Oxenstierna found himself in the most difficult position. At home he was charged with setting himself to thwart the peace⁸. At the same time Richelieu reproaches him with having lost all spirit for the prosecution of the war⁹; although

ferred the matter to you and the evangelical estates." The ministry to the chancellor, March 22, 1635. Reg. Meanwhile the secretary Grubbé had already, on the 18th March, received a commission to congratulate duke Frederic on his accession to the government of Bremen, and deliver the ratification of the treaty concluded by Skytté in Denmark. Reg.

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9 Mémoires de Richelieu, viii. 352. ix. 5.

truth constrains him to the confession, that the Swedish chancellor had done all which it was possible for a man of courage and sagacity to do¹.

The influence of France had risen in the same proportion as that of Sweden had sunk, and in Richelieu men had to do with the best calculator of possibilities who perhaps was ever seen². It is this extraordinary acuteness, combined with unshakable steadfastness, which makes him so great. "Richelieu," says Oxenstierna of his political rival several years after his death, "was a man remarkable in counsel, a man not only of understanding, but also of conduct and courage, whence also he directed the work with such constancy in so long time; as we else observe in the French, how soon they determine for war, and just as soon again for peace, and almost never heretofore pursue their objects with earnestness and steadiness. Therein also he was fortunate, adds the Swedish statesman, that he died before the king, who defended his actions³." The independence of France, threatened by Spanish and Austrian intrigues within its own borders, had provoked Richelieu's opposition against the preponderance of the house of Hapsburg. From defence he passed to attack, and already turned his eyes on the Rhine as the future frontier of France. The war in Germany and Holland, he said to his king in 1633, must be maintained, cost what it will, but as long as possible only by subsidy, without France openly taking part in it; meanwhile we must seek to obtain, as price of this support, the strong places on the Rhine; if this should hereafter lead to open war, the advantages would be great and the danger trifling; the king might extend his dominions to the Rhine only by accepting what had been won by the arms of others, and by its mere possession in pledge might make himself arbiter of war and peace; he would likewise have footing thereby in Strasburg, Franche-Comté, Luxembourg, might curb Lorraine, and restrain the enemy from meddling with the internal affairs of France; Sweden should not be allowed to fall, but its preponderance in Germany must be averted; perhaps time might by some accident remove all danger in this respect, just as it had already freed Christen-

dom from a great misfortune by the death of the Swedish king⁴. The conjectured accident had now occurred by the first overthrow of the Swedes in Germany. A French army, which had already made itself master of the principal towns of Lorraine, was upon the Rhine to watch its opportunity. The league of Heilbronn, whose most influential members had previously been gained over by French pensions, now in despair threw themselves absolutely into the arms of France. There were no strong places on the Upper Rhine which they were not willing to surrender, and Alsace besides in pawn. Bernard of Weimar, now general of the league, went himself with the remains of his army into French pay⁵; and in the secret articles which accompanied the compact, the duke took assurance from France of Alsace for himself, or compensation in exchange at the peace. Last attempt of an unfortunate ambition! Bernard subsequently died after the taking of Brisach, and France kept Alsace.

Oxenstierna also was compelled to seek Richelieu. On his journey from Upper Germany, in the spring of the year 1635, he took his way through France, met the cardinal in Compiègne, and adjusted with him the conditions of a renewed alliance⁶, which was to be proposed to the Swedish government. Their delay in the ratification was laid by Richelieu to the charge of Oxenstierna⁷. For the ministry referred the matter to the chancellor⁸, and at last dismissed with this resolve the French ambassador, who sought to win adherents in Stockholm, and sometimes held obnoxious language. The chancellor, on the other hand, wished to gain time. The peace of Prague had wrought a great change in the state of circumstances. On the Swedish side it was with reason objected that the purpose of the alliance had ceased to exist, when the associates for whose aid it was to be formed had disappeared. Hesse-Cassel also took the advice of the chancellor to seek a reconciliation with the emperor⁹. At home peace was determined upon, ultimately with no other indemnity than payment of the demands of the armies, and the cession of a town on the seacoast until the sum should be made good; and even with these terms, Sweden had looked rather

¹ "The director did all that a man of courage and conduct was capable of doing" Id. viii. 174.

² See the instructions (in many respects worthy of admiration), of which his memoirs chiefly consist.

³ Oxenstierna in the council, 1650. *Palmisk. MSS.* t. 190.

⁴ *Mém. de Richelieu*, vii. 271. 274.

⁵ The convention between Bernard of Weimar and Richelieu, at first kept secret, was concluded at St. Germain en Laye, Oct. 17, 1635.

⁶ The chancellor arrived the 20th April, 1635, at Compiègne, where his majesty was, who caused him to be received and furnished with magnificence. He signed a new treaty with the king, and left four days after to go to Paris, where having sojourned until the 3d May, he went to Dieppe, whence he passed into Holland, and thence into Low Saxony. *Mém. de Richelieu*, viii. 344.

⁷ He had also, from distrust of the chancellor, made advances to the party in the government opposed to him, though with little effect, because this formed the peace party. King Lewis XIII. wrote himself to the high-marshal, Jacob de la Gardie. The answer returned by the ministry, March 28, 1635, gives assurance of the marshal's favourable disposition to the cause of Christendom and of France, the more that he was himself of French extraction. In a separate letter to Richelieu on the same day, he avers his wish to

contribute in every way to a good understanding between the two kingdoms, and recommends one of his relatives in France. *Reg.*

⁸ "We have further deliberated what answer we should give Avaugour to his request of ratification, whereto he joins a demand that we should maintain a certain number of troops against the emperor. That would be to bind our hands; to refuse the ratification, on the other hand, would give offence. We will therefore keep the matter open some time, and defer all this until further accounts from you, since things meanwhile have much changed." The ministry to the chancellor, Dec. 19, 1635. "We have already written to you that we intended to detain the French envoy till we had intelligence from you. Howbeit, since he after began to make himself much too familiar (allt för mycket familier), we have come to the resolution to dismiss him the sooner the better, and refer him in all to you." The ministry to the chancellor, Jan. 23, 1636.

⁹ "He had given this counsel to the landgrave." *Mém. de Richelieu*, vii. 352. The landgrave's widow afterwards actually concluded the peace at Mentz, Aug. 11, 1638, but the emperor did not ratify it, because he would not confirm the required freedom of religion. Puffendorf, x. 445. So far were the Austrians still removed from the first principle of a religious peace.

to what honour than to what interest required; for the armies consisted in the largest part of Germans¹. "Concerning the peace," the ministry write to the chancellor, on the 28th January, 1636, "we hold to our ultimatum, namely, the contentment of the soldiery, and a hypothec on the sea-coast; better to escape the incalculable cost which the prosecution of the war would bring with it, than to fish with a golden hook, and lose ten millions for one²." The Swedish estates assembled in the autumn of 1635, and declared, that Sweden could not submit to the peace of Prague; the treaty must be concluded between Sweden and the emperor; Sweden could not content itself with the guarantee of the elector of Saxony; the elector was a subject, could not guarantee himself, and had not so conducted himself in this war that he should be allowed to have that honour. In the instructions which the chancellor received, it was specified, that he should negotiate with the emperor, and with Saxony only so far as the elector should be empowered to conclude peace as well for the emperor as for the League and Spain; in the peace Hesse should be included, and France, if she wished it. All shows that Oxenstierna himself sincerely sought for peace. He followed his instructions truly, as if they had proceeded from himself. But his proposals of peace to the emperor remained unanswered. Saxony every where interposed with the demand, that Sweden should submit, unconditionally, to the peace of Prague: if the Swedes would disband their army, evacuate all conquests, and quit Germany, but not till then, the elector would employ his mediation to obtain, within four or five years, an indemnity in money of a million of guilders: for the rest, this point concerned him not, since Gustavus Adolphus had declared that he had no claim upon him; the Swedes ought to rely upon his word, that they should experience no hostilities from the emperor and the German empire³. At the same time he caused his troops to enter the Swedish quarters, and instigated the officers of the Swedish army to mutiny. Then it seemed more honourable and tolerable—says Chemnitz—to be beaten out of Germany by force, than thus to be cast off, to fall down before the enemy, and to beg for peace; the one would at most be a misfortune, which had overtaken many powerful kingdoms and republics; the other would be shame, to be answered neither to contemporaries nor posterity, especially as in any case they could obtain no real and secure peace, much less enjoy its fruits. Yet the chancellor was almost resolved to desist from all satisfaction, if he could, with honour and safety, have parted from this work, and the burden of the foreign soldiery had been taken from his neck; but even this he could not compass on account of Saxony⁴.

Thus we see the work of Gustavus Adolphus tottering on all sides. Two great ministers, combining their efforts against the predominance of Austria, although in many other points at variance, had in vain attempted to complete it. To succeed in this lay beyond the limits of merely political calculations, though framed by Oxenstierna's skill, and supported with Richelieu's treasures. Success in arms alone could accomplish what success in arms had begun. It was a task not for the pen only, but for the sword also. We shall see it re-established on its first foundation from the moment when, after discords and defection, Swedish generalship again had the governance of the war. It was John Baner who wrested the truncheon of Gustavus Adolphus from the hands of the German princes.

France was at this time poor in commanders. The rebellious spirit of the nobility, fostered by dissensions in the royal family and foreign intrigues, had spread to the army. The French soldiery shunned a war in Germany. For the cavalry service reliance was to be placed only on foreigners; so Richelieu himself complains⁵. Gustavus Adolphus had left behind him a school of warriors, the first in Europe. "All these are generals," he said to Charnacé, after crossing to Germany, pointing to seven or eight Swedish lords who surrounded him. The Swedes, he declared on another occasion, would not want for leaders after him; he should feel it grievous for him to be their king, if he were not convinced that they would, by God's help, perfect his undertaking⁶. After the battle of Leipsic, the general staff of the victor was filled with German princes. Whatever might be the political objects he designed with them, it is yet clear from some remarkable expressions during his last days, that he foresaw their defection. We have an account that on the eve of the field of Lutzen, in an autograph letter to the chancellor, he stated Baner as the most capable of holding the command, in case he himself should be overtaken by the hand of death⁷. Baner was then still suffering from his wounds received at Nuremberg; the death of the king affected him so deeply, that he for a moment thought of abandoning all. Oxenstierna's representations alone withheld him, in consequence of which he first assumed the command on the Elbe, with the difficult commission of acting in conjunction with the Saxons. He had penetrated with them into Bohemia, and stood before Prague, when the disaster of Nördlingen compelled him to retire with his troops, Sweden's last army, upon German soil. When Oxenstierna came from France, he met Baner on the Saale. The troops were removed to Magdeburg.

rously shed." (Toutes ces choses offensèrent tellement les Suédois, &c.) Richelieu, *Mém.* ix. 3.

⁵ See his portrayal of the condition of the army. *Mémoires*, viii. 422. Compare viii. 289.

⁶ It is Richelieu also who has preserved these anecdotes. *Mém.* viii. 255, 256. Horn's capture at Nördlingen, he says, was held by the Imperialists to be more important than the victory. viii. 177.

⁷ "Short Relation anent some particular passages, that fell out shortly after king Gustavus Adolphus' death." *Nordlin's Documents for the History of the Swedish Wars*, i. 23. The story is traditional, and fails in making Baner assume the command-in-chief immediately, but appears to merit confidence in the circumstances above-mentioned.

¹ "His majesty of blessed memory had employed for the carrying on of this war not only the Swedes, his own people, and other foreigners, but principally and before others the German nation, so that at the present time the chief part, both officers and soldiers, consist of the German nation." Oxenstierna's proposition to the elector of Saxony, Aug. 1, 1635. Chemnitz, ii. 743.

² Registry.

³ Declaration of the elector of Saxony. Chemnitz, ii. 768.

⁴ "All these things so offended the Swedes, that they resolved to defend themselves, and rather with arms in their hands be stripped by force, than basely yield what they had acquired with so much glory, and the blood they had gene-

Here the chancellor soon found himself a prisoner to his own army. It was here that Baner rescued him from the hands of the discontented officers, who were treating with the Saxons, and hindered, with as great boldness as eloquence and subtlety, an outbreak of mutiny. The chancellor quitted Magdeburg by night, and reached, in disguise, the sea-coast. The untrustworthy regiments were removed into separate quarters; the loyal were congregated by the general round himself. These were little more than six thousand men against thirty thousand Saxons, with whom the elector soon proceeded to open hostilities⁸. But he in vain attempted to cut off Baner from the Elbe. That leader crossed the river victoriously. Lieutenant-general Ruthven defeated the Saxons at Domitz⁹. To Baner's support came Torstenson, who brought him two thousand horse and six regiments of foot, from Prussia. It was now the turn of Saxony. Baner again passed the Elbe, in the middle of winter. The elector, who menaced Pomerania, was recalled to his unfortunate country, now the scene of a war of vengeance, which the irritated Swedes, and the Protestant refugees in their army, whose cause the elector had sacrificed, waged with extreme exasperation and cruelty. Saxony was given to the flames¹. But these consumed also the resources of Baner's own army, and when the elector coalesced with the Imperialists, under Hatzfeld, the Swedish general was constrained to draw back to Werben, whereupon Magdeburg was lost². Baner compensated this and other miscarriages by the complete victory over the combined Saxon and Imperial armies, at Wittstock³, on the 24th September, 1636; after which Saxony again lay open to the conqueror. The victory of Wittstock effaced the defeat of Nördlingen.

Baner took Erfurt and Torgau, beleaguered Leipsic, but was constrained to raise the siege, as

all the imperial armies in Germany now turned against him. Four months (from February to June, 1637,) he maintained himself in his fortified camp at Torgau, against an enemy far superior in force, spread thereupon a report that he meant to relieve Erfurt, but passed the Elbe on the 19th June, and three days after the Oder, intending to cross the Wartha at Landsberg. Here, instead of field-marshal Herman Wrangel, to whom he expected now to give the meeting, he found the whole of the enemy's strength before him. Gallas, who had kept him invested on the Elbe, and twelve hours after his decampment received intelligence of it, passed the Oder by a shorter way at Kustrin, and effected, before the walls of Landsberg, a junction with the imperialist general Maracini, previously detached to this quarter. In this situation, Baner once more succeeded in escaping from the enemy, who, overreached by his movements, hastened to bar against him the way through Poland to Pomerania, while Baner suddenly recrossed the Oder, and joined Wrangel at Schwedt⁴. This retreat, exclaims Richelieu, on which Baner had but fourteen thousand men to set against sixty thousand, whom except some stragglers and sick he saved, with his baggage and cannon, may be placed by the side of the most glorious retreats of which history makes mention⁵.

The Swedes were, in truth, again driven to the Baltic, and the autumn of 1637 brought a conflict for Pomerania, their last possession in Germany; Baner maintained himself in Hinder Pomerania, while all Fore Pomerania, Stralsund, Greifswald, and Anklam excepted, became the prey of the enemy; but the following year supplied these losses. Gallas, in 1638, led the relics of an army, weakened by its excesses, out of wasted Pomerania, first towards the Havel and Elbe, and ultimately to Silesia and Bohemia; while Baner, who had received fresh troops from Sweden, and in June mustered 30,000

⁸ Richelieu, *Mém.* viii. 349. Baner's army consisted in all of twenty-six thousand men; "but how strong soever they found themselves, yet no one had a mind to fight," says Chemnitz. ii. 775. The cavalry, in all twelve thousand men, were especially untrustworthy. Of the German troops who remained true, most appear to have consisted of fugitives from the Austrian hereditary dominions, whose cause Saxony had sacrificed in the peace of Prague. Chemnitz, l. c. According to Le Laboureur, *Histoire du Maréchal de Guébriant*, p. 71, there were in Baner's army not more than from two to three thousand Swedes and Livonians.

⁹ Oct. 22, 1635. Of six to seven thousand men, of whom this corps consisted, two thousand were killed, and three thousand taken. Authentic Relation, printed in 1635, in the *Palmisköld Collections*. Lieutenant-general Baudissin, whom the elector by his so-called blood-orders of Oct. 6, 1633, had charged to drive the Swedes out of Germany, since they would not submit to the peace of Prague, was himself well-nigh taken prisoner. He had left the Swedish for the Saxon service.

¹ Baner's manifesto against these cruelties is indeed extant, but was first emitted at Werben on the 24th May, 1636. By his own confession they had risen to such a height, "that it would be no wonder if the earth should gape, and by the just judgment of God swallow up such dishonourable malefactors." But the Saxons themselves had behaved no better in the land of their ally, the elector of Brandenburg. Copy of a letter from the Mark-Brandenburg, Nov. 16, 1636, in the *Palmisköld Collections*.

² "We perceive from your reports, that in Germany one fortress after another is given up most unjustifiably to the

enemy; we therefore desire that you will bring such commandants, especially those of Magdeburg, Havelberg, Brandenburg, Werben, to a court-martial." The ministry to Baner, Sept. 9, 1636. Reg.

³ "The enemy hath brought from thence of his whole infantry scarce a thousand men, mostly Saxons; but the Imperialists were on all hands captured and ruined. The cavalry mostly saved themselves by flight during the night." Relation, Stockholm, 1636. A multitude of contemporary accounts of the military occurrences of 1635 and 1636 are in the *Palmisköld Collections*, T. 40. Baner and Torstenson received considerable grants in fief, both at home and in Germany. The ministry write to Baner, Dec. 3, 1636, to gratify deserving officers with estates which might be won from the enemy, as also to distribute among them gold chains and portraits to the amount of 3000 rix-dollars. Reg.

⁴ Old Herman Wrangel, who did not agree well with Baner, was subsequently recalled. His son Charles Gustave Wrangel, afterwards general-in-chief, remained with the army.

⁵ *Mém.* ix. 356. "Cette action fut assez plaisamment représentée, selon le génie de ce temps-là, dans une gravure où l'on voyoit les généraux Allemands fort occupés à lier le haut d'un sac, dans lequel l'armée Suédoise étoit enfermée, tandis que Baner avec son épée lui ouvroit un passage par un des coins." (This action was represented pleasantly enough after the spirit of that time in an engraving, where the German generals were seen very busy tying the top of a sack, in which the Swedish army was enclosed, while Baner with his sword opened a passage for it by one of the corners.) Bougeant, *Histoire des Guerres et Négociations qui précédèrent le Traité de Westphalie*, p. 289.

men at Stettin, pushed forwards in his track ⁶. We find him in the spring of 1639 again in Saxony; he destroys again an Imperialist and Saxon army, by the victory of the 4th April, at Chemnitz, advances into Bohemia, takes prisoners Hofkirchen and Montecuculi at Brandeis, on the 19th May, and is before the gates of Prague on the following day. His army was full of Bohemian fugitives. How changed did they not find their native land! For twenty years not a Protestant minister or church had been seen; a people once froward, but now spiritless, even to having lost hope. The Imperialists and Swedes vied with each other in plundering. But the enemy soon gathered strength in his own country. Reinforcements came in from all sides; one under Piccolomini, from the Netherlands. In Baner's rear, Saxony and Brandenburg were again in quiet. In Lower Saxony, Luneburg, newly hostile, requested a suspicious neutrality ⁷. The heaviest blow was the death of Bernard of Weimar, which occurred on the 8th July, 1639. Baner, who had calculated upon meeting this great general on the Danube, was now himself obliged to determine for retreat. But this was not accomplished without great loss.

In the month of May, 1640, we see for the first time a French and Swedish army united at Erfurt. The former consisted in the greatest part of the old army of Weimar, which France had succeeded in gaining ⁸, under the command of the duke of Longueville and Guébriant. The troops of Hesse and Luneburg also adhered to Baner ⁹. But the inconveniences of a divided command soon showed themselves. Piccolomini would not allow himself to be enticed out of his fortified camp at Saalfeld. The allies parted, and the year passed away, until amidst the snows and cold of December, while the enemy was lying secure in his winter-quarters, we see Baner breaking up in conjunction with Guébriant. He proceeded through Thuringia, Franconia, and the Upper Palatinate, and in January, 1641, appeared suddenly before Ratisbon, where the new emperor Ferdinand III. (his father had died the 15th February, 1637) was holding a diet with the electors and deputies. Already had Baner sent

his cavalry over the frozen Danube, and begun to cannonade the town, when the ice broke up from a sudden thaw. The enemy was reinforced, the attempt miscarried, and the general soon found himself in a more difficult situation than ever. The Swedish troops only were at this time accustomed to winter campaigns. Those of Weimar turned round, Guébriant deserted Baner, who at Châm was well-nigh surrounded by the enemy. The Bavarian general Mercy, who had been sent in advance with a numerous cavalry, fell in with the Swedish colonel Eric Slange. The latter threw himself, with three regiments, into the small town of Newburgh, and defended himself so heroically until the fourth day, when he was compelled to lay down his arms, that Baner had time to escape with the rest of his force. Yet in the defile of Pressnitz in the Bohemian forest he was only saved by half an hour's start from being cut off by Piccolomini. The Imperialists pursued him eleven days without quitting the saddle. He came to Zwickau, where Guébriant again joined him; thence, amidst continual fighting, to Halle, Merseburg, and Halberstadt. This retreat Baner made in a dying condition, being at last carried on a litter. He expired at Halberstadt, May 10, 1641, in his forty-fifth year. In the victory which followed at Wolfenbüttele the army bore the body of their general with them into action ¹. Baner made himself illustrious by his campaigns. Wine and love were the hero's foibles ².

One remark we cannot withhold. If we consider the issue of these operations undertaken from North Germany against Austria, which after Baner's days were more than once repeated, we will pause ere with the crowd we blame Gustavus Adolphus, because after the victory of Leipsic he was unwilling to attack the hereditary dominions of the emperor, until he had strengthened his unprotected flank; and we perceive likewise that the sole condition of the success of such an attack was, a powerful co-operation on the side of France. This co-operation was never given in a decisive mode. The interests of Sweden and France had indeed a point of con-

⁶ "Gallas drew after him some miserable relics of his army. The Brandenburgers and Saxons had been much thinned, while the Swedish soldiers, though with a small stock of clothes, had noble courage, and were all young, picked men." Puffendorf, xi. 486. Gallas relinquished the command, which Maracini and the Saxon Hofkirchen received.

⁷ No sovereign house during the Thirty Years' War laboured so perseveringly for such an end as that of Luneburg. That the parts should think of themselves, when the whole is dissolved, may be natural. But there is truth in the observation of Baner to chancellor Drebber, who visited him as the envoy of Luneburg after the victory at Chemnitz. "By the like miserable considerations was Germany brought into its present necessity; the annals of neutrality booted not." Von der Decken, l. c. iii. 184. "The counsels of duke George of Luneburg," writes Oxenstierna to Baner, Jan. 9, 1639, "are sufficiently known to me, and are for ought but to gain time, and so to hold with the strongest." Reg.

⁸ Oxenstierna writes to Baner, that he should seek to enforce the right of Sweden to the army of Weimar, which had been first levied on Swedish account.

⁹ Oxenstierna to Salvius, on the rupture of the land-gravine, George duke of Luneburg, and the prince of Transylvania Ragozi, with the emperor, March 1, 1639. In

respect to the junction with the allies, Oxenstierna writes to Baner, July 8, 1640, "Trouble yourself not with the humours and differences of the generals; make use of the difference which is betwixt the duke of Longueville and Hesse together with Luneburg, to hinder the French general's designs for a separation; promise Klitzing (now general of the Luneburg troops) a pension of 2000 to 4000 rix-dollars; were duke George (of Luneburg) also gratified with a yearly pension, we would not look to the cost. While he was yet no sovereign person, he had abstracted from his late majesty 5000 rix-dollars; if he might now be won with 10,000!" Reg.

¹ Histoire du Maréchal de Guébriant, p. 348. Compare Beauregard's character of Baner in this work. He was French agent (spy, Bougeant says) in Baner's army.

² Poison was at first suspected to be the cause of his death. Salvius writes to John Oxenstierna, Hamburg, Dec. 27, 1641. Nescio an sit venenum. Nam statim post pocula primos eosque atrocissimos sensit dolores. Accedunt jam interdum deliria,—et in spectrorum erroribus ac somniis ipse quidem se fatigat. Vereor ne, punitis aliis, Deus tandem nos ipse punire decreverit, ob enormia scelera et probra plus quam barbara, quæ hoc bello impune committantur. John Oxenstierna replies, Stralsund, Dec. 31, 1641: From poison I judge, nothing is to be looked for; but excess in eating and drinking, as Herr Grubbé states, are poison enough for such as are subject to maladies of that kind. Fant, Handlingar, iv. 94.

tact in this war, but no inner coherency. For this reason the ratification of the renewed French alliance met with so long a postponement at Stockholm³. Oxenstierna demanded that France should openly declare war against the emperor, as it had already done in 1635 against Spain⁴. The declaration of war against the emperor was first made in 1638; on the 6th March of the same year the new alliance with France was at length concluded; in the first instance for three years, but the term was afterwards prolonged. On this subject Oxenstierna writes to Salvius, July 24, 1640: "In the alliance it is settled, that we should penetrate through Germany into the imperial hereditary domains; ourselves through Saxony, France through Upper Germany from the Rhine. That never was done on the side of France; so that the whole imperial power has been turned against us⁵."

Since the summer of 1636, the chancellor had been in Sweden, nor did he ever again return to Germany, although such was his original purpose. Baner's hands were left free in the war, and to him was likewise committed the government of Pomerania, after the death of the legate Steno Bielké⁶. "No other than general instructions can be given," writes the chancellor to the general; "the state affairs that concern this kingdom depend on the war in Germany, and its good or bad success⁷." On the other hand, we see after the chancellor's departure, the so-called councillors of war appointed to the armies. The first known to me, who was installed under this title, was field-marshal Kniphausen in Westphalia in 1635⁸. In the year 1637, it is intimated that such a functionary should also be sent to Baner himself⁹; and in 1641, the secretary of state, Laurence Grubbé, was actually deputed to him, yet with a suggestion, "to accommodate him-

self to the field-marshal as he best could¹." These councillors of war, or of assistance, as they were also styled, had properly a political, administrative, and economical destination, but stood in immediate correspondence with the government, and were not without military influence.

The presence of the chancellor, from his energy and activity, makes an epoch at home not less remarkable than Baner's generalship in Germany. A commission of estates met him at Stockholm, and received his account of the war and the treaties. Pre-existing divisions in the council restrained him from submitting any new propositions to the commission. His speech in the senate is remarkable: "He for his part dissuaded, it is stated, any communications being made to the estates before it should be determined in the senate what was reasonable and practicable; since to ask counsel of those who understand not the matter is fruitless and unreliable; first must we have it concluded here, and so see to it, that we may win the applause of the estates, as his late majesty ever did²." "We have time after time deliberated upon the matters which our brother reminds us to be needful for the war," interposed Jacob de la Gardie; "if we should continue the war, a levy must at length be set on foot, by which to get men; we have taken the subject into consideration, whether the estates should not be convoked at a future day." The chancellor rejoined, "that a hundred levies were holden, and no diet convened; yet he held it not unadvisable to send out divers persons into the provinces to speak with the people, and at the same time to issue the warrant of levy." The chancellor employed a new political instrument in an extraordinary mode, that kind of diet of official persons, or yearly convention of the principal functionaries, prescribed by the

³ "We have, especially after the peace of Prague, tried every way for peace, and even let slip advantages, in order to present no hindrance to any treaty of peace. But the enemy was not in earnest, wherefore we must resolve for a continuance of the French alliance, and give up all particular treaties for a universal treaty, with France and all our confederates. The king of Denmark a year and a half ago offered his mediation, but hath since kept silence, till he saw us standing on the point of ratification with France, when he again renewed it. There is, as you yourself providently judge in your communications, nothing better to be done, than to take arms in hand as best may be." Oxenstierna to Baner, March, 10, 1638. Reg. "In Germany the enemy was in earnest with none of the treaties of peace; he sought merely to mislead us into difficulties, till some *casus humanus* might occur, and thus he, after the house of Austria, might sooner or later attain his intention." Memorial to Baner, Dec. 8, 1638. Reg. In these treaties with which the imperial court amused Sweden, after the Swedish arms had recovered the ascendancy, various parties allowed themselves to be employed as mediators, as Adolphus Frederic duke of Mecklenburg, Francis Albert duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, William duke of Weimar. Respecting these Oxenstierna writes to Baner, July 8, 1640: "Ye do well to answer duke William of Weimar courteously, but otherwise to give no great heed to his proposals. We know him well; he is neither a trusty friend nor a dangerous foe, and enjoys no regard from the enemy, by whom he yet may be used for frivolities of all sorts." Reg.

⁴ Richelieu's compact of alliance with the United Netherlands, included likewise a treaty for the partition of the Spanish Netherlands, Bougeant, l. c. 232.

⁵ Instruction for Salvius (who in Hamburg conducted these negotiations) touching the renovation of the French alliance. Reg. "The war which Sweden is waging is directed on Germany, and the house of Austria; France regards

mostly Spain, Italy, and Flanders." Ibid. Further, the position of the two crowns in reference to religion was unlike. The ratification of the alliance of Sweden with the United Netherlands, which was likewise renewed, took place July 3, 1641. Reg.

⁶ "Steno Bielké must come home from Pomerania. You may be both general and governor-general." Oxenstierna to Baner, March 10, 1638. Reg. To Steno Bielké the chancellor writes at the same time, "to send over another thither who might conduct the civil administration, and have nothing to do with military affairs, hath difficulties attendant." Reg.

⁷ To J. Baner, Jan. 10, 1639. Reg.

⁸ Oxenstierna to Baner, Stralsund, Nov. 9, 1636. Correspondence of the general-in-chief, Charles Gustave Wrangel, in the library of Sko Cloister. Kniphausen fell January 1, 1636, at Hasselne in Westphalia. His troops advanced his death by a victory, which cost the enemy 1000 killed, and four pieces of cannon.

⁹ "We are minded on the first opportunity to send a Swedish commissioner of rank to the army, to watch over the interests of the country." Oxenstierna to Baner, June 4, 1637. Reg.

¹ Grubbé's Instructions, April 29, 1641. Reg. He did not arrive before Baner's death. Old Herman Wrangel writes on this matter to his son, Charles Gustave, who, after Baner's decease, and before Torstenson's arrival, was the principal Swedish general in the army. In his letters the discontent of the military with these civil authorities clearly breaks out: "With Grubbé thou must manage cautiously," he writes, "for he is a fox, and, as I know well, bears no good mind to thee." Stockholm, Aug. 10, 1641. Correspondence of Charles Gustave Wrangel.

² Protocol of council, July 15, 1636. Adlersparre's Collections, iv. 98. Quod multi faciunt, multi negligunt, was a proverb of the chancellor.

Form of Government, and whereof it is said, that in it those affairs should be discussed and despatched which do not require a general diet. In October, 1636, the members of the council and the colleges, with several of the baronage and nobility, were convened at Stockholm. The chief point in the propositions was the necessity of a new levy, which was ordained and accomplished without further reference to the estates. On the other hand, the chanceller would lay on no weight of new taxes. To make the burden of the war tolerable, some abuses must be removed, he said, "since the people can bear no more³." And here all his proposals struck at the nobility; as, restriction of the superfluous manor-houses of the nobility, under cover of whose privileges many other estates were drawn; maintenance and enforcement of the rights of the crown in respect to the crown-tithes, which had furnished constantly, since the Reformation, an important aid, but now were dilapidated by persons of rank on all hands, so that little or nothing came in⁴; suspension for four years more of the freedom from customs enjoyed by the nobility; a new muster of the troopers under the equestrian tenure throughout the kingdom; and abolition of various abuses in military affairs. All this the chanceller was unable to carry, and in the previous deliberations of the council he replied to the defenders of the extension of the privileged manors: "This ye think to be freedom, to give nothing to the crown⁵." From the congress of which we have made mention, several councillors of state absented themselves. In consequence thereof the following resolution was drawn up, manifestly by the chanceller: When upon the more important occasions, the administration convokes the councillors of state, these are bound, if they have no legal excuse, to attend; the absent are to be content with the ordinance passed by those present, and every man is equally responsible for it, in case he cannot prove that what has been determined contravenes God's and Sweden's law; else no reclamations avail, and he who from apprehension or other unreasonable motives holds back, shall be held unworthy to fill the office of councillor⁶. In the preamble to this ordinance, the council of the realm is spoken of as "representing the estates."

The chanceller writes to Baner, "We have been obliged to resolve for a levy. It would have been very good to treat thereupon with the estates, but forasmuch as not long ago (namely in 1635) a general diet hath had place, and a commission of the principal estates was besides assembled last summer, we would not vex them therewith. So it was found good to determine the matter in the council, and to communicate what had been determined to the colleges, and others here present of

the nobility, and then to recommend the whole business to the prefects and the bishops. In respect to meaus it was not found advisable to apply to the estates for new subsidies. We must look to regulate and improve the revenues of the crown, namely, so that the realm's debit and credit may be examined, and unnecessary expenses be cut off; abuses with the crown-tithes and free-manors redressed; mines, tolls, and commerce be cultivated. Deputies are now chosen to supervise the chamber of accounts. Next year, under the treasurer and his council, a revision of the receipts of taxes in the provinces shall be taken in hand⁷. The war-college shall strike off the lists inefficient officers; the mining tracts shall be explored⁸." In short, we see a comprehensive inquiry instituted into all branches of the administration.

The distribution of the army, established by Gustavus Adolphus, was now first compared with the directions enounced in the form of government of 1634, and regulated, though not in complete accordance with these. The ministry and the council, it is declared in a rescript of the 23d March, 1637, had during the last autumn revised the public accounts, as also the state of the ordinary militia, into which, because of the pressure of the times, some confusion had crept, so that the militia of horse and foot ran to a larger amount than the Form of Government allowed of, or the realm could bear. The officers were double what was required, so that the Germans remained and others were appointed for the Polish war⁹, by which the number had mounted too high, to the aggravation of the crown's expenditure. The cavalry in Sweden was now fixed at four complete regiments, those of Upland, West Gothland, Smaaland, East Gothland; the quota of the other provinces being distributed among these. In Finland there were to be three complete regiments of cavalry. The regiments of foot were in all twenty-three, fifteen in Sweden and eight in Finland. The troops abroad were to be arranged according to this list; and in case of any vacancies occurring among the officers, their places were not to be filled up until this plan was brought into operation¹. Preparatory measures had been already taken in the previous year. On the 23d April, 1637, the ministry write: "In order to be quit of the intolerable burden of the superfluous officers, we have resolved to arrange in every province a division of the soldiery into companies and regiments, both of horse and foot, according to the Form of Government, as also to make out a just ground-rent book for all the granges assigned to the support of the soldiery, as well officers as private troopers, over the whole kingdom²." Great abuses still remained to be abolished. It has been made to appear to us, say the ministry in

ennobled in the year just named, was condemned to death in 1642 for great malversations, his patent of nobility being torn up. How powerful his accomplices were, appears from this, that they induced even the young queen to beg for his life; but the more rigorous disposition of the chanceller prevailed. Compare the letters of Bennet Baaz, in Adlersparre's Collections, iii. 226, 283.

⁸ To J. Baner, Dec. 3, 1636. Reg.

⁹ Namely, the expedition to Prussia, under Jacob de la Gardie, before the renewal of the Polish truce.

¹ Memorial for Grubbé to Herman Wrangel, March 23, 1637. Reg.

² The ministry to the chanceller, April 27, 1636. Reg.

³ Points propounded, Oct. 30, 1636. Reg.

⁴ See further on this point, the statute of the Diet of 1638, in Stiernman.

⁵ Extract from the protocol of council for 1636, in the Palmköld Collections, t. 190, p. 390.

⁶ Resolution of the administration and the council, how, during the term of the guardians, all shall be set for deliberation and discussion; Dec. 14, 1636. Reg.

⁷ Subsequently we find, nevertheless, that great frauds were carried on in this department, and that, as the chanceller, in 1641, expressed himself in the council, the councillors of the exchequer were at the bottom of them. One of these, Jost Hanson, who had amassed great wealth, and was

1640, that a number of our officers, especially the colonels of cavalry, have made it a law, that their subordinate troopers must give them yearly a certain contribution in money, oxen, or other chattels, which they exact no otherwise than if it were an obligation; as also, that the colonels of infantry employ their soldiers in carrying wood, shooting wild animals, and as day-labourers, besides what they must else contribute to them. Such dealing is rigorously forbidden³. The manufacture of arms and military stores was by this time flourishing in Sweden. "Artillery, arms, swords, powder, and balls, with all other munitions, are now fabricated in the inland to the utmost abundance," writes Oxenstierna to Baner; "the fleet is also well-equipped, as well in great as small vessels, with guns, stores and men⁴."

Many important measures of internal administration were among the fruits of the activity of the government. The mine-office received a collegial form and instructions in 1637⁵. The first ordinance respecting the Swedish post was issued⁶, as well as a new ordinance of customs⁷. The ordinance for the erection of houses of entertainment (at the post stations) was revived. The changes effected by count Peter Brahe from 1637 to 1640, and afterwards from 1643 to 1654, when governor-general in Finland, where his name lives blessedly in the popular memory, would merit a separate exposition, did such not lie beyond the limits of this history.

But for the maintenance of the army, neither the domestic resources of the kingdom nor French subsidies were adequate, and Oxenstierna was obliged to refer Baner to the necessity of supporting the war by the war. "Considering that this war," he writes, "is disproportionate to our strength, we see not how we can so speedily remodel our expenditure abroad conformably to it, but believe that you too are of the same opinion with us, that the larger and stronger the armies we could levy,

the better hope might we cherish of finding means. We comprehend not how we at home here may keep count with the purse, and direct all things orderly. Yet will we do what stands with our ability⁸." After a new levy voted at the general diet of 1638, the ministry wrote to the general, "Among the men whom we have forwarded to you, we know well that a number of the privates are still of boyish years, and the officers not the best. The continual levies cause a scarcity of adult people⁹." Notwithstanding the repeated levies and imposts, to which yet other calamities were added (in the years 1639 and 1640 the plague raged in and around the capital), we hear of no discontent at the frequency of diets¹ expressed before 1642, when the yeomanry loudly complained that the ministry alienated by sale so many of the crown estates. The high chancellor for this sharply rebuked the deputies of the order in the council-chamber; the peasants again, in the midst of an oration of the chancellor in the diet-house, ejected a pretended colleague, who, not being a member of the diet, had insinuated himself among them, and held this language—that they complained much and immodestly, and yet were well able to perform what the authorities requested². The lustre of Torstenson's victories diverted attention from domestic grievances.

This fellow-warrior of Baner—his equal in genius, his superior in persevering energy, mastering by his greatness of soul a body enfeebled by captivity and disease, beneath Sweden's throne the greatest of Swedish commanders—had been compelled by access of distemper to solicit furlough, which he at length received in the spring of 1641³. The government now committed to him the chief command in Germany, and he was obliged to accept it. To his remonstrances the chancellor replied, "that, if the general's health allowed of it, there was no doubt of his capacity; he remembered very well the judgment of the late king before the general was taken prisoner at Nuremberg, that his majesty could well

³ The ministry to all colonels of cavalry, April 21, 1640; also to the colonels of infantry on the same day. Reg.

⁴ April 30, 1641.

⁵ In this year also the ordinance for smitheries was issued, Feb. 14. In a letter of February 8, it is stated that, though king Gustavus Adolphus had ordered that no pig-iron (tackjern) should be exported before it was hammered into bar-iron, for which end the king had privileged several harbours, yet this had had no direct effect, from the want of expert smiths.

⁶ Ordinance respecting post-messengers, Feb. 20, 1636. The letters were carried from station to station by runners. In sec. 6, post-boys are enjoined "every where to use by-paths as much as possible, and not to run on the winding highways."

⁷ In 1637, several times modified in subsequent years. In older times the customs-dues were kept secret, and the merchant treated by surprise, as an enemy. "The toll-tax was formerly held for a secret," it was observed in the council in 1602; "this secrecy has caused much detriment on the Livonian side, since many deemed themselves loaded with a higher duty than they really were, and trade was thereby diverted from Swedish ports. But since attention has been given to promote commerce in the Baltic, to every merchant assurance has been condescended, by which he may guide himself." Palmisk. MSS. n. 78.

⁸ To J. Baner, March 10, 1638. Reg.

⁹ To the same, June 4, 1639. Reg. Men were again levied in England and Scotland. March 27, 1637, the administration write to the king of Denmark regarding the passage of English and Scottish troops through the Sound. August 5

of that year, Oxenstierna writes to Salvius, "The Scottish troops have arrived, and shall embark in the Elbe and Weser. Passage must be requested for them from the Danish king and the bishop of Bremen. Arms and money have been sent, for account of the troops, to Wismar." Reg.

¹ General diets were held during the administration of the guardians in the years 1634, 1635, 1638, 1640, 1643, and 1644, when the queen assumed the government; besides commissions of the diets in 1636, 1639 (composed only of the council of state, the prefects, bishops, and some of the clergy), and 1641, constituted nearly as the preceding one, but with deputies from the colleges and some towns summoned. The statute of the diet of 1639, held at Westeras, drawn up by the hand of the chancellor, is preserved in the public registry for this year, and touches, among other points, on the troubles which had broken out at some spots, on account of the little customs. It is not contained in Stiernman's Collection.

² This happened when the chancellor administered the oath to the high steward and four new councillors of state. Letter from Bennet Baaz to the palgrave John Casimir. Adlersparre's Collections, ii. 259, 272. The peasants refused also the so-called rye-aid demanded by the government, which was granted however at the diet of 1644. The years 1641, 1642, 1643, gave but scanty harvests.

³ "Ye request furlough by reason of illness; but Baner is also ailing, and we have no one who could supply him; stand out yet some time for love of your fatherland!" The administration to Torstenson, July 7, 1640. But on the 8th May, 1641, the chancellor writes to Baner, "We have been obliged to allow Torstenson, for ill-health, to come home."

venture to entrust him with an army; now the general had since been constantly there, was accustomed to this war, and beloved in the army⁴. Shortly before, the administration write to the general of artillery, John Lilyehök, then governor of Hinder Pomerania: "So soon as we have named a chief general, you shall become with him what Torstenson was with Baner, for your known assiduity, skill, and truthness⁵." From Charles Gustave Wrangel's correspondence, it is plain that he believed himself passed over by this advancement of Lilyehök to the lieutenant-generalcy; yet he was now but twenty-eight years old⁶! Lilyehök afterwards fell in the bloom of life at Leipsic, as Nicholas Brahe⁷ had found an early death at Lutzen; he too, in the judgment of Gustavus Adolphus, gave promise of becoming a great commander. What a school of heroes did not this monarch form!

After the death of Baner great disorders arose in the army. No one, since Gustavus Adolphus, had had it so fully under his sway. Field-marshal Torstenson was absent, and no one remained whose authority could be once compared with his, even remotely. The three major-generals, Adam Pful, Charles Gustave Wrangel, and Arvid Wittenberg, assumed indeed the command, and in conjunction with Guébriant even routed the enemy again at Wolfenbützel; but the conditions which the colonels stipulated for their obedience showed that it would be of no long duration. They sent two delegates to Sweden to submit their demands to the government. Twenty-three colonels subscribed an agreement to acknowledge no new commander before these should be conceded. The same combination upon which they acted in the military concerns they extended also to those of politics⁸. They supported the demands for the delivery of various strong places, preferred by the house of Brunswick-Lüneburg, which even after the death of duke George followed the same ambiguous policy, and now again approximated to the

emperor, at the very time when it was negotiating an alliance with Sweden. Agents of Lüneburg and Denmark fanned the flame of discontent, which was heightened by real distress. Troopers and soldiers bartered their horses and accoutrements for provisions, and clamoured, on occasion of Grubbe's arrival, that councillors of war, whom they did not need, were sent to them, but no money and no field-marshal. The officers said publicly, that they would no longer obey a Swedish general⁹, spoke of peace, and entered into secret connexions with the enemy. We are informed from a safe hand, the ministry state in their instructions for Torstenson, that our pretended friends are busying themselves with dangerous practices in the main army; if the field-marshal could not gain the mastery of the troops, his chief aim must be directed to secure the places on the sea-coast, to draw around him all of the army that would preserve their honour, Swedes, Livonians, and others, to unite with Stalhandske, and make some firm stand on the Elbe or Oder; he should at the same time keep a watchful eye on Denmark, which had a hand in misleading the army¹.

Affairs did not proceed to these extremities, after Salvius had supplied the first needfulness by an advance from the French subsidies, and the colonels returning from Stockholm brought with them new assurances and promises. Yet the state of things, after a summer spent amidst dissension and want, was still very critical at the arrival of Torstenson², which was delayed by illness until late in the autumn. He brought with him from Sweden fresh troops³ and money, though not sufficient for the necessities of the army. Relations with the dukes of Lüneburg, especially through the party they had created in the army, became more and more entangled. Jealousy and discontent divided the commanders. The oldest major-general, Pful, took his departure, out of disgust at the promotion of Lilyehök. Wrangel was in ill-humour, and absent for some time⁴; Wittenberg, through fracture

⁴ Protocol of the senate for 1641, in Adlersparre's Collections, ii. 218.

⁵ To John Lilyehök, May 24, 1641. Reg.

⁶ Here we may extract some passages from the letters of the old field-marshal Herman Wrangel to his son: "Our new field-marshal (Torstenson) hath gout, and getteth not up yet in fourteen days. Lilyehök is to be made lieutenant-general, in order to be Torstenson's successor; for Torstenson cannot last long. I have indeed represented that you have been nine years with the army, and have worked sufficiently for that no other should be preferred above you; but I received for answer that you were still young enough to wait. If Lilyehök become field-marshal after Torstenson, you appear destined to take his (Lilyehök's) place. Therefore quit not the army, so long as fortune remains with our arms; your actions will bring you forward. I indeed expect that Stalhandske will be ordinance-master in Lilyehök's place, because he is the oldest major-general, and besides commands as general in Silesia. But this steel-glove is an old worn-out carle, and a swiller withall." Stockholm, Aug. 10, 1641. This promotion did not take place; Stalhandske was made general of the cavalry. Aug. 17, 1641, Herman Wrangel writes again to his son: "Torstenson is better, and goes shortly to the army with 500,000 rix-dollars, of which you get your part,"—and adds the following fatherly exhortation, "Mind that ye lay hands upon somewhat, as the rest do; he that takes it has it." Correspondence of Charles Gustave Wrangel, in the Library of Sko Cloister.

⁷ "Him also king Gustavus at Nuremberg had judged capable of commanding the army." Puffendorf, xiii. 29.

⁸ "The whole body of the colonels and officers of our army have petitioned for assistance to the house of Lüneburg, and the transference of several places." The administration to major-generals Pful, Wrangel, and Wittenberg, July 1, 1641. Reg. George, duke of Lüneburg, had died on the 2d of April of that year.

⁹ "One said in my presence, that they would hear of no more Swedish generals." Charles Gustave Wrangel to his father, Sestedt on the Leine, Sept. 13, 1641. Correspondence.

¹ By-instruction for Torstenson, Aug. 31, 1641. Reg.

² He came to the army, then encamped round Winsen on the Aller, in Westphalia, Nov. 15, 1641.

³ Four companies of East-Goths, four of West-Goths, five of Smalanders, four of Uplanders, four of Westmalanders, four from East-Bothnia, three of Smaland horse, besides some Finnish cavalry. Instruction for the admiral Eric Rynning (who brought over the recruits), and letter to the governors of Pomerania, July 3, 1641. Reg.

⁴ "I perceive from all, that they are here little favourable to me; and mark also, that how zealously and truly soever I do my duty, yet they make as if they knew it not; and daily experience shows that their affection to one and another much exceeds what they bear to me. Of my advancement to be general of the infantry no man has spoken aught; but Mortaigne (although in the life-time of field-marshal Baner, and even afterwards, I was thought worthy to command) is still associated with me as a general of infantry." He expresses a wish to quit the army. C. G. Wrangel to his father, Saltzwedel, Feb. 22, 1642. Correspondence in the Library of Sko Cloister. Wrangel was afterwards, in the

of a leg, at the moment unfit for service. Guebriant, with the French troops, formerly of Weimar, parted from the Swedes and moved to the Rhine. Torstenson himself, after his arrival in the army, continued so ill, that a report was spread of his death, and at the decampment before the occupation of the passes of the Elbe, in the beginning of 1642, being crippled in hand and foot, he was obliged to be carried in a litter⁵. At Saltzwedel he caused a court-martial to be held upon colonel Seckendorf, who, being detected in carrying on a secret intercourse with the enemy, was condemned to death⁶. The enemy, after the abandonment of his design upon impoverished Mecklenburg, at length fell back upon Saxony, where the Bavarians separated from the Imperialists; Torstenson, secured on the side of Brandenburg by the treaty of armistice with the new elector, resolved to repair to Silesia, where Francis Albert, duke of Lauenburg, now imperial field-marshal, was far superior to Stalhandske. While Torstenson was collecting provisions on the way to Westphalia, he took the opposite direction, and crossed the Elbe on the 26th and

27th March, at Werben. He marched through Lusatia, joined Stallandske at Sorau (by which his force was increased to 20,000 men), took Glogau on the 24th April by storm, made himself master of several places in the neighbourhood, and threatened Schweidnitz. He anticipated the duke of Lauenburg, who was hastening to the defence of that fortress, beat him, and took him prisoner⁷, after which Schweidnitz, on the 24th May, surrendered. Thereupon he pursued the Imperialists into Moravia, put to flight the provincial estates assembled in Olmutz, took that town on the 5th July, and allowed colonel Hellmuth Wrangel to stretch his excursions to within six miles of Vienna. It was now time to think of a retreat. He left a strong garrison in Olmutz, retraced his steps to Silesia, where Lilyehæk had meanwhile taken Neisse, and joined the remainder of the army at the fortress of Kosel, which, as also Oppeln immediately thereafter, was won by the storming hand. He next laid siege to Brieg so vigorously, that he hoped, within a few days, to be master of the fortress⁸; but now

spring of this year, sent home, to bring over new reinforcements from Sweden. Notwithstanding his reference to a good understanding with Baner, there yet appear in this correspondence some sharp letters from Baner to Wrangel, in regard to errors committed in the heat of youth. Wrangel then solicited Torstenson's intercession, and the latter promised "to excuse him to the field-marshal the best he could,"—by letter from Alt-Bunzlau, June 8, 1640. Mortaigne was one of the two colonels deputed from the army to Stockholm, and afterwards, by the confidence reposed in him, contributed much to the appeasing of the troubles.

⁵ Puffendorf, xiv. § 2. In Torstenson's letters, many of which are extant in the correspondence of C. G. Wrangel, it often appears that he was unable to subscribe them, and that his secretary wrote his name.

⁶ "He was one of those implicated in that business which was on foot while we lay before Wollenbützel," writes C. G. Wrangel to his father, Osterburg, Feb. 5, 1642. "While Torstenson now made such an example, thereby strengthening his authority not a little, he resolved not to make inquisition against those who were privy to the matter, but to leave them time for amendment. Furthermore, he provided also for his wife and bereaved children at Eriut, which most of all went to Seckendorf's heart at his death." Puffendorf, xiv. § 3.

⁷ "When he died of his wounds, Arnheim's designs were made void." Puffendorf, xiv. § 15. Arnheim, who had exchanged the imperial for the Saxon service, but quitted the latter after the peace of Prague, was surprised by a party of Swedes on his estate of Boitzenburg, in Ukermark, March 7, 1637, and sent prisoner to Sweden. This act of violence ensued upon the order of the high-chancellor, to take or slay him. Letters upon the subject to Salvius and the legate, Steno Bielké, are to be found in the registry for 1637, of the 7th and 14th January. In these, mention is made "of the wicked plots of the elector of Saxony to the ruin of Sweden abroad, at the instigation of Arnheim." Salvius and Bielké were therefore to endeavour, unobserved, through the commandant in Wismar, or any other trusty officer, "to surprise or make away with the said Arnheim, in order at once to close his eyes; him, who performs that well, we will remember with a considerable reward." Arnheim, who was kept some time in the castle of Örebro, escaped from his arrest in Stockholm in the autumn of 1638, and now offered to raise for the emperor an army of his own against the Swedes. Having been nominated generalissimo of the emperor and the elector of Saxony in Silesia, he died April 18, 1641, and the duke of Lauenburg, who commanded under him, then obtained the chief generalship.

⁸ An extract from a letter of Torstenson to C. G. Wrangel

may be added to our narrative, framed after Puffendorf, of these military occurrences. The letter is written in German: "After the encounter that lately chanced at Schweidnitz, the enemy with his remaining troops broke up from his camp at Breslau, and proceeded to Brieg. I directed my march to Neisse, and arrived there on the 24th May, with intent to make trial of my fortune as well further on the enemy as on the town of Neisse; to which end I on the 27th moved off from Neisse with the most of the cavalry, fifteen hundred foot, and some light guns, leaving there general Lilyehæk with the infantry and heavy artillery to make a real attack on the place, and so with the people I kept about me took my way towards Olmutz. As now no more of the enemy were fallen in with than one regiment of foot, which was destroyed on the 29th at Sternberg by Colonel Hellm. Wrangel, and they having turned to the left hand toward Weisskirch, Meseritz, and the Wallachian mountains, could not there be conveniently attacked, I marched straight to Olmutz, the chief town of Moravia, and resolved the following day to attack it in earnest. The commandant Miniati, as general commissary of the margravate of Moravia, who lay therein with eight hundred newly-levied German and Polish soldiers, defended himself with the burgesses valiantly, but nevertheless was compelled to the accord after a four days' siege, and so marched out on the 5th of this month with the garrison. The same day Prossnitz and Littau also capitulated at discretion, as likewise on the 8th Neustadt of Moravia, a place of considerable strength, to major-general Königsmark. Having now received intelligence that Neisse had surrendered by accord on the 5th, I broke up the 7th from Olmutz, in order, in the then condition of the enemy, to make myself master of the other important places in Silesia, fell back again and made a junction with the bulk of the army at Cosel, which town the following day, after a breach had been opened, was taken by storm, the castle being surrendered to grace or ungrace. I broke up on the 12th, and came to Oppeln. The commandant, lieutenant-colonel of count Gallas' regiment, when a breach was opened, quitted the town and retired to the castle, which because of its great strength he held for four days; but at length, on the 17th, was obliged to surrender to grace or ungrace. Yesterday I broke up from thence, and to-day am here before the town of Brieg, wherein are one thousand five hundred foot, and two colonels, and will do my best. Duke Francis Albert died at Schweidnitz, the 31st May, from two shots he had received, and in his place is now come Piccolomini, who now commands as general field-marshal the collective Imperialist army, which is yet stationed at Brunn, in Moravia." Torstenson to C. G. Wrangel, field-camp at Brieg, June 17, 1642. (On the outside of the letter is written, "Presented the 18th July, 1642, when the first men of the reinforcement were landed at

an Imperialist army of superior force came to its relief. Torstenson was obliged to raise the siege. He strengthened the garrisons of Oppeln and Schweidnitz, and sent Königsmark to Saxony, to make head against the movements which showed themselves there. He himself fell back across the Oder towards Glogau, again passed the river further up at Crossen, and sat down in a camp at the confluence of the Neisse and the Oder, in order to wait for the reinforcement conducted by Charles Gustave Wrangel, from Sweden, which was already approaching. The junction with the van-guard of Wrangel's corps, 4000 foot, took place on the 26th August², after which Torstenson compelled the Imperialists to raise the siege of Glogau. He attempted again, although vainly, to cut off the Imperialist army from Bohemia, took Zittau under their eyes on

Wolgast.") Correspondence of C. G. Wrangel in the Library of Sko Cloister.

⁹ Torstenson to Wrangel: "Things have now gone so far with Glogau, that they are already hard to hand under the walls, and throwing stones (out of mortars, to wit) against each other, so that our men can make no sally. I can no longer subsist, yet will I so order my march that the major-general may be able to follow me. March on this side of the Oder to Crossen, and with the utmost practicable haste." Field-camp at Neisse, August 21, 1641. Postscript in Torstenson's own hand: "If the succour do not come up shortly, Glogau is lost." Correspondence.

¹ The following extract from a letter of C. G. Wrangel to his father, dated Leipsic, Oct. 23, 1642, consequently on the day of the battle itself, gives a view of the movements of the armies from the 7th September. On this day Glogau was relieved, and the Imperialists raised the siege. "The 10th September the Swedish army moved from Glogau, there passed the Oder, and came on the 13th to Bunzlau, which was taken by storm; the 15th to Lemberg, which was likewise taken by storm; the 16th to Lauben, a Saxon town; the 18th to Görlitz. Meanwhile intelligence arrived that the enemy was on his march across the mountains to Friedland in Bohemia, whereupon the field-marshal resolved to take him in flank. But as we on arriving there did not find the enemy, we occupied the most convenient of the heights about us to keep Bohemia in the rear, upon which the enemy followed, and next day sat himself down only half a mile from us, we expecting a general action; but as he intrenched himself, and we in the hilly tracts began to suffer want, we marched in good order the 28th September to Zittau. And although we saw the enemy drawing nigh to relieve it, and the commandant in his confidence of succour made a stubborn resistance, we fell upon the town by storm in their presence about noon, whereat I immediately occupied an outwork, the commandant of which surrendered with his 150 men, who entered the Swedish service. In Zittau we rested until the 6th October (during this time a cartel was arranged for the exchange of prisoners). The Imperialists had encamped and retrenched themselves one mile from us upon the Bohemian frontier. Of the Swedish troops whom I brought as a reinforcement, hardly a third remains in serviceable condition. The remainder, unused to the severe marches and the want of provision, as they do not understand how to support themselves like the Germans, are fallen ill, and partly left in garrison, partly cut down here and there. On the other hand the Imperialists have the country every where friendly to them. The 7th October we marched to Liska on the side of Bantzen, then to Capitz and Grossenhayn, but left these places, since the enemy followed us. The field-marshal then embraced another plan, when we saw that the enemy had no real wish to fight, but only to harass us. We marched direct upon Torgau with the infantry and artillery, and with the cavalry and baggage hither to Leipsic, in order to force the enemy to an engagement for its relief, since there were no other means for us to accommodate the army. In order to be stronger, the

the 29th September, and lastly invested Leipsic, in order to compel them to a battle. Here, on the field where Gustavus Adolphus had fought, Torstenson obtained on the 23d October a complete victory over the archduke Leopold and Piccolomini, and closed the glorious campaign of 1642 with the capture of Leipsic¹.

By the chamberlain Gabriel Oxenstierna, who was despatched to Torstenson, the high chancellor wrote², "Meseemeth that the field-marshal has now obtained a fair tide, by which to set the work in good forwardness; the victory must be employed to sweep Upper and Nether Saxony, and to hold the Elbe; in Westphalia we have the Weser and the principal places in our hands, yet is there confusion in the administration, and a governor, with a good secretary and commissary, is needful³; in respect to Bran-

field-marshal called hither major-general Königsmark. Last Thursday we began to fire upon the town; meanwhile parties of prisoners were brought in, from whom we learned that the enemy was not only marching straight upon us to relieve the town, but had even resolved upon a battle. Therefore we yesterday quitted our position, moving to the same place where formerly his majesty of most happy memory had a fight with Tilly, and setting our force in battle-array. The enemy followed, and came on at evening with his whole army. As between us and him was a pass and a deep ditch, we fell back further, in order to give him room and see what he would attempt, when to-day at the dawning we found that he had passed it in the night, and that in the obscurity we were come nearer one another than we supposed. And as he did not move from the spot, we in God's name advanced in full battle-array, albeit we suffered great loss from the grape and cartridge-shot of the enemy (since he could aim better, though we had more pieces), until we came face to face with each other. So began the battle, and lasted about four hours. Our right wing overthrew the Imperialist left without much resistance. Thereupon our left and the brigades (centre) came also into the thick of the struggle, and both sides fought with valour. And although the enemy's right wing gained so much ground that some of our brigades and especially our left fell into confusion, and the constables in part ran from their pieces, we nevertheless rallied, and bringing up our right wing, strenuously seconded the left, so that we by God's help beat the enemy out of the field, and utterly routed his infantry, which was eleven brigades, and far stronger than ours. They had taken post in a little wood, where also in the time of his majesty and Tilly some infantry is said to have been planted. But I took them in flank and drove them thence, and when they came on open ground, our cavalry so played with them that hardly one escaped. We have taken the whole of the enemy's artillery (forty-six pieces, great and small), fifty ammunition and more than one hundred baggage-waggons, many standards, and much else. The enemy's cavalry left the archduke and Piccolomini in the lurch, who escaped with difficulty. The archduke's baggage and plate are among the booty. I have obtained his carriage and gold service. It was a very hard action, and we fought long pike to pike. The wind at first was against us, but changed. The field-marshal hath had great luck, since a part of his skin was torn from the body by a ball, his horse shot, and the head of the palsgrave's horse beside him carried away. (The same chain-shot killed the secretary of state Grubbé.)" Correspondence in the Library of Sko Cloister. Lilyehæk, who with C. G. Wrangel and Mortaigne commanded the infantry, was mortally wounded, commended his wife and children to the young Charles Gustavus (the palsgrave), and died in the evening, consoling himself with the victory of his comrades. Puffendorf, xiv. 26.

² January 21, 1643. Reg.

³ In the registers generally, frequent complaints appear respecting the administration at both wings of the theatre of war, in Westphalia and Silesia. The limits of our narrative

denburg, only the ratification of the treaty of armistice is wanting; in Silesia and on the Oder, we must seek to keep our rear free by Stalhandske. The field-marshal himself, I judge, should press the enemy in Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria, remove the seat of war to the Danube, and at the same time secure, by a flying corps, the communication with the Elbe and the sea-coast. The king of France and the landgrave of Hesse shall be solicited by letter to keep Hatzfeld warm on the Rhine; the other diversion in the hereditary territories of the emperor might best be made by Ragotzi, prince of Transylvania." With the latter, Torstenson had already, by the mission of two colonels, entered into communication. In the letter to the chamberlain, the chancellor adds: that the chancery of the archduke Leopold, which had been taken at Leipsic, and whence information might be drawn respecting the enemy's plans, must be sent home. The field-marshal is also exhorted, if he came into any papistical towns, where fine and valuable libraries existed, such as during the previous summer had been found in Neisse and Olmutz, to send the books to Sweden, for the improvement of the libraries in the high schools and gymnasia of the kingdom⁴.

After the taking of Leipsic, Torstenson had a conference with marshal Guébriant, who, in concert with the Hessians, had carried on the war upon the Lower Rhine, and marked the beginning of the year 1642 with the victory of Kempen. The two generals are said to have agreed respecting the plan of the campaign for the next year. That no such plan was conjointly executed, the French lay to the blame of the Swedes, while these again make it matter of charge against the former⁵. It is certain that Guébriant moved to the Rhine, and Torstenson, on the other hand, through Bohemia against Austria, without, however, being able in any manner to force Gallas, who had regained the command-in-chief⁶, to a battle. We shall not detain the reader with the campaign of 1643 against Austria, in which Torstenson again penetrated to Olmutz and Brunn, and by one of his partisan officers imperilled the person of the emperor himself⁷; while Königsmark, so excellent in petty warfare, kept the enemy busy on the Elbe and the Weser, repulsing last of all a hostile inroad into Pomerania, which the Imperialists effected by violating the Polish territory, through which they also extricated themselves on their retreat. We pass over this campaign, which was interrupted by an unexpected event. After Torstenson, from Moravia, had re-established the communication with his garrisons in Silesia, he received at the castle of Eulenburg, on the 23d September, Jacob

Törnsköld, who, despatched from Sweden, had long waited for him in Oppeln. This agent brought information from the Swedish government, of the 25th May last, that war against Denmark had been resolved upon, and that Torstenson was to repair to Holstein.

It is superfluous to enumerate the various causes of war, which now and afterwards, with many reasons and counter-reasons, were alleged on the Swedish side, and denied with bitterness on the Danish. Denmark was an unsafe friend, and on the first decisive reverse of the Swedes in Germany, their natural and dangerous enemy. That a Danish war was implied in the German, and sooner or later would proceed from it, Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstierna had long ago foreseen. Our relations upon this side had become more and more entangled, especially since the king of Denmark, in the summer of 1640, had assisted the queen dowager of Sweden in her escape from the kingdom⁸. It was determined to make use of the superiority of the Swedish arms, in order to cut the knot with the sword.

On the 25th May, the high chancellor writes to Torstenson⁹: "We must disclose to you our domestic condition, and the dangerous designs of our neighbours, beginning to break forth, according to which we must alter our counsels. We have long remarked that our neighbours have, in this German war of ours, fixed their eyes on the issue of the contest, hoping that if we by any disastrous occurrence should be robbed of our advantages, a door might open itself to them to treat us here at home after their own pleasure. Now, since the enemy's power has been broken by Baner and you, and the emperor brought to the defensive, he seeks help in Poland by such arguments as little become the greatness of the house of Austria. He strives likewise to provoke Denmark, the rather that it is already inclined thereto. Both discover their ill-will against us, especially Denmark, which under the semblance of a mediator has intermeddled in the treaty of peace. Now, when this is so far advanced, that the preliminaries are agreed upon, and the mediator should seek to further the beginning of the treaty itself, he arms, on the contrary, by land and water, and draws his army together under pretext of quieting Hamburg, but in reality for purposes of terror, and to appear as an armed negotiator. It is said that the bishop of Bremen and the duke of Oldenburg will join him with their people, as also Brunswick-Luneburg; Cologne, and several Catholic states, are joining in the game of playing the third party, which has been long spoken of. This we know as sure and certain, that this

have not allowed us space to follow the movements of the military divisions there stationed, which depended mostly on the main army.

⁴ The chancellor paid close attention to matters of this kind. When upon the outbreak of the Danish war in the winter of 1644, Gustave Horn invaded Scania, the chancellor instructs his secretary to remind the field-marshal that where there were any public libraries, especially where manuscripts were to be obtained, they should not be dispersed, but be sent to Stockholm. To Samuel Anderson, Feb. 24, 1644. Reg.

⁵ Compare *Histoire du Maréchal de Guébriant*, c. x. Puffendorf, xiv. 39.

⁶ "At this the Swedes rejoiced, for they knew his manner,

that he always ruined the army." Puffendorf, xv. § 4. The archduke quitted the army in discontent; Piccolomini entered the Spanish service.

⁷ Puffendorf, xv. § 12.

⁸ Maria Eleonora, who was constantly dissatisfied with the Swedish government, fled secretly on the 23d July, 1640, from Gripsholm, travelled in the company of a Danish emissary, attended by a single lady in waiting, and in disguise, to Nyköping. There she embarked in a Danish vessel, and was received at Gottland by two Danish ships of the line, which carried her to Denmark. She resided for some time in that country, afterwards in Brandenburg, and first returned to Sweden in 1648. Ekholm's *Hist. and Critical Collec.* iii.

⁹ Reg. for 1643.

Danish armament is principally intended to disturb our arms and our state in Germany, and then to attack ourselves, if not in this, yet in the following year. Denmark is acting against us in Poland, through Baudissin and others, for a strong alliance, perchance diversion. Baudissin is sent from Poland to Denmark, with full powers, not only from the king, but also from the principal senators. In Russia a marriage is in treaty between the son of the king of Denmark, count Waldemar, and the daughter of the grand duke, with purpose to ally themselves against us: they already appear adverse to us, and refuse a change of the resident. To this other acts of Denmark are to be added, which we cannot suffer without ruinous injury to Sweden. Denmark often obstructs the navigation of the Sound, and confiscated in the spring seven or eight Swedish ships. They levy tolls on all wines and liquors which pass through the Sound on Swedish account, against order and wonted freedom¹, and never once concern themselves to inform us of these proceedings. They have stationed a galliot before the isle of Ruden, which takes toll of all mariners, and presses our own vessels which we send hither and thither between our fortresses, to our insult and injury; and they are so obstinate in this resolution that no representations help. After long hesitating (for we are already at war), we find that Denmark is not less inimical to us than Austria, and the worse enemy because it is the nearer, and the emperor at this time hath no assistant more prejudicial to us than Denmark. Therefore we have resolved to make due remonstrances to the king of Denmark; but as we look for no good result, we deem it better now, while our arms hold their own in Germany, rather than at another time, to bring the war to Denmark. We are for this reason also compelled to keep the recruits at home this summer, and would gladly see you (after you have regulated the state of the war in Germany by the list following), send home the residue, especially as many old soldiers as ye can dispense with; then, that you should not so much busy yourself to rout the enemy, but rather to preserve the army, so that towards harvest you may draw to the coast, and be able to take winter quarters in Holstein and Jutland. But this must in all quarters be kept secret; yet both you and we should prepare for it unobserved. Under the semblance of seeking quarters in Brunswick-Luneburg and Oldenburg, you may direct your march through Meissen and Halberstadt to the Brunswick territory, as if you intended to force the duke and the bishop of Bremen to sever their troops from Denmark's. During the march, or before, you must send one of the generals with a flying corps to Pomerania and Mecklenburg, there unperceived to await your arrival, and meanwhile to look to the fortresses, and secure for you the passage of the Elbe. Thereupon you may with the whole army invade Holstein, between Hamburg and Lubeck; and take all the places which you can get into your hands, and penetrate as far into Jutland and across the Belt into Fyen, as the army will suffice for. Whosoever resists, you may hold him your enemy; every band of soldiers, Danish or German, you may disperse. If the question be put to you, by whose orders you so act, you are to answer, that

¹ "The Danes alleged as a pretext of this, that the Swedes acted contrary to the treaty in lending their passes to foreign

need compels you to seek quarters for your troops; the land of the duke of Gottorp ye may spare, if it will remain neutral. Arrange likewise with the garrisons on the sea-coast, in Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, so that you may have about 2000 good soldiers at hand, and some hundred fresh cavalry; place them under the orders of Eric Hansson (Ulfsparré, commandant in Wismar); let him take all the vessels in Pomerania, and while you advance into Holstein, let him cross to Zealand and the islands; surprise Wordingsborg, and see whether opportunity offer of taking Copenhagen and Cronburg. On such an inroad great consternation will probably ensue. We will take measures to meet you from this side. That all this, if it be rightly pursued, may be accomplished, there are sure reasons to prove: 1. The king of Denmark's military power consists more in semblance than reality; 2. He has now, in May, moved against Hamburg, and when the accord is made, will either disperse his army or encamp, in which latter ease disease will weaken it; in any event he cannot very soon rally. We hope either suddenly to overthrow him, or so to manage that he will have enough to do with himself, and will refrain from intriguing against us. Two hindrances lie in the way: how you may evade the enemy, who without doubt will pursue you, and how you may save your garrisons in Olmutz, Schweidnitz, and elsewhere,—besides a third, which is a critical matter, what danger generally may spring out of this for our military position in Germany. Inquire of Gallas, under the guise of an exchange of prisoners, whether now when the treaty is on foot, the armies might not conclude a truce, say for three weeks, during which you might ascertain the opinion of the French minister as to a longer cessation. If no armistice be made, we leave it to your own decision, what garrisons ye will take with you, and how ye will order the march. The enemy will hardly follow you far beyond Leipsic, as he is now out of the way, and almost all the country below there is a waste." (So men spoke of Northern Germany in the year 1643!)

Thus ran Torstenson's instructions for the Danish war. Months expired before they were received (not a very rare occurrence, for we have often occasion to wonder at the slowness of communication in those times); but the general made immediate preparations for their execution, and this corresponded in daring to his plan. He advanced into Silesia, proposed an armistice, and succeeded thereby in detaining Gallas, who forwarded the proposal to Vienna, and meanwhile contented himself with hanging on the flank of the Swedish army and covering Bohemia. From Glogau, where the army, on the 26th November, passed the Oder, Torstenson despatched intelligence home, that in four or five weeks he hoped to be in Holstein. At Torgau he caused a bridge to be constructed, as if he intended crossing the Elbe. He procured it to be given out that he intended, after some repose in Meissen, to invade Bavaria by the Upper Palatinate, and take winter quarters there, a rumour which produced great alarm in Bavaria. Shortly after he threw another bridge over the Elbe at Tangermünde; yet he moved onwards to Havelberg. Here he had no longer a pretext for connations, and thus evading the Danish toll. Louis de Geer had rich partners in Holland, who passed free under his name." Puffendorf, xv. 78.

cealing his design. He called his officers together on the 6th December, made known to them his orders, and promised them good quarters. The army continued their march with joy, and soon overran Holstein and Jutland².

On the condition of the kingdom of Denmark at this time we derive some information from the memoir of a Swedish minister, preserved in the library of Sko Cloister³. It is of the year 1649, the one succeeding that in which king Christian IV. terminated his long reign. The author, Magnus Dureel, refers to his eight years' sojourn in the country, as Swedish resident, for a guarantee of his trustworthiness; since, as he declares, "this nation from its inborn nature keeps its affairs so secret, that one cannot, without time and good opportunity, investigate and comprehend all the points." We have room only for the leading features. "As the kings of Denmark," says the writer, "have their hands bound, so that without their council they can dispose of little touching the *jura majestatis*, while the nobility can control both the other estates and the king himself, and the commons have not only no votes in state affairs, but are even deprived of all hope of ever arriving at dignities and offices; the form of government in Denmark is thus aristocratical or oligarchical. The foundation thereto was laid in the time of Frederic I., who was installed by the nobility against the will of the burgesses and peasants, who sided with Christian the Tyrant. He granted to the nobility privileges, which Frederic II. confirmed, and caused to be recorded in a special manifest, and which afterwards Christian IV. and his son Frederic III. augmented; so that although many privileges of the nobility are formidable both to the king and the commonalty, especially through the warranty of Frederic III., they are not easily to be curtailed; as is sufficiently clear from the fifty-one years' reign of Christian IV. It is ordained that Denmark shall be and remain an elective monarchy, as it anciently hath been, and that Norway shall be for all time an inseparable province of the crown of Denmark. The high offices are five. The senators have no other stipend than the chief and best feudatory districts, which are the marrow and cream of the whole land. It hath seemed good to their foregoers to constitute one to be as it were a vice-king, to uphold always in the government the immunities of the nobility. This is the office of high steward of Denmark. The high steward disposes of the revenues of the crown, provides for the state of the king's household, as also for the fleet and other matters, like to a king's lieutenant-general. It is commonly practised that when any resources, whether from ordinary or extraordinary taxes, are in hand, the high steward then forthwith gives an assignment upon them, in order that nothing may come into the treasury, and the king be enabled thereby to use such resources for his own service and the furtherance of his designs. For this reason also the king of Denmark hath been constrained by degrees to raise the Sound toll, of which he disposed, and then wished

to levy a toll on the Elbe at Gluckstadt, that he might thereby engross a capital. There are a high marshal, a grand master of the ordnance, and a general of engineers. For what else concerns the higher offices in a well-ordered military system, there are here in Denmark none, but these are filled in time of war either by foreign or native noblemen. But as Denmark's state is governed by many, every man's greatest interest is to preserve his own. In war the landed estates of the nobility are ruined, whether it go prosperously or unprosperously; Christian IV. was blamed by the nobility for having commenced war against their will, especially upon the emperor, and for having carried on the war with bad success. He was a long time king, and had as well from that cause as from his own courage acquired the respect of the council, who were all his creatures, so that he could have an opinion of his own in the like and other matters. In order to prevent the crown from having such power, it is decreed in the last manifest, that it shall not be allowed to the king to choose from the nobility whomsoever he would have to be of the council, but that the council with the nobility, in every province where a vacancy takes place by death, shall present to the king six native nobles, from whom he shall select one. As the nobility, which in effect has most power in the government, loses most in a war, and besides sucks the marrow of the land, it follows hence that the Danish state inclines more to peace and quiet than to war; wherefore also the nobility will not permit any perfect military system to be formed in the country. Nevertheless, because they greatly dread the power of their neighbours, especially since the realm of Denmark begins to be circumscribed by the forces of the Swedes, through their well-arranged military system, the nobility have been compelled to maintain a kind of necessitous militia; for to organize a perfect military force, neither the means of the crown nor reasons of state permit them; since the nobility would have continually to fear that the king would bind the army to his interest, and lean upon the commons, who are now malcontent, but singularly affectioned to the sovereign. To this is to be added, that the crown formerly did not need to raise a military class, since the way to Germany stood always open for obtaining men by recruitment. The nobility are unskilled in military affairs, and very few conversant with foreign countries. During war a continual contest prevails for the supreme command.

In every province bands of the strength following are to be exercised at the churches; in Zealand 2000, in Fyen 1000, in Scania and Bleking 2000, in Jutland 4000, on the lesser islands 1000, in Norway three regiments numbering 5400, for the nobility (to every 600 tons of corn, four men) 4000; in all, 19,400 men. Of the cavalry, the fiefs and horse-service of the nobility supply 7000; the bailiffs and clergy, 2000 men. The navy consists of twenty-four ships of war and sixteen galliots. Denmark and Norway have 106 trading-ships. The people are for the most part well-practised at sea.

² Dec. 26, 1643, the government received intelligence of Torstensson's irruption into Holstein, and wrote to him, Jan. 7, 1644, "Since Törnsköld came home, bringing us your answer to our letter of May 25 of the past year, we have received from you only a single letter, that from Havelberg of the 6th December. From Denmark we have heard that you entered Holstein before the middle of December." Reg.

³ Relation concerning the kingdom of Denmark, composed by Magnus Dureel, resident of her majesty of Sweden. Dedicated to queen Christina. In the Library of Sko Cloister, MS. We have subsequently found an abstract of it in Suhm, Samlinger till den Danske Historie (Collections for Danish History), ii.

The revenues of Denmark, ordinary and extraordinary, accrue from six main heads: 1. the Sound toll, which is very unequal; before the last war with Sweden it amounted to 5 or 600,000 rix-dollars; after the peace of Brömsebro, it was diminished by the immunities of the Swedes and Hollanders to 70 or 80,000 rix-dollars. 2. The land-tolls or excise, which would be considerable, if the nobility and clergy were not exempted therefrom, and if the nobles did not exempt the burgesses with whom they have dealings; for nothing is more usual than that a nobleman, when he lodges with a burgess, should defray his charges with excise schedules. 3. Tallages, and contributions of the towns. 4. Fiefs, towns, and tolls in Norway. 5. Fiefs in Denmark. 6. Crown taxes, and other extraordinary revenues, which are not paid every year. Generally the revenues cannot at present be computed at more than 500,000 rix-dollars; on the other hand, the expenditure of the kingdom amounts to 919,665 rix-dollars⁴.

Norway has very fair corn-fields and meadows between the mountains, with forests of oak, fir, birch, pine, and some box-wood, from which the Hollanders procure masts, timber, tar, and deals in some hundred ships yearly; it possesses also various mines, and might have more, if private interests hindered not, on the part of the nobility in Denmark, which sees not gladly the sovereign drawing much from Norway, and on that of the miners, who believe that new pits injure the old works. The character and manners of the inhabitants agree with those of the Swedes. With the king and the government of Denmark they are not particularly well satisfied; for since all fiefs and offices are mostly filled with Danes, and the king seldom comes thither, great injustice is done to the inhabitants. The nobility in Norway are well-nigh wholly extirpated, and those who remain enjoy no respect in Denmark, excepting some families which have been naturalized. Otherwise there is an abundant population of a vigorous and lusty stock, very capable for war and navigation, so that the Hollanders employ and esteem this nation before others. There is hardly a ship in the service of the States-general in which there are not some Norsemen. Norway is governed by a lieutenant, a lord

of the Danish council, who has his residence in Christiania. Hannibal Sehestedt took the title of vice-king, and received from Christian IV. his fief in freehold, which produced to him 30,000 rix-dollars yearly. He also during his stay in Norway erected colleges after the Swedish fashion, especially for the admiralty and war, the chancery, treasury, and the mines; but as the administration of Norway in such sort was too widely separated from that of Denmark, all this, after king Christian's death and Sehestedt's process, was abrogated. The main cause of Hannibal's fall was that he made a more gallant figure than the remainder of the Danish nobles. He had one of the daughters of Christian IV. to wife; therefore the nobility were jealous of him, and it was necessary to ruin him, together with the other sons-in-law of king Christian, who, in the time of this sovereign, had divided the whole government among themselves, namely, Corfitz Ulfeldt, as high steward in Denmark, and Pentz and Hannibal Sehestedt as vice-kings or lieutenants, the one in Holstein, the other in Norway⁵.

Scania and Bleking are two of the principal provinces in the kingdom of Denmark, renowned for good grain, cattle, and fisheries, noble forests, fair pastures, stately rivers and lakes. The people, especially on the frontiers, resemble most the subjects of your majesty in Smaland, as well in speech as humour; and since they, when any thing springs up on the Swedish side, must bear the heaviest burden, and lie as it were in the wolf's mouth, many wish themselves under the crown of Sweden. This people is in Denmark esteemed better adapted for war than that of Zealand, Fyen, and Jutland, is also more handy and somewhat more practised in the management of arms. The population of Zealand is both in speech and humour very different from that of Norway, Scania, and Bleking, is by nature addicted to ease, inapt for war, and like as in the remaining provinces of Denmark, discontented with the government and the nobility, which here has too great an ascendant. In Fyen, Laaland, Falster, and Langeland the population resembles most that of Zealand. Jutland is, next to Norway, the greatest province of Denmark, has abundance of rye and corn, good cattle, fisheries, forests, and excellent pastures. The people are by nature

⁴ Of legal procedure and the condition of the church the following is stated: The four inferior courts are called home-courts; the birke-ting or hamlet-court, the herreds-ting or hundred-court, the by-ting or town-court, and the court of the council-chamber. The latter may be held by the town-bailiff, or burgo-master and council in the council-house. The birke-ting is a separate court in a certain district, which the king or the nobility may appoint, and in it the bailiff and clerk must be sworn. When the birke-ting is held, the bailiff summons eight good men of the same district, whosoever he will, yet honourable and of good repute, who shall sit in court and bear testimony to the bailiff that he judges rightly; after which the sentence is to be entered in the court-book. These eight assessors are not sworn. The hundred-court is held in the hundred by its bailiff and clerk, with eight court-men, peasants of the same hundred, who must all be sworn; and these eight court-men, like the eight in the birke-ting, are to witness that the judge deems rightly, and that all is correctly entered in the hundred-book by the clerk. From these four courts, how great or small soever the cause may be, an appeal lies to the land-thing. These are established in four towns, Copenhagen, Malmø, Odensee, and Ribe. The judge of each province is appointed by the king, invariably from the nobility. The bailiff of the hundred is appointed by the governor of the

province. The baronial diet is the last resort, namely, that court which the king with his whole council forms, and before which every provincial judge has to make answer. The sentence is pronounced by the high chancellor, and drawn up by the secretary of state.—In Denmark bishops and superintendents are the chief persons in ecclesiastical affairs, according to the ordinance of Odensee. The bishops are confirmed by the king, but appointed by the clergy. They may ordain clergy, but neither call (*vocera*) nor select them (whether church-pastors or capellans), which privilege is reserved to the congregations or patrons; nor can any bishop deprive a minister, except *ad interim*, for that belongs to the baronial diet. Regal benefices depend on the king alone. For the rest, the bishops have the right of yearly visiting the parishes, and have superintendence over the revenues of the churches, the schools, hospitals, and portion of the poor, and can also, where disputes and errors occur, decide according to the Ordinance for the Church. The colleges of Denmark, especially that of Copenhagen, have their separate privileges, large and liberal, so that the highly learned constitute a class by themselves, together with the clergy, with which the king and council have to make terms, when any burden is to be imposed on the order.

⁵ All the wives of these noblemen were natural daughters of Christian IV. by Christina Munk.

industrious and inured to labour. The other provinces are filled with official persons from hence, both in the towns and the country. The people here too, as elsewhere in the kingdom, are malcontent with the nobility, especially as they are exposed to incursions from all hands, and cannot obtain leave from the king of Denmark to build here any places of real strength. In Holstein, which is a fief of the German empire, the government, as in Sleswick, Ditmarsch, and Stormarn, is held alternately by the king of Denmark and the duke of Gottorp, each for a year, and the king has founded the fortress of Glückstadt on the Elbe to curb Hamburg, as an appendage to Holstein. The people are very apt for war, but little attached to Denmark. There are likewise divers grudges between the nobility of Denmark and that of Holstein, because the latter, though enjoying ample privileges, cannot be employed in Denmark.

The affection of the Danish nobility for the king lasts so long as he maintains their privileges unimpaired. Their wealth is not very great, except in some few persons, as Christian Skeel, Francis Lycke, Tagé Tott, and Barnewitz, each of whom may have yearly 18 to 20,000 rix-dollars from his estates. The cause is the want of trade, and the maintenance by the nobility of many useless dependents on their estates; they are not inclined to war, and hold it degrading to follow commerce or set up manufactures. There are no benefices except the fiefs of the crown, which are distributed among the chief men; otherwise there are few officers with any stipend. The clergy are not so discontented with the nobility as the other estates, because this order sits in exceeding prosperity and opulence. The clergy only complain that they cannot invest their money with others than the nobles, as the burgesses are so much depressed. The burgesses are exceedingly discontented; for the nobility are every where in their way, so that neither trade nor business can arise in the country. The flourishing state of Copenhagen consists not so greatly in commerce, which is here of small amount, as in the Sound toll. As the toll has been high or moderate, so also has been the increment of the town. The peasants are little taken into consideration in Denmark; they sit still and thrive in a measure well, knowing nought of either better or worse. They are in some sort oppressed by the nobility, who according to the law have great power over their peasants; but the nobles again can defend them from extortions at all hands. One means to the power of the nobility, and their greatest art in preserving themselves against the commons, consists in that they fill petty offices of all sorts in the country and the towns with their own servants, who are wholly devoted to their old masters. To the king the three estates entertain considerable affection, in the expectation that if the nobility should oppress them too heavily, they may have shelter and protection from the sovereign."

So far this representation, which we have inserted because it explains the unsuccessful issue of two of Denmark's wars, that now begun by Oxenstierna, and that afterwards completed by Charles Gustavus, as also the causes of that revolution (or *exercio status*, predicted by our author), which was

⁶ Landserona was taken, but Malmö, defended in part by king Christian himself, resisted all the efforts of the Swedes.

subsequently to transform the constitution of Denmark from an oligarchy into an absolute monarchy.

The military occurrences we may now venture to treat more succinctly. "We have heard of your successful prowess," the chancellor writes to Torstenson, "that you have beaten the Danish cavalry at Koldingen, taken the redoubt at Middelfurt, and there compelled some thousand men to lay down their arms; that you have occupied all Jutland to Skagen; that you have made yourself master of Holstein, Ditmarsch, and Stormarn, to Glückstadt and Krempen, and that you are now minded to try your fortune with Fyen. On this side we have caused field-marshal Gustave Horn and Laurence Kagg to enter Scania with an army of horse and foot, as considerable as we have been able to collect during the winter from the adjacent provinces. He occupied Helsingborg on the 17th February, and thereafter moved on Landserona and Malmö⁶, with intent to acquire a place of strength, that we may at least possess a moiety of dominion in the Sound, till we can put to sea in the summer, and attack the Dane on his islands. We will in time disclose to you our further plans for this war. Our main design is, to exert all our force abroad, and to straiten our neighbour at home, and to that end, in order to preclude all relief, to press with all our power on his islands by the first day of summer. Seek meanwhile to occupy Fyen and to secure the havens on the Belt. In May our whole fleet will be at sea, and we will endeavour to fall upon Zealand from all sides. If this project succeed, it may be expected that we will have but a short war with Denmark. Our chief hindrance lies in the Danish fleet, in which the greatest strength of that crown consists; for they possess a considerable number of ships, and plenty of seamen, especially from Norway. The Icelandic company has also a tolerably large number of ships of the Danish towns, called ships of defence, which may be so employed. We hope, however, that our fleet will be equal to that of the enemy, as we have sought here at home to augment our navy, and besides have sent Louis de Geer at Christmas to Holland, to bring us from thence twenty or thirty well-equipped vessels. Seek likewise to get into your hands war and merchant-ships; correspond with Louis de Geer, combine your squadron with his, and form a junction with our main fleet. Take heed that the Danish fleet come not between you and the ships of Louis de Geer; let not these part from one another, remembering that they are trading vessels, which could not defend themselves against the heavily-armed ships of the Danes. Although there be manifold obstacles to our plan, we yet hope to be able to avert them. The greatest hindrance is our enemy the emperor. Here two things are to be considered in this conjuncture, namely, whether it be advisable to direct our force against the emperor, and to keep Holstein and Jutland in subjection with a small army only, or whether we should set our main design upon Denmark, and only defend ourselves against the emperor as need may enforce. There are reasons on both sides; but if we look somewhat further, a slack war with Denmark will give them courage, and time to our enemies to assist them. Then this enemy lies so close at our

"The king of Denmark hath drawn his forces to Malmö, and is come thither himself." The chancellor to C. G. Wrangel. Stockholm, September 16, 1644. Correspondence.

door, and so embarrassing to us at sea, that whatever other comes against us Denmark will give us disturbance. Therefore, after mature deliberation, we judge it best to have an eye upon the emperor, but to direct our main intention to breaking the strength of Denmark. In Germany we must give constant heed to the sea-coast and its strong places. It seems not probable that the emperor should move onwards, leaving in his rear the fortresses we possess in Silesia and Moravia, especially as the country on the sea-coast is mostly desolate, and no army can live there before the grain is housed. Howbeit if he come, you must meet him as well as may be, keeping in view the main intention for Denmark. We count upon a short war, since the Danes already seek to treat. Then may ye grapple with the emperor ⁷.

The course of events did not in all things answer to these calculations. Louis de Geer indeed managed in Holland to equip thirty ships in his own name ⁸, (for the States-general would yet take no open part,) which put to sea in May; but king Christian, who on his side had commenced the war by an attack on Gottenburg, encountered them off the coast of Jutland, and compelled them to return to North Holland, where a mutiny of the crews threatened to frustrate the whole undertaking. It is a proof of the interest with which it was embraced by the merchants of Holland, that De Geer and his admiral Martin Thysen ⁹, accomplished the equipment of a new squadron, which now sailed for Gottenburg. Meanwhile the Swedish fleet, numbering forty ships, had put to sea in June, under the command of Clas Fleming, councillor of state and admiral, who, on the 29th June, took the island of Femern. But here too king Christian, though now almost seventy years old, was not slow in showing himself; and on the 6th July, when the Danish and Swedish fleets four times engaged, he was wounded at the mast of his ship, twelve men being killed round him. Not without good ground

did Gustavus Adolphus say, that of all the rulers of his time with whom politics did not permit him to maintain amity, he esteemed this sovereign the most highly ¹. Both sides claimed the victory; but it would have remained decisively with the Swedes, if admiral Aco Ulfsparré had done with the right wing of the fleet what was expected from him. The high admiral Clas Fleming, after he had returned to Christianspris, was struck on the 26th July by a ball from a Danish battery ², and in his last moments transferred the command to the general of infantry, Charles Gustave Wrangel, who was now to find a new field of glory on the sea. Meanwhile the imperial court, contrary to the expectation of Oxenstierna, had determined to send Gallas in pursuit of Torstenson, without regard to the fortresses occupied by the Swedes, or to the inroad of Ragotzi from Transylvania. The attack on the Danish islands it was now necessary to discontinue. "Gallas approaches with his whole force, and we must desist from the plan concerted," Torstenson writes from his sick bed to Wrangel ³, by whom he intended to execute this attack. "I wish the devil would take Gallas," Wrangel replies in his vehement manner; "he hinders me from a great piece of fortune; I am the most unlucky of men." Gallas, reinforced by a Danish corps, broke into Holstein, and took Kiel, but confined himself in this campaign to his old tactics of sitting down in fortified camps, and avoiding battles ⁴. Torstenson committed the command in Jutland and Holstein to colonel Hellmuth Wrangel, and with an army reinforced and refreshed in their late quarters, passed before the eyes of Gallas, offered him battle in vain, and alluring him in pursuit to Germany, routed at length and destroyed his whole army ⁵. Charles Gustave Wrangel was confirmed by the government in the chief command of the fleet, which he brought into port. Immediately afterwards he led it to meet De Geer's squadron, which from Gottenburg had passed the

⁷ To Torstenson, March 14, 1644. Reg.

⁸ In an autograph letter from Louis de Geer to bishop Johannes Matthiæ, the former tutor of Christina, preserved in a volume of manuscripts in the Library of Upsala, and dated at Amsterdam, March 20—30, 1644, he says, "Quant à mon equipage j'espère que dans 15 jours je le pourrais rendre prest. Je suis le marchand converti en homme de guerre.—Le Marquis Spinola est mort, il faut qu'un autre le relève," he adds, jestingly. The council of state engaged to contribute to the equipment of this fleet 50,000 rix-dollars, which Louis de Geer was to raise in Holland. The sum was to be repaid, with eight per cent. interest, in two years, either in cash, or with land which might be conquered from the enemy. Minute of May 1, 1644. Reg. These 50,000 rix-dollars were really furnished from the crown estates in Halland, which province was annexed to Sweden by the peace of Brömsebro. Jan. 21, 1645, de Geer received an assignment on the excise for three years for 300,000 rix-dollars, which he had expended in the public service. The first year's instalment was repaid, and the residue assigned on the customs. We are not aware whether he obtained it, but when De Geer's purchase of crown estates was confirmed, June 30, 1646, the earnest-money was remitted at his request. Reg.

⁹ Ennobled in Sweden under the name of Ankarhielm.

¹ "King Gustavus Adolphus affirmed, that among all potentates he esteemed the king of Denmark most, and with no one preferably would keep good correspondence; the sole obstacle to which was that he was a neighbour." Axel Oxenstierna in the council. Palmisk. MSS. t. 190, p. 387.

² "July 26, at six in the morning, happened this mis-

chance, that a spent ball, after glancing off the water in its course, passed unexpectedly through the cabin of the admiral's ship, and carried away the leg of the admiral, Clas Fleming, while washing himself there, so that he lived only an hour and a half longer. His servant who stood by had both legs carried away by the ball, which else did not do the least damage. We have lost in Clas Fleming a true man, and one indispensable to us." The administration to field-marshal Gustave Horn, Aug. 6, 1644. Reg. In revenge, Torstenson carried the redoubts of the Danes, cut down fifteen hundred men, and took six cannon.

³ Torstenson to C. G. Wrangel, Kiel, and Christianspris, June 23, 1644. The draught of Wrangel's answer is annexed. Correspondence of Wrangel.

⁴ On occasion of the campaign of the Imperialists in Holstein a coin was struck in Hamburg, on the one side of which were these words, "What Gallas achieved in Holstein you may see on the other side." The reverse was left smooth and without impression. Slange, History of Christian IV. p. 1252.

⁵ "I doubt not that the field-marshal has signified to you the ruin of the Imperialist main army." John Oxenstierna (the chancellor's son, envoy in Osnaburg,) to C. G. Wrangel. Correspondence. "You have done all well. For the rest, we value your services so highly, that for your pains and sufferings we would gladly grant you immediate furlough and releasement. But your success in war, and authority over the foreign soldiery, are so great, and the circumstances yet so difficult, that we must beg you to have patience for some time further." The administration to Torstenson, Oct. 26, 1644. Reg.

Sound, and awaited the Swedish fleet at Calmar. The combined fleet, of forty-two vessels in all, met that of Denmark, numbering seventeen ships of war, between Zealand and Femern, and obtained over it on the 13th October so complete a victory, that ten ships were taken, two burned, three driven on shore, and only two escaped.

The naval war in the following year (1645), with the exception of the capture of Bornholm by Wrangel, offers nothing remarkable⁶, although that commander was now supported by admiral Eric Rynning, and a fleet equipped by the States-general cruised in the Sound. Hence the Dutch commissioners, who had attended the negotiation for peace at Brömsebro, now abandoned their pretended character of mediators, and passed over to the Swedes⁷. The peace was mediated by France⁸. It was concluded after eighteen months' negotiation, during which the chancellor, who wrote with his own hand the larger portion of the notes, had to contend not only with the enemy and the mediator, but with the constantly rising opposition, favourable to peace, in the Swedish council, upon which the queen, now at the age of nineteen, expressed herself with equal amiability and frankness. "Among the causes," she declares, "which have moved me to let you come down by degrees so far (in respect to the conditions of peace), it is not the least, that I well perceive the greatest portion of our council of state to be of quite a different opinion from you and me. I will accuse no one, but yet I surely believe that time will bring my words true, and I shall perchance hear more of it in this commission of the estates. You may well think how hard it must be for me to lay stress upon matters, which I know that some would find it very expedient to remit; especially as it would be disavowed perhaps, in case of any ill success, by those who ought in fairness to defend counsels adopted with their own consent. Then would my innocent youth be subjected to calumny, as having been incapable of taking wholesome advice, and

having committed such errors from the *libido domi-nandi*; since I well foresee it will be my fate that if I should effect aught with pains-taking and prudence, others will have the honour of it; but where others neglect what they should take to heed, the blame must be mine⁹."

The peace with Denmark was signed at Brömsebro, August 13, 1645, on the frontier of Bleking and Smaland. Sweden obtained the most unrestricted freedom from tolls in the Sound and Belts¹, which was now also expressly extended to ships of Finland and Livonia, Pomerania, and Wismar; Denmark ceded to Sweden the provinces of Jemtland and Herjedale, the islands of Gottland and Esel, with Halland for thirty years, not to be restored even then without an equivalent. Bremen, taken from king Christian's son by Königsmark (whom Torstenson had left behind him upon his expedition against Holstein), remained in the possession of Sweden.

On the chancellor's return from the peace-congress in Brömsebro, the queen advanced him to be count of Södermöre²; a reward that was made still more flattering by the manner in which it was conferred. He had been, the queen upon this occasion observed in the council, a great minister to a great king; he had, when God called her father out of the world, and she was left a child under age, well warded and instructed her youth; he had with his colleagues faithfully served his fatherland, so that she had found all things in good order on her accession to the government; he had, although possessing great power, never forgotten towards her the duty of a subject; lastly, he had enhanced his merits towards his country, by having brought the war with Denmark to a desirable issue, which she ascribed pre-eminently to his capacity, skill, and great qualities³.

This was, without doubt, the moment in the life of Axel Oxenstierna most full of honour. It was also the last which was sweetened to him by the gratitude of the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus.

⁶ "The weather this summer has been unfavourable for the fleet. The design on the islands must be postponed to a better opportunity. I advise keeping the fleet together, the more that peace is near." Oxenstierna to C. G. Wrangel, Söderaker, Aug. 1 and 6, 1645. Correspondence.

⁷ "I have been advised by the Dutch envoys at the peace-congress, that they have crossed the border to the Swedes, and conformably to the orders of their principals, have announced to the Danish commissaries, that they demand satisfaction in respect to the complaints of the States-general touching the tolls in the Sound and in Norway, and that they will take part with the Swedes." Field-marshal Gustave Horn to C. G. Wrangel, Fielkinge, May 20, 1645. "The news is, that the States-general are most firmly resolved to maintain their interests in commerce against Denmark, and are now fitting out a fleet of fifty ships of war, with eight thousand mariners and two thousand soldiers." The Swedish resident Harald Appelbom to C. G. Wrangel, Amsterdam, March 29, 1645. "To-day the Dutch fleet hopes to set sail, so that we may soon hear what miracle they will perform in the Sound. The resolution is to convoy the merchant-ships through it, and on the smallest hostility shown by the Danes, to give them powder and lead to the full." The same to the same, Amsterdam, June 10, 1645. Letter from the Dutch admiral Cornelius de Witte to Wrangel (without date), that he has come with forty-nine ships of war and three hundred merchantmen into the Baltic, has stationed ships both in the Sound and the Belts to protect the Dutch navigation, and is now in sight of the Danish fleet. C. G. Wrangel's Cor.

⁸ Through the ambassador de la Thuillierie. Salvius writes to John Oxenstierna, Jan. 5, 1644, "By Rorté and

St. Romain I remark, that the French are much dissatisfied with Torstenson's irruption (into Holstein). The cause seems partly to be that they would not gladly see Sweden become too powerful by the occupation of Denmark, or set up a universal monarchy in the north, as Rorté laughingly observed. It gives great umbrage that Sweden has now already occupied all the principal provinces on the Baltic—Ingermanland, Livonia, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Jutland—and thus Denmark is as it were blockaded round." Fant, Handlingar, iv. 96.

⁹ Arckenholtz, Mém. de Christine, i. 65.

¹ The Swedes on their side could not find words enough to express this freedom. In the answer of the Swedish council to the Danish, March 2, 1644, it is said, "Her majesty will permit no limitation of the Swedish freedom of trade in the Sound, under any interpretation, but will possess this freedom for herself and her subjects, undisturbed, uncircumscribed, unlimited, unburdened, unhindered, unobstructed." Reg.

² Count's patent for Axel Oxenstierna over the hundred of South Möre in Smaland, for a county, with eleven parishes, for himself and his heirs, Nov. 19, 1645. Reg. The revenues were valued at 15,000 rix-dollars yearly. Aug. 20 of the same year, the chancellor had received a donation of the manor-house of Kongsberg in the hundred of Aker in Sutherlandland, with several islands in the Mælar, in all thirty-seven hydes. To these were added on the 10th December twenty-one and three-quarters hydes more, and the same day the chancellor received permission to buy the freehold for ever of all these crown-fiefs. Reg.

³ Arckenholtz, l. c. 70.

CHAPTER XIX.

CHRISTINA'S GOVERNMENT AND ABDICATION.

ASSUMPTION OF THE GOVERNMENT BY THE YOUNG QUEEN. DIET OF 1644. REPORT MADE BY THE GUARDIANS TO THE ESTATES. EDUCATION AND CHARACTER OF CHRISTINA. CONCLUDING PERIOD OF THE WAR. INVASION OF BOHEMIA BY TORSTENSON, AND BATTLE OF JANKOWITZ. EFFECT OF TORSTENSON'S VICTORIES. PACIFICATORY CONGRESS AT OSNABURG, IN 1645. INSTRUCTIONS TO THE SWEDISH COMMISSIONERS. DESOLATION OF GERMANY. CHARLES GUSTAVE WRANGEL APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. JUNCTION WITH THE FRENCH UNDER TURENNE, AND CAMPAIGN IN UPPER GERMANY. FINAL CAMPAIGN OF 1648, AND PEACE OF WESTPHALIA. PERTURBED STATE OF PUBLIC FEELING IN SWEDEN. DILAPIDATION OF THE CROWN PROPERTY. RELATIONS OF OXENSTIERNA WITH THE NEW COURT. DIETS OF 1649 AND 1650. DISPUTES OF THE FOUR ESTATES AS TO CLERICAL AND BARONIAL PRIVILEGES, AND THE ALIENATION OF CROWN PROPERTY. LOVE-SUIT OF PRINCE CHARLES GUSTAVUS TO CHRISTINA. HE IS DECLARED, BY THE COUNCIL AND ESTATES, PRESUMPTIVE SUCCESSOR. THE QUEEN'S RESOLUTION TO ABDICATE. CONSPIRACY BY THE ADHERENTS OF THE PALSGRAVE. EXTRAVAGANCE AND DISSOLUTENESS OF THE COURT. THE ABDICATION.

A. D. 1644—1654.

FROM the date of Christina's assumption of the government to her renouncement of its duties, ten years more remain. Already in May, 1642, she had begun to preside over the deliberations of the council. On her eighteenth birth-day, December 6, 1644, she assumed the exercise of sovereignty. For the sake of connexion, merely, we have continued our narrative in the preceding chapter to the peace of Brömsebro in the following year.

The estates, convened for the 8th October, 1644, met the queen at Stockholm; and the guardians rendered an account of their administration. In this report, composed by the high-chancellor, they recall the difficult circumstances under which they, by the will and order of the estates, had accepted the office of rulers. They had entered upon their task after a heroic king, too early snatched away, who had exalted his fatherland to the height of renown, whereas their insignificance had found it difficult to maintain that needful respect, without which no government could subsist; they had had to contend with many obstacles both intestine and extraneous, even from the number of those who were to bear rule, which ever led naturally to dissension; yet, confiding in God, in the harmony and true co-operation of the estates, in the obedience of the subject and the good disposition of the queen, they had put their hand to the work, striving to follow those counsels and designs which the late king had proposed to himself in his lifetime. They hoped that,

if the hardness of the times had perchance extorted from them any resolution which might have been wished better, such might be interpreted according to their intention and the practicability of it, not after the censure of ill-willers and envious. The measures of internal administration which they submitted to the good pleasure of the queen were principally the following:—1. They had been obliged to make divers ordinances and statutes, partly with the consent of the estates, partly on their own authority, for which they solicited confirmation, in so far as these might be found useful. 2. They had divided some too large prefectures into two; had augmented the palace-court in Gothland, as well as the academy in Åbo¹, and several gymnasia; had founded some new towns², improved the old, and privileged some mine-works and brass-foundries. 3. They had found themselves induced to acquire for the crown, by exchange, some freehold estates of noblemen, partly for the building and extension of the towns, partly for the benefit of the mine-tracts and ore-pits. 4. By reason of the great expenses of the kingdom, which exceeded the revenues, and because they had not ventured to burden the estates with heavier taxes, and thereby to excite discontent, which, however, had been sometimes imminent, they had been compelled, in words, to sell, but, in fact, to mortgage certain of the crown estates³. They knew that this might be ill inter-

¹ As the foundation both of the palace-court of Gothland, and the university of Åbo (by count Peter Brahe, in 1640), belongs to the regency of the guardians, it is plain that by the phrase "augmented" is here meant the addition of a new palace-court and university to those previously existing.

² These are enumerated: Falun, at the Kopparberg, Sæter, Linde, Nora, Åskersund, Christinehamn, Amal, Wenersborg, New Helsingfors.

³ Resolution by the administration and council, on account of her majesty, our most gracious queen, concerning the sale of assessable and crown estates; Stockholm, Nov. 5, 1638: also, Deliberation and Resolution, May 15, 1641. Nordin Collections. This had been already commenced in 1635, on the equipment of the army for Prussia. The reason alleged was needfulness; they being unable, or not daring to raise

the taxes, the French subsidies being insufficient, and there being no credit to procure a loan, so long as neither the capital nor interest of the old debt could be paid. The capital of the old Copper Company was still vested in the crown, and Gustavus Adolphus had engaged to pay for it not less than twenty per cent. Although the shareholders afterwards, "from their humble devotion," lowered the interest to ten per cent., and a number of them in the late king's lifetime received payment in lands, the sum was yet very large, and the new Copper Company yielded no profit, as many of its shareholders were also interested in the old, and now sought to indemnify themselves. It was therefore resolved, in 1641, to cancel the old debt, to buy in the stock and satisfy the holders with estates, "especially the nobility, who held the largest share." In 1638, it was resolved to

puted. But it had been done from unavoidable necessity, to save the state and their country; Gustavus Adolphus had himself set the example of the measure, which had been embraced also by other states in times of pressure; especially as landed estates were always most profitable in the hands of private persons. These estates the crown might redeem; and although in the term specified for such redemption (a year from the queen's assumption of the government) they had been obliged to take a very short date, in order to persuade individuals to make advances; all this had been referred for ratification, so that her majesty, if it seemed good to her, might prolong the term to some years. 5. Albeit the Form of Government forbade the grant of patents of nobility, or the alienation of crown estates during the minority of the sovereign, the guardians had yet found it impossible to avoid this in the long run, with this great war, so unproportioned to the energies of the country, on their shoulders, and an empty treasury; especially as the late king had before his death given many persons assurance of donations, and caused patents to be made out for that purpose. As no government could be upheld without rewards and punishments, they had been unable to decline gratifying meritorious persons, and had therefore rewarded some with estates, others with ennoblement, who they hoped were not unworthy; although all was remitted to the good pleasure of a full-aged sovereign.

The queen approved all. Her letter of acquittance for the five high officers bears date December 7, 1644, the same day on which she issued her warranty to the estates. In the Act of the Diet their administration is mentioned "with highest thankfulness and praise." In reference to the constitution of 1634, Christina's warranty declares: "We have during the time of our minority made good trial of it; but seeing that at present we are involved in so many embarrassments that we have not leisure to examine it accurately, therefore we find it advisable to defer its establishment until our happy coronation, to the end that it may meanwhile be well considered, and then with the consent of the estates be confirmed for a law, which shall be perpetually observed in this kingdom; yet will we, in the mean time, guide ourselves by its tenor, as it hath hitherto stood." From a minute, purporting to be "the opinion of the greatest part of the estates and good patriots, touching the Form of Government⁴," it is manifest that this constitution was actually submitted to the estates for further examination⁵. Changes of dubious character, which were brought into

question, appear to have led to its postponement. These aimed at a great extension of the rights of the estates, and seem to be directed in part against the high-chancellor personally. In order that no man may engross all power to himself, nor any one family or estate raise itself above all others, none of the five high offices of state—it is said—should be filled in any other way than that the estates should propose three persons, and the king select one among them, care being taken herein that brothers, or individuals of the same family, should not be spoken of. Thus were to be chosen the councillors of state also, some of whom should attend the king in their turn, while the others, as of old, should be governors of provinces, since it is too far for the people to carry their complaints to the capital. Judges should not be executive officers also, and conversely, by which might made right. In order that the house of barons might preserve their liberties, and persons of high power (who are not named) no longer, as heretofore, assail the nobility with snubbs and bans⁶, when any have not voted according to their pleasure, it is most humbly solicited that only one of three persons proposed by the house of barons itself shall be selected to be land-marshal. It would be well also, that, for the promotion of order among the clergy, the design of king Gustavus Adolphus for a politico-ecclesiastical consistory should be carried into effect, yet with a president and assessors freely chosen by the estates. Rather than that the rendering of account by the colleges and functionaries, prescribed by the 30th section of the Form of Government, should be neglected by reason of other business, intelligent men and good patriots should be chosen thereto by the estates; since it appears just that the estates should have it made known to them for what objects that was expended which they contributed for the behoof of the realm, that too much might not go to one department, and nothing at all to another, as was often complained; wherefore also the estates most submissively beg that her majesty would make a reformation in her household, and spare needless expenses, since the revenues of the kingdom were now considerably diminished from the poverty of the people, and the sale or infeudation of so many landed estates. By reason of the clamours of the common people, the prospect in the country was menacing; it was to be feared, that order would rise up against order, especially under the general insecurity as to the future. It was therefore the submissive petition of the estates, that her majesty might be pleased to enter the married state, or, lest she should have no heirs of

sell estates to the value of 200,000 rix-dollars; in 1639, again to the same amount; in 1641, to 400,000 rix-dollars. For three, or afterwards for four and a half dollars rent from the land, 100 rix-dollars were paid. The right of purchase was so rigorously reserved to the nobility, that a nobleman who lent his name to an un noble person for such a purchase was to forfeit his estate. The cess-paying peasants of the crown, thus brought into dependence on the nobility, were not to pay more to the new superior than formerly to the crown; for only the crown-rents of their lands were sold. At the diet of 1643, the peasants complained, that those who in this way had been made dependent on the nobility, were harassed with intolerable exactions of day-work and burdens of all kinds, in order thereby to induce them to give up their right of property in the land to the noble superior.

The regency declared that this conduct was a gross abuse; but as the peasants who had exchanged the superiority of the crown for that of the nobility, enjoyed relief from levies and other extraordinary imposts, it was not unreasonable that they should in return do some service for their superiors, according to agreement.

⁴ In the Nordin Collections.

⁵ "The Form of Government was read and considered, in conjunction with some of the equestrian order and nobility, who communicated their opinions to the clergy," it is stated in the protocols of the clergy for the diet of 1644. Contributions to the History of the Swedish Church and Diets, from the archives of the clerical order. Stockholm, 1835, p. 106.

⁶ Snubbor, banners.

her body, select, with the consent of the council and estates, a certain successor to the crown from among the nearest collateral relatives of the royal family. The latter overture manifestly refers to the queen's cousin, prince Charles Gustavus. This document, official or not, shows the commencement of a contest against the ruling system, which was one day to come to an outbreak.

It was a perilous greatness to which Sweden had now ascended, and Christina herself, wavering between extremes, is an image of the situation. It is hard to reconcile the contrarieties of her character. This she herself may describe. Christina was deprived of her father at the age of six years, nor had she been educated under the eyes of her mother. After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, she was early separated from the fair, weak, capricious, and sorrow-stricken Maria Eleonora, and sent to her aunt⁷, the princess Catharine, consort of the palgrave John Casimir. She remained under this guardianship until the death of the princess in 1638. The confidence which Gustavus Adolphus reposed in this sister, and the deep reverence with which Charles Gustavus speaks of his mother⁸, show that Catharine was an estimable princess. Nevertheless, the young queen's early education seems not to have been of the most solid kind, as may be inferred from Christina's own expressions, which in general do not display the princely education of her times in the most advantageous light. "Those who believe," she says⁹, "that childhood at least is the season when truth may approach princes, deceive themselves; there are those who fear and flatter them, even in the cradle; all the purple-born are reared in indolence, ignorance, and effeminacy." The palgrave house, repelled by the grandees, sought support in the attachment of the young queen, and in her hand a guarantee for the fortunes of the young Charles Gustavus. The prince subsequently appealed to the fact of her having been betrothed to him in childhood. Such relations were sufficiently adapted to produce in his parents indulgence for all the wishes of their royal foster-child. Christina was educated at the same time in deep mistrust of her guardians, as her earlier letters remarkably evince¹, however great the respect she testifies in her latter years for "those honour-decked old men," as she calls them. In the year 1635, the estates gave "An opinion and advice how her majesty the young queen shall be educated²." They deem it necessary that such preceptors and ladies of the court should be appointed to her majesty, as know and understand how a queen is rightly to be formed as

to soul and body, who are so affectioned that they will take this in hand gladly and zealously, and have such authority and gravity, that they may be able to do this with respect and heedfulness. For what concerns her majesty's studies, she shall be educated especially in those arts, which teach the Christian government of countries and kingdoms. But forasmuch as such learning comes far more from years and experience than from youthful studies, and the ground of all is the right knowledge and worship of God, it is also most advisable that her majesty should apply her chief study to God's word, and in history to the biblical part; and should learn besides to reckon and write well, with those foreign tongues which the guardians shall consider necessary for her majesty. Christina relates that Gustavus Adolphus had given command that she should receive a masculine education. He had himself selected her tutor, Johannes Matthiæ, at first professor in the college of nobles (*collegium illustre*) instituted in Stockholm, afterwards the king's court-preacher, a learned man of very mild disposition, beneficent, and of such conciliatory inclinations in respect to those religious contests which divided the age, that after he had lost his patrons Christina and Charles Gustavus, when he was at a very great age, the clergy, in the heat of their zeal, pressed for and effected his deposition from the episcopal see of Strengness³. He was one of those who bore the most steadfast affection and respect towards Christina. Her progress was wonderful. At eighteen she read Thucydides and Polybius in Greek, wrote and spoke Latin, German, and French. In council and administration she showed much acuteness, and her personal manners exercised great influence over all who surrounded her, although she appeared rather to slight than to assert her outward dignity. "It is with dignities," she herself says, "as with perfumes; those who carry them scarcely perceive them⁴."

In the height of her renown she has been depicted by the French minister at the Swedish court, Chanut, an estimable and cultivated person, who for a long time stood high in her favour. We extract the main features of this description⁵, and may annex to them the remarks of Christina herself, made in her latter years. When one sees her for the first time, says the minister, she does not excite the same admiration as upon more intimate knowledge. A single portrait is not sufficient to give a representation of her appearance; her countenance changes so much in accordance with her mental emotions, that she is hardly to be recog-

⁷ Faster, father's sister.

⁸ In letters to his father, which generally exhibit the son's heart in the most amiable light.

⁹ *Vie de Christine par Elle-même*. Arckenholtz, iii. 49.

¹ Compare the letter to the palgrave John Casimir, in her fifteenth year. Arckenholtz, i. 35.

² Stjernman, *Resolutions of Diets and Meetings*, ii. 926.

³ He received a charter from the government, dated Oct. 30, 1633, to found an orphanotrophium, or house of refuge for fatherless and motherless children, at Stockholm; and Jan. 18, 1616, to erect another in Strengness, of which he had been made bishop two years before. *Reg.* His *Idea boni ordinis in Ecclesia Christi*, with which he entered on his episcopal office, is one of the works reflecting honour on the Swedish church. Yet occasion was taken, both from this treatise and his *Rami Olivæ Septentrionalis*, to accuse

him of syncretistic errors. On the report of Christina's change of religion, he wrote a very eloquent letter of disapproval, but expressing also his wishes for a reconciliation of the various spiritual confessions. In the year 1664, he anticipated his deposition by abdicating the episcopate.

⁴ *Les grands seigneurs sont comme les parfums: ceux qui les portent ne les sentent quasi pas. Ouvrage de loisir de Christine*. Arckenholtz, t. ii.

⁵ *Mémoires de ce qui s'est passé en Suède depuis l'année 1645, jusques en l'année 1653, tirés des Dépêches de M. Chanut, Ambassadeur pour le Roi en Suède, par Linage de Vauciennes*. Paris, 1675, i. 240. There are autograph notes by Christina in a copy of this book, which belonged to the deceased queen Hedvig Elizabeth Charlotte. Compare the Swedish translation of Chanut's *Memoirs*, vol. i., Stockholm, 1826, to which these notes of Christina are appended.

nized after the interval of a moment; but for the most part she appears thoughtful, and whatsoever change takes place in her, she preserves continually something clear and agreeable. If she disapprove any remark made, her face is covered for a moment as with a cloud, which inspires terror. Her voice is usually mild as a maiden's, yet she can give it a strength that is beyond her sex. Her stature is under the middle size, which would strike less if she wore ladies' shoes; but in order to walk and ride more conveniently, she uses only shoes without heels, like those of men. If we may conclude from outward appearances of her internal thoughts, she has a deep religious feeling, and is sincerely devoted to Christianity; yet she seems to trouble herself less as to the mutual disputes of the Christians, than the objections of the Jews, heathens, and philosophers against Christian doctrine. What is not accordant with the gospel she looks upon as triviality, and shows no bitterness in the controversies between the evangelicals and catholics⁶. For the rest, she is not scrupulous, and affects no ceremonious devotion⁷. Her spirit is filled with an incredible love for high virtue, and she is passionately fond of honour. She speaks of virtue like a stoical philosopher; among her confidants she is wonderfully strong in this humour; when she discusses the true value which should be set upon human dignity⁸, it is a pleasure to see her lay the crown beneath her feet⁹, and declare that virtue is the only good, to which all men, without glorifying themselves on their rank, should hold fast¹; but during such a confession she does not long forget that she is a queen². She has an admirable gift of comprehension, and a memory so faithful that it may be said she abuses it. She loves the society of learned men, in order to converse with them in her leisure hours upon all that is most remarkable in the domain of the sciences³. Her desire of learning would be instructed on all subjects. No day passes that she does not read a page of the history of Tacitus, which she calls a chess-game⁴. It gives her incredible content to hear problematical subjects discussed by learned persons, and listen to their different opinions, whereat she never expresses her own till all the

others have spoken, and then shortly and well. Her reserve shows itself rather in the treatment of public affairs than in scientific colloquies. In council, her ministers find it difficult to discover to what side she inclines; she knows how to keep a secret⁵, and as she does not let herself be taken in by any stories, she appears mistrustful and hard to persuade⁶. It can hardly be conceived how great her power is in the senate⁷. The lords of the council are astonished at the power which she has over them, when they are assembled⁸. Some ascribe to her quality of woman the great attachment which her ministers show to her⁹; but to say truth, her power rests on her personal worth. Nature has denied her none of those qualities whereby a young knight would acquire honour. She is indefatigable in rural pastimes; I have seen her hunting for ten hours on horseback. No hunter in Sweden lites the springing more surely, no rider manages his horse better, and yet she makes no boast of it. Her table is highly simple and without dainties; she speaks seldom with her court-dames. When these are present on any occasion of public attendance, she quits them after the first passages of courtesy, and turns to the men. She is affable to her train, and bounteous beyond the resources of her kingdom. She is fond of a jest; it were perhaps better that she should refrain from this habit¹. She is sparing of her time, and sleeps but five hours²; in summer she sleeps an hour in the afternoon³. She takes little trouble with her toilet, is dressed in a quarter of an hour, and, except on great festivals, a comb and a bit of ribbon make all her head-dress. Yet the hair falling negligently sets off her face well, which she protects neither from the sun nor the wind and rain. No one has seen her with a hood, and when she is on horseback, her head is merely covered by a hat with feathers. Undoubtedly she carries this neglect of her person to an extreme⁴. But she sets value on nothing so much as an ardent love of virtue and honour; and it is only by her own extraordinary merit, not by conquests, that she will make her name illustrious. For her renown she will have to thank herself, more than the bravery of her subjects.—So far this extract. It

⁶ She was never a Lutheran. Christina's note.

⁷ She was never infected by this disease. Christina.

⁸ She hath never made much matter thereof. Christina.

⁹ This is her real disposition. Christina.

¹ She held it an honour to place under her feet what other kings set upon their heads. Christina.

² She never forgot it. Christina.

³ This is true. Christina.

⁴ This is not true. She never had any particular preference for this author, since she reads with pleasure all good writers. Christina.

⁵ Quite true. Christina.

⁶ She never ruled this falling. Christina.

⁷ Nonsense! But how laughably ill-informed he is. Christina.

⁸ The contrary rather might excite surprise. Christina.

⁹ The qualities of women are not adapted to procure themselves obedience. Christina.

¹ He is right. Raillery procured her many enemies. Christina.

² Three hours. Christina.

³ False. Christina.

⁴ She combs her hair but once a week, says Peter Mauerschildt, Pimentelli's confessor, in a letter from Stockholm, dated 10th Dec., 1653, and I have seen her with coarse

and ragged linen, covered with stains. Palmsk. MSS. t. 40. Mademoiselle de Montpensier describes Christina, on her first visit to Paris, in 1656, in the following terms: "I had heard so much said of her odd manner of dressing, that I was dying from fear of laughing when I should see her. As they called out 'mind,' and to make room for me, I perceived her; she surprised me, and it was not in a way to make me laugh. She had a gray petticoat, with clasps of gold and silver; a jerkin of camlet, fire-coloured, with clasps the same as on the petticoat; on the neck a kerchief of Genoa lace, pierced with fire-coloured ribbon, a light peruke, and at the back a round, such as women wear, and a hat with black feathers, which she held. She is fair, has blue eyes, the mouth agreeable enough, though large, fine teeth, the nose large and aquiline; she is very small, her jerkin hides her bad figure; to sum up all, she appeared to me a pretty little boy. After the ballet, we went to the comedy. There she surprised me; to praise the passages which pleased her, she swore by God, lay down in her chair, threw her legs on one side and the other, and assumed postures not very decent. She spoke of many matters, and what she said, she said very agreeably; she fell into profound reveries, breathed deep sighs, then all of a sudden came to herself, like a person that wakes in a start; she is quite extraordinary." Arckenholtz, l. 531.

is the bright side of the picture; the shadows will not be slow of showing themselves.

Torstenson's last victories still cast their radiance on the beginning of Christina's own administration. After he had overwhelmed and destroyed the Imperialist army under Gallas, which had been sent to shut him up in Jutland⁵, he broke in the commencement of the year 1645 into Bohemia, leaving Königsmark in Westphalia, and committing to major-general Axel Lilje, governor of Leipsic⁶, the business of negotiating with the elector of Saxony as to a truce, which was concluded in the course of this year. He had resolved, he said, "to attack the emperor in the heart, and force him to peace;" and the ministry approved his intention, "since the grounds were weighty and the design great⁷." The emperor Ferdinand III. had repaired to Prague, collected a new army, and drawn reinforcements from the Rhine, from Bavaria, and even from Hungary. To this army, commanded by the Imperialist field-marshal Hatzfeld, Torstenson delivered battle at Jankau or Jankowitz on the 24th February. We cite an extract from his own account of the affair. "Since I broke up from Caaden," he writes to Axel Lilje on the 27th February⁸, "I have written to the major-general from Pressnitz, two miles from Pilsen; but hear that the messenger whom I despatched thence has been taken and shot by one of the enemy's bands. I continued my march without resting to Glattau, and so further to Oroschewitz, directly upon the enemy; and I am happily come hither on the 16th of this month. But inasmuch as the enemy's army shortly before my arrival crossed the stream called Ottawa, and nothing could be undertaken against it, I continued my march on this side of the river and the enemy on the other to Strackonitz, and throughout the day, upon the march, we saluted one another from the mountains with cannon-shots, from which little loss was experienced on our side. As the enemy now disputed this stream with me, I pushed with all possible haste to the Mulda, and found, half a mile below Zwickau, a ford, where I crossed on the 20th, and advanced with the army to Woditz and Jankau. Here on the 23rd, three miles from Tabor, we found the enemy, who, leaving his baggage behind, had followed us with great haste, and before my arrival had already occupied all the hills, placing himself

in such a position that Jankau was between the two armies, and benefited neither much. The situation of this spot is such, that from the inconvenience of the mountains no battle in just array can be delivered. But as the enemy, daily on the march, kept by us, and from the incessant camping in the severe and cold winter, ruin might at last have ensued on our side, it was at length unanimously determined, after mature deliberation with the whole of the generals and colonels, in God's name to attack the enemy. I therefore on the 24th caused the army to advance by the left against a hill, where the enemy's outposts were stationed, and behind which he kept his army in a wood. This, though disputing it hardly, he was obliged to quit, leaving three pieces, and field-marshal Götz killed on the spot. Thence the enemy drew back from one hill to another, in an arc, to the head-quarters he had occupied on the previous night, and there again took up a position anew. I followed in as good order as the many hills and woods allowed, whereat the enemy fell upon us with great fury. A hard and bloody action began, the like of which will not soon be seen; and although the enemy was two or three thousand men superior to us in cavalry, and equal in infantry, yet our men together gave him so gallant a reception, that after a stubborn fight from eight o'clock in the morning to four in the afternoon, at length the Almighty graciously vouchsafed us the victory. The prisoners we have taken are according to the here following list. On our side no general is killed; major-general Goldstein, who made the first assault, is wounded in the right hand. The colonels Reusch and Sestedt also, with some officers of inferior rank, were wounded. The number of the killed cannot be accurately stated, since they lie scattered here and there on the hills and in the woods, for a length of two miles very thickly." According to the list subjoined by Torstenson, six Imperialist generals, among them Hatzfeld himself, a multitude of superior and inferior officers, and four thousand common soldiers, were taken at Jankowitz, with seventy-seven standards and twenty-six cannon. The number of the enemy's dead is stated at three to four thousand; of the superior officers, field-marshal Götz and the younger Piccolomini fell; the imperial field-mar-

of the state in profitless disputes about pretensions to dignity, while he takes no opportunity of distinguishing himself, but, when there is any thing important to execute, sends a youth or a man of no conduct, whereby every laudable design must fall into the well." Torstenson appointed him governor of Leipsic, his office of vice-governor of Pomerania, with the revenues annexed, meanwhile remaining open to him; which the ministry confirm in their letter to Torstenson, of Jan. 28, 1643. But Lilje quitted Leipsic of his own impulse, and returned to Pomerania. "By this imprudent and unseasonable journey," the ministry write to Torstenson, in July, 1643, "he has endangered our affairs in all Meissen;" wherefore he is strictly commanded forthwith to repair back to Leipsic. Otherwise he was not without talents. It was earlier in question to make him governor of Westphalia, "since he understood well to obtain obedience." Reg.

⁷ To Torstenson, March 6, 1645. Reg.

⁸ The letter is contained in the Extraordinary Post Journal of April 19, 1645. This year commenced an Ordinary Post-Journal (Ordinarie Post-tidender), in successive numbers, published weekly, at Stockholm. Some numbers are preserved in the Palmsköld Collections, t. 41.

⁵ Several letters have reached us touching a glorious victory, which God granted you the 23rd November, 1644, over Gallas, when you pursued and routed the imperial cavalry, about Jüterbock, crushing them and taking prisoners the greatest part, with general Enkefort, and some colonels. (A very small part would have escaped, Torstenson writes to Wrangel the day after the battle, had not our cavalry, who made fifteen miles on one fodder, been so tired.) Then we heard that the army moved toward Meissen, and that Königsmark was left with the Hessians at Magdeburg, to look after Gallas, who is lying there with the rest of the infantry, and one regiment of horse, that he may not be able to come off without being totally ruined. The Administration to Torstenson, Jan. 14, 1645. Reg. Gallas attempted to escape to Wittenberg, with the remains of his army, Dec. 23, 1644. Königsmark surprised him, made one thousand prisoners, and of the whole army, only two thousand men escaped from Wittenberg to Bohemia. Puffendorf, xvi. § 16.

⁶ An impetuous and haughty man; he was vice-governor in one division of Pomerania. July 27, 1641, the ministry rebuke him for "wasting time, and neglecting the service

shal-lieutenant, count Brouay, also died of his wounds shortly after the battle. On the Swedish side prince Charles Gustavus was in great danger; his hat, coat, and shirt were shot through. Torstenson's own wife⁹ was for a moment in the hands of the enemy, who fell upon the Swedish baggage with three squadrons. In the hostile accounts of this battle¹ it is stated: "From three to four o'clock in the afternoon the main action first began, which continued till night; it went exceedingly hard, more so than in any battles of this war. No quarter was given. At first it appeared as if we were to conquer, but the right and left wings having been beaten, and obliged to leave the field; field-marshal Hatzfeld, with the rest of the infantry and some cavalry, was inclosed by the enemy in a half-moon, and compelled to yield himself prisoner, munitions and baggage falling into the enemy's hands." The victory is ascribed to the superiority of Torstenson's artillery, which he caused to play "after the old Swedish wont." The emperor fled from Prague², and hastened past Ratisbon to the defence of Vienna.

It was now for the third time that Torstenson penetrated into the heart of Austria; the victory at Jankowitz opened to him the road to Vienna³. After he had taken Znaim, Krems, and Korn-Nenburg, his outposts stood by the bridge over the Danube at Vienna, and the redoubt which defended it fell on the 30th March into his hands. Howbeit, this attempt had the same issue as all the former from want of co-operation, which this time had been counted upon. Ragotzi, the prince of Transylvania, had promised Sweden and France to join Torstenson with an army from Hungary; and the French, who otherwise carried on war for themselves on the Rhine, advanced in April 1645, under Turenne, against Bavaria. But Turenne was defeated on the 25th April at Mergentheim by Mercy, who afterwards himself fell in battle against Condé and Turenne at Allersheim, where both sides claimed the victory; Ragotzi's men, who, in conjunction with those of Douglas and Charles Gustavus, took Tyrnau in Hungary, were from their utter want of discipline more a burden than an assistance, till their master shortly made his peace with the emperor. From the imperial hereditary dominions new masses of troops were raised. In Austria every fifth man, in Bohemia and Moravia every tenth man was levied. Torstenson had meanwhile, to obtain firm footing in Moravia, undertaken the siege of Brunn; but was obliged, after his army had been infected with the plague by the wild bands of Ragotzi, and the immoderate use of fruits and grapes had bred other maladies, to raise the siege at the end of four months, and to commence his retreat. His cavalry,

eight thousand men, were without horses; the infantry had dwindled down to two thousand five hundred men; he himself was bedridden, so that he had to be carried in a litter. Thus he passed through Bohemia, parted there from Charles Gustavus returning to Sweden, to whom he prophesied a crown⁴, formed a junction with Königs-mark, who had come to meet him in Silesia, and closed his career of generalship with the capture of Leutmeritz in Bohemia. There the gout seized on his head and breast, so that he was obliged to lay down the command, although Wrangel, whom he had long prayed to obtain for his successor⁵, and who was now on his way from Sweden with reinforcements, had not yet come up. They met in Saxony, after Torstenson had quitted the army. As long as the latter remained in Germany, Wrangel, conformably to his instructions, undertook nothing of importance without consulting him.

In one respect Torstenson's campaigns had a decisive influence upon the German war. They led at length to negotiations for peace seriously meant⁶. Seven years had elapsed in consideration before, towards the end of 1641, an understanding could be come to upon the preliminaries of a general congress of pacification, at which, in order to avoid quarrels as to rank, Sweden was to negotiate in Osnaburg, France in Munster. Nearly four years elapsed ere the congress assembled; first in 1645, after Torstenson's victories, they advanced from formalities to substance. And as in the following year the Swedish government delivered its ultimatum respecting its own demands, to which it adhered at the peace, it appears to have deserved the reproach of protracting the war less than any of the other powers. John Oxenstierna, eldest son of the high-chancellor, and Salvius, were the plenipotentiaries of Sweden at the pacificatory congress.

November 10, 1645, the chancellor writes in the name of the ministry to the Swedish commissaries at Osnaburg: "Four questions are of importance. Shall we insist on the restitution of the German states? What shall be our satisfaction? Shall all states be admitted to the negotiation for peace? Can the neutrality of Bavaria be allowed? We see that the emperor seeks to draw all those affairs which concern the restitution of the states, from the pacificatory congress to imperial and collegial diets. Thence would incontrovertibly follow the oppression and slavery of the estates; and if we let ourselves be persuaded to the laying down our arms on such conditions, we find at the same moment the net over our own head. Seek to have France and the estates at one in this matter; declare that, although we require with the greatest reason our

⁹ Beata de la Gardie, daughter of the councillor of state, John Pontusson de la Gardie, married, after Torstenson's death, to the high-steward, count Peter Brahe.

¹ Letter from Prague, in the Weekly Journal (*Wochentliche Zeitung*), anno 1645, of which single sheets are preserved in the correspondence of C. G. Wrangel.

² His baggage was taken by major-general Douglas.

³ The first effect of the victory was to set free Olmutz, which was besieged by the Austrians; Glogau and Olmutz were the only fortresses in Silesia and Moravia, which Torstenson, at his return from Holstein, found still in the hands of the Swedes.

⁴ Puffendorf, xvii. § 24.

⁵ Oct. 26, 1644, the ministry write to Torstenson: "We approve of your wish thus gradually to draw C. G. Wrangel to be your successor in command, as well because he is of our nation, as also because his qualities are such, that we hope he will, after some time, if God grant him life and health, be a good stay, and no inconsiderable furtherance to the cause." Reg.

⁶ "I see that the victory, granted by God to her majesty in Bohemia, has stretched its rays to the peace-congress in Germany, so that the enemy begins to be courteous, and to speak more humanely." The high-chancellor to his son John, April 25, 1645. Letters from Axel Oxenstierna to John Oxenstierna, in the years 1612—1649, i. 168.

satisfaction from the emperor and the estates, we yet place our chief guarantee in the well-grounded freedom of the estates. If the whole restitution shall be limited by the peace of Prague, or the amnesty of Ratisbon in 1641, we can set no value on all the promised security. Urge this more moderately in proportion as ye see the estates disapprove the resolution of the emperor; yet prick them on, and if they show themselves slack, terrify them with the consequences. Secure the assistance of France; tell the French, that if they will not assist in this, we must be compelled to press the more sharply in respect to our own satisfaction; urge that matters in Germany be restored to their state before the war. If that pass not, ye may make new reference to us⁷, knowing that we will not recede from this plan, but by means of it, as a matter wholly favourable, enforce our own satisfaction. Keep, firstly, to the universals of our right, for which we were compelled, after the peace of Prague, to continue the war; if it come to particulars, touching indemnity, let them make the first offer. If they repeat the usual proffer of reimbursement of the expenses of the war in money, tell them that such would be impracticable, both for the quantity and the terms of payment, as well as the security. We must have a real compensation, so large that it may be adequate in itself, and so situated that it may be profitable to Sweden. Mention Pomerania, the see of Camin, Wismar, Bremen, several sees in the circles of Lower Saxony and Westphalia, as also Silesia (this was about the extent of the Swedish possessions). If ye come in earnest to negotiation, ye may, by degrees, let drop first the see of Magdeburg, then Halberstadt, then Minden and Osnaburg, holding fast by Pomerania, Camin, Wismar, Bremen, and Verden, all as fiefs of the German empire. Lastly, ye may consent that the elector of Brandenburg be compensated in Silesia for his losses in Pomerania; as also that the emperor may be obliged to satisfy duke Frederic, son of the king of Denmark, for Bremen and Verden. In reference to the admission, or exclusion, or intervention of the estates in the treaty between us and the Imperialists, ye must urge that no estates at amity with us be excluded. But conduct your correspondence directly with the Imperialists, not through the estates, or, if these aim at

⁷ July 8th, 1646, the ministry write to the commissaries: "Ye may accommodate yourselves to the estates in the terms of extension of the amnesty, and the possession of ecclesiastical goods." Reg. A letter of May 30th, in the same year, says: "If the elector palatine cannot be restored, which will hardly come to pass, seek at least to throw the blame of it on the Imperialists." Reg.

⁸ To the commissaries in Osnaburg, Nov. 10th, 1645. Reg. We have, as usual, given the main substance.

⁹ "I perceive from your note to me, as also from a letter of Salvius to her majesty, that ye partly advise, with similar arguments, for the acceptance of Fore Pomerania, with the consent of the elector of Brandenburg, and a sum of money for Stettin. And you add, that there is danger as to the satisfaction of the crown of Sweden, and that an unfortunate issue otherwise impends for the treaty; besides what you further discourse and suggest in this matter; as I also learn what one and the other, especially your colleague (Salvius), judges of me and my counsels. Dear son, it may well be that you, on the spot, may see and better observe some difficulties; but in so far as I understand and can judge of the case, I see no satisfaction for the crown of Sweden worthy consideration, if we give up Pomerania,

the latter, it may be done *in corpore*; but let no single state act as your mediator. We remark, that the duke of Longueville has spoken of a truce with Bavaria, and we have now for some time perceived that France has long aimed at opening negotiations with Bavaria. There are full grounds for saying, that much advantage would result from the emperor losing such a confederate, if only things went toward in earnest. But Bavaria is in too close league with Austria, and besides wishes but to gain time. Dissuade therefore this neutrality with all reasons, which can be heard without too great displeasure. If France reproach to you our own truce with the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, rejoice that both these princes were formerly our confederates in this war, but fell off from our alliance, whence it is not unfair to seek to draw them back. If the neutrality of Bavaria cannot be averted, ye may let that run on which is not to be changed; but yet suggest that mistrust of all kiuds may thereby arise. In respect to the satisfaction, it is our last word, that for the security of Sweden nothing is to be compared with Pomerania⁸."

The chancellor was resolved to abandon any part of Pomerania only under extreme necessity, and expresses his dissatisfaction with the envoys for having acceded to a proposition supported by France, according to which Sweden was to receive money for Stettin, if it would cede Fore Pomerania⁹. On the 19th September, 1646, the envoys received instructions, that they should by degrees yield in the question of Hinder Pomerania, yet see that Sweden retained the command of the mouths of the Oder; and on the 19th December of the same year, the last resolution of the government, to demand Fore Pomerania, Rugen, Wollin, Stettin, Damm, Gollnau, Tiefenau, and their dependencies, with the addition, "to cede not one hamlet more, nor one foot's breadth of land¹." Thus far extended the chancellor's influence on the work of the peace. The following year his disfavour with the queen was divulged, of which more in the sequel.

The three last years of the war filled up the cup of misery. It was not only the territorial indemnities of Sweden which were desolate, as the ministry wrote on the 23d May, 1646². The correspondence

which is so noble a part of the sea-coast. All Pomerania, without the elector's consent, would be more acceptable to me than Fore Pomerania with his consent, even if Stettin were added. Formerly, also, the Imperialists, especially Trautmannsdorf, offered all Pomerania, and the French plenipotentiaries were inclined to this; now all this is displeasing, or at least is so represented. It is to be considered how little France ceded to the Kaiser and the Roman empire, for the cession of so precious a province as Alsatia, with Brisach and Philippsburg." To John Oxenstierna, Jan. 2, 1646. The Swedish commissioners write, that Trautmannsdorf promises the emperor's assent to all Pomerania, with princely privileges; and Bremen and Verden with episcopal privileges, with Wismar in permanency; but advises, that on account of Brandenburg and Mecklenburg, they should be content with Fore Pomerania only, and the *condominium* of Wismar, Bremen, and Verden. But Brandenburg would not abandon Fore Pomerania, except the district of Barth; and Mecklenburg would not give up Wismar.

¹ Reg.

² "Since the territories which we obtain for the satisfaction of the crown are desolate, and we must hence look to the sea-ports for our advantage, ye may therefore urge that the tolls should be granted to us at the cession." Reg.

of the new field-marshal Wrangel with the German princes, towns, and communities, is loaded with the calamities and oppression of Germany³. North Germany, after the neutrality of Saxony and Brandenburg, lay defenceless. The war again rolled more and more toward the south. But the land was every where a prey to the soldiery, whether styling themselves friends or foes, and the people in despair fled in crowds to the camp of their oppressors. General Gronseld writes, March 31, 1648, to Maximilian, elector of Bavaria, who had issued rigorous orders against plundering and robbing, that in the two armies (Imperialist and Bavarian) there were certainly more than 180,000 men, women, and children, who all must live as well as the soldiers; provisions were distributed for 40,000 every twenty-four hours; how the remaining 140,000 persons were to live, if they might not pick up a bit of bread for themselves, passed his comprehension; there was not a single place where the soldiers, if they had money, could buy any thing; he said that not as approving exorbitancies, but only to apprise his highness that all was not done out of insolence, but much out of mere hunger⁴.

At the commencement of the year 1646 the Swedish army consisted of 15,000 horse and 8000 foot, mostly old soldiers, besides the garrisons in Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Bohemia, Westphalia, Upper and Lower Saxony, and the various bodies which Königsmark commanded. The artillery consisted, when Wrangel assumed the command, of seventy pieces of cannon⁵. One of his first cares was to

secure the pass over the Bohemian mountains to Saxony⁶, whither he also retrograded in February, because the Imperialists, after their junction with the Bavarians, outmatched him. The plan for the campaign of 1646 was sketched by Torstenson. It was directed to maintain the army, and evade a general action, until a union had been effected with the French; afterwards they were to aim at driving, with conjoined forces, the enemy across the Danube⁷. The junction with the French, who had promised to be in Mentz by May, was judged necessary, to induce them to uninterrupted co-operation; "it was else their fashion to lie still in winter, and thereby give the Imperialists and Bavarians opportunity to fall conjointly upon the Swedes, so that these usually lost in winter what they had gained in summer⁸." While Wrangel and Turenne advanced against Upper Germany and Bavaria, general Wittenberg⁹, reinforced by 3000 foot and 900 horse, fresh troops from Sweden, was to push forward to Silesia, win a footing in Upper Silesia by the capture of Troppau, and thence make a diversion to Austria, either through Bohemia or Moravia¹.

Wrangel's commission as field-marshal, with a stipend of 17,000 rix-dollars yearly, had been made out on the 28th of April, 1646. Of this Christina had informed him by a special letter of grace; and he received a similar communication from Lewis XIV., accompanied by the present of a sword for himself, and the portraits of the king and queen-regent for his wife². On the other

which place had been completely laid waste by the passage of troops. Wrangel replied that no exception could be made. Since the burden of inquartering would then fall the heavier on others. Correspondence in the Library of Sko-Cloister.

⁴ Westenrieder, History of the Thirty Years' War, iii. 217, note.

⁵ Puffendorf, xviii. § 1.

⁶ The truce with Saxony was prolonged; but perpetual disputes in respect to quarters for the Swedes, occasioned great disorders and complaints. Torstenson himself writes to Wrangel, March 5, 1646: "To obtain meanwhile the necessary sustenance for the army, the general will not omit to devise and embrace all practicable methods, let them memorialize as they may." Correspondence.

⁷ Torstenson to Wrangel, Leipsic, Feb. 27, 1646. Correspondence.

⁸ Torstenson's words in his letter to the landgraveine Amelia Elizabeth of Hesse-Cassel. Leipsic, April 12, 1646. He listens to her counsel, even in military affairs, with great respect. It is a pleasure to read the letters of this princess, masculine even in her handwriting, a number of which, with her signature, both to Torstenson and Wrangel, are preserved in the latter's correspondence.

⁹ Now appointed master-general of the ordnance, after Wrangel.

¹ Field-marshal Torstenson's memorial to assistant-councillor Lyllestroem, on what he was to execute by the master-general of the ordnance, Arwid Wittenberg, was first presented after Torstenson's arrival in Pomerania. Bahrdt, July 4, 1646. Torstenson returned to Sweden in the autumn of this year. He was elevated by one creation, Feb. 4, 1647, to the ranks of baron and count, with the hereditary county of Lyhundra, a district of Upland, with twelve parishes, and the mine of Ortala, and on the 31st May, 1648, appointed governor-general of Westgothland, Dalsland, Vermeland, and Halland.

² Original, dated Fontainebleau, Aug. 31, 1646, in C. G. Wrangel's correspondence in Sko-Cloister. On the joy of the enemy at Torstenson's departure, see Puffendorf, xviii. § 15.

³ We might cite many details, as for example of the atrocities practised in Saxony, notwithstanding the truce, if space permitted. The Swedes, however, were not the worst; the Germans in the Swedish service appear to have surpassed them in cruelty towards their own countrymen. The torture called the "Swedish drink," was so termed, because it had been first employed by the soldiers of Bernard of Weimar: "Bernard's soldiers poured cold water down the throat, until, when the belly of the person was pressed by the foot, it came out again, and styled this the Swedish drink." Raumer, History of Europe from the end of the fifteenth century (from the statement of Forstner, a contemporary), iii. 602. Bernard of Weimar, who, it is proved, gave a loose, sometimes intentionally, to the excesses of his soldiers (comp. Röse, ii. 10), yet daily read his chapter of the Bible. Such was often the temper of religion. From the correspondence of Wrangel, which abounds in German supplicatory memorials, we will quote one from the council of Alstett, in Saxony, because it contains an anecdote of Gustavus Adolphus. The letter is dated March 2, 1646, and mentions the following circumstance. In the year 1631, after the victory at Leipsic, the king took his march to Erfurth by this place, and breakfasted there. Some of the army had hastened into the town, and began to plunder there. On hearing of this the king commanded Gustavus Horn to appoint an officer to cause the wrong-doers to be seized and shot. Horn charged with this duty a rittmaster, named Verhauber, who misunderstood his orders, and instead had eighteen persons of the council and burghership taken and shot. When the king came to hear this he bared his head, clasped his hands, and called to God in heaven that he was innocent of this blood. The rittmaster saved himself from his anger by flight. The king issued a special safe-guard for this town (a copy, dated Ilmenau, Sept. 28, 1631, is added), which was afterwards renewed by Axel Oxenstierna and succeeding generals; wherefore they now solicited the same from Wrangel. The town, however, obtained no alleviation; for on March 6, 1646, duke William of Weimar entreats, in a letter to Wrangel, for Alstett,

hand, the enemy rejoiced, supposing that Torsten-son's cannon were now silenced, and valued his removal from the army as equal to a loss of ten thousand men for the Swedes. The plan above-mentioned was imperfectly executed. Wrangel began by drawing out of Thuringia to the Weser, in order conjointly with the Hessians to sweep the country between the Weser and the Elbe from the enemy, until the French came up. He took Höxter and Paderborn, and resolved to wait for Turenne in Hesse. But the latter, although he had promised the utmost possible haste, did not cross the Rhine until the beginning of July³, and then delayed so long (being probably bound by secret orders, though the French minister at Munster gave assurances to the contrary⁴), that the junction with Wrangel, who had meanwhile been reduced to great danger through the invasion of Hesse by the Imperialists and Bavarians, could not be effected until the beginning of August, in Giessen. The combined armies, after they had offered battle at Nidda to the enemy (who instead drew back to Lahn), placed Hanau in safety, took Aschaffenburg; and then marched—Wrangel along the Jaxt, Turenne along the Neckar—in haste to the Danube, which the former passed at Donauwerth, the latter at Lauingen⁵. They formed a junction on the Lech and besieged Augsburg⁶ for nineteen days in vain, until the Imperialists and Bavarians, who had hastened through Franconia to the defence of Bavaria, relieved the town⁷. Notwithstanding this, the allies made an irruption into Bavaria, and Wrangel wished to attempt to advance on Munich. Turenne opposed this course,

and alleged, as usual, the need of winter-quarters for the French troops. These the latter occupied in Swabia, and the Swedes on the lake of Constance. The fluctuations of the war had again brought them to the extreme frontier of Germany. Meanwhile Wittenberg, who first received reinforcements from Sweden in August, had penetrated from Silesia into Bohemia, where Montecuculi, who was already on his way to the defence of Bavaria, received orders to stay. Wittenberg obtained an important advantage over his cavalry at Horschitz on the 21st of September, and wrote on the 24th to Wrangel, that "he hoped the reinforcement from hence of the enemy's main army would not very greatly inconvenience the field-marshal." He strengthened the Swedish garrisons in Moravia, but was obliged, on account of the advanced season of the year, to retire to Silesia.

The winter months passed away in negotiations respecting the neutrality requested by Bavaria, which was granted at Ulm, on the 4th of March, 1647, chiefly through French mediation⁸; upon which Turenne recrossed the Rhine, and Wrangel returned to Franconia. The so-called Weimar troops, the remnant of duke Bernard's army, had hitherto been in French service, long with secret discontent. They hated the French, and had never forgotten their old connexions with the Swedes. Now, when Turenne wished to lead them back over the Rhine, they revolted, deposed their officers, broke up to Franconia, beat the troops who were despatched in their pursuit, and proceeded to unite with the Swedes. Turenne demanded them back⁹. But Wrangel, who had

³ Je vous supplie d'estre assuré que je ferai toutes les choses nécessaires pour la jonction, pourveu que je le puisse faire avec quelque sûreté. Turenne to Wrangel; Au camp près de Bacharach, le 9 Juin, 1646. The words are underlined by Turenne himself. Je passerai sans faute le Rhén le lundi le 2 Juillet. To the same: Au camp d'Oberwesel, le 18 Juin, 1646. C. G. Wrangel's correspondence.

⁴ "Concerning Turenne's delay, the duke of Longueville swears on his conscience and honour, that France conceals under it no secret design, but that Turenne has not fully executed his orders as he ought to have done. The main cause of the delay, they surmise, is the slowness of the Hollanders to come into the field, and their zeal to hasten the treaty of peace here. Turenne had on this account received orders, to take the opinion of the Swedish generality, whether the conjunction might not bear some delay." John Oxenstierna to Wrangel, Osnaburg, July 11, 1646. Correspondence.

⁵ Je passe aujourd'hui le Danube et marcherai entre Augsburg et Rhain. J'espère avoir bientôt l'honneur de voir Vostre Excellence. Turenne to Wrangel: Au camp de Lauingen, $\frac{1}{2}$ Sep., 1646. Correspondence. On the 4th September, Wrangel took the town of Rhain, on the Lech.

⁶ This town may serve as an example, how the edict of restitution by the emperor Ferdinand II. was enforced. The emperor had ordered that in Augsburg all should be brought into accordance with the religious peace, and the mutation was effected by the armed hand, on the 8th August, 1629. Hereby the evangelical burghesses lost their religious liberties, seven churches in and two out of the town, their gymnasium, which they vacated to the Jesuits, their schools, hospital, and orphan-house. The children were compelled to become catholics, and violently carried into the churches; all praying and singing in the houses of the protestants was forbidden; they were excluded from the council, and not allowed to marry without having heard mass. No artisan could become a master-craftsman, and attendance on the catholic church was commanded for all, on pain of exile; all

this under pretence that the bishop of Eichstedt should be installed in those rights which he had possessed over Augsburg in the year 1548, without respect to the religious peace of 1555. From this oppression Gustavus Adolphus freed the protestants of Augsburg. It recommenced when the Imperialists took Augsburg, after a two years' siege, March 13, 1635. Short Relation concerning the troublous state of the Evangelical Burghesses in the town of the Holy Roman Empire, called Augsburg, from the year 1628 to 1643. In the documents belonging to C. G. Wrangel's correspondence.

⁷ "I cannot say nay to it, the enemy have gained the advantage against this quarter. But we expect that the Imperialist and combined armada of the empire will very soon come to blows with them, and that the well-affected princes and estates of the empire may be defended from the enemy's power." The elector Maximilian of Bavaria to the counts Martin Francis and Joachim Ernest of Ottingen-Wallerstein, Munich, Sep. 1, 1645. Original in C. G. Wrangel's correspondence. These counts surrendered their castle of Wallerstein, "although when it is well garrisoned, it may be called in respect of its situation impregnable," to Königs-mark, and treated him well, according to his letter of the 29th August to Wrangel.

⁸ March 26, 1647, the ministry write to Wrangel: "We have understood the negotiations for the truce; there is little earnestness in them. Howbeit, as the Bavarian prince is worn out with years, and has children in their non-age, knows the house of Austria, and perhaps fears the guardianship of the emperor,—but has great regard for France, and perhaps seeks our affection in the conclusion of peace, that we should not insist on the restitution of the palatinate,—it cannot therefore harm, that ye should conclude a cessation of arms upon our ratification; but manage that he should disarm. If Bavaria's brother, the elector of Cologne, should be comprehended in the truce with Wurtzburg and Bamberg, it were the better." Reg. The elector of Cologne actually acceded.

⁹ Je supplie très-humblement Vostre Excellence de vouloir

great scruples in receiving them, was obliged, on their threatening in the contrary case to desert to the enemy, to permit them to join in Westphalia the force of Königsmark¹,—who was the boldest partisan on the Swedish side in this war, as John of Werth was on that of the enemy.

On the 7th of April, 1647, the ministry made out instructions for field-marshal Wrangel, affording a retrospect of the whole war, in which we recognize the hand of the high-chancellor. According to these, Gustavus Adolphus set foot on German soil to oppose the absolute power of the house of Austria over Germany, and all the dangers thence arising, his main design being against the emperor and his hereditary dominions. But after the battle stricken at Leipsic, the enemy having retired towards inner Germany with his whole force, the king had been obliged to pursue him, and make himself master of the Mayne and Rhine, whence no small jealousy sprung up among other potentates. After the king's death it was continually intended to remove the war into the enemy's country, and efforts were made to that end, as well in Silesia as on the Danube, until the unfortunate battle of Nördlingen threw all into confusion; afterwards, though there had been enough to do to redress matters, attempts had been made from time to time to carry into effect the same plan on the imperial hereditary territories; which had been so far fortunately executed by field-marshal Torstenson, that whereas the enemy had before only played with the treaty of peace, he was now obliged by necessity to turn his thoughts to it in earnest. So much in general, that the field-marshal might know that the plan of her majesty was still ever directed against the true chief enemy, the emperor, and his principal auxiliary the Bavarian elector; and that the war must be kept as far as possible from the German states, as well to avert that suspicion among powerful confederates, which the late king had drawn upon himself by keeping his aim fast on the Rhine. Therewith the chief design must be directed on the circle of Lower Saxony and the sea-coast. If an irruption were made into Bohemia, Moravia and Austria would be in front, Silesia in flank, and Meissen in the rear. We are indeed at a considerable distance from the sea-coast,—continues the document from which we quote,—but we have also strong garrisons, namely, in Silesia

and on the Oder, Glogau and Elbs; in Moravia, Olmutz, Iglau, and Neustadt; in Meissen, Leipsic; in Thuringia, Erfurt, besides the strong places on the Weser, and those we have garrisoned in the Mark of Brandenburg and on the Elbe, so that it is hardly to be supposed that the enemy will be able to break in between and press on to the coast with any considerable force. The field-marshal must above all take precautions, that no considerable hostile corps should throw itself between the army and the sea-coast, unless a flying corps were opposed to it. Therefore especial care should be had as to the two smaller armies raised by Torstenson, the one under Wittenberg in Silesia, the other under Königsmark in Westphalia².—So great dissatisfaction with the French was felt, that the ministry advised against a conjunction with them³. This dissatisfaction increased when, after Wrangel had actually made an irruption into Bohemia and taken Eger, the sudden renunciation of the truce by the Bavarians, and their junction with the Imperialists, compelled him to retreat, first to Meissen, and then to Westphalia. Here perhaps a defeat would have awaited him, had not the new Imperialist general-in-chief Melander⁴, formerly in the Hessian service, out of personal revenge turned against Hesse. Never since the death of Gustavus Adolphus, says Puffendorf, had the Swedish arms to encounter a greater danger; but sagacious persons predicted, when they saw Melander turn against Hesse, that he would accomplish nothing there; for no army had come to Hesse which had not met its ruin there, from the numerous castles, the narrow roads, the high mountains, and the spirit of the peasantry, who were exceedingly devoted to their princes, and well understood the management of arms⁵. Meanwhile the enemy gathered new courage. At Osnaburg and Munster the negotiations slumbered, and the very last year of the war opened with a more remote hope of peace⁶.

The most remarkable phase of the war in the year 1648 is, that with regard to Bavaria, France refused to stand apart from Sweden; although the elector renounced his truce with the latter country in the hope that the one with France might nevertheless remain in force. Turenne, on the contrary, received orders to support Wrangel with his whole force⁷. After manifold negotiations and difficulties,

then to be feared from Denmark, Poland, perhaps also the United Netherlands and Spain, against us." The ministry to C. G. Wrangel, Sept. 18, 1647. Reg.

⁴ He had now changed his name, and styles himself, in letters to Wrangel, "His imperial Roman majesty's councillor of war, Holzapfel, appointed general-field-marshal in the circle of Westphalia."

⁵ Puffendorf, xix. § 51.

⁶ "With you, I see, the treaty for peace slumbers, and is pursued with hardly any other mind than *pro forma*. Me seems the Imperialists have hitherto striven to observe and learn the extreme conditions of peace, without resolve to conclude it; wishing once more to make trial of fortune." The high-chancellor to his son John; Stockholm, Oct. 10, 1647.

⁷ Letters to Christina, both from Lewis XIV. and his mother, the queen-regent of France, of date Dec. 29, 1647, give assurance of this, as also that they would do the utmost in respect to the subsidies. Of the design of Bavaria to sever France from Sweden, it is said: "We were not capable of falling into this trap. M. de Turenne has sent a trumpet to the duke of Bavaria, on the part of the king, in the most

donner ordre à ses troupes que l'on traicte comme ennemis huit (8) régiments Allemands de Cavallerie, qui s'en vont vers la Franconie sans leurs officiers. Je ne doute point, que Vostre Exc. ne donne très-expressément cest ordre-là. Turenne to Wrangel. Heilbronn, July 30, 1647. Correspondence.

¹ They had dwindled to sixteen hundred and sixty men, out of whom Königsmark formed four regiments. Puffendorf, xix. § 76.

² Instruction, dated April 7, 1647. Reg.

³ "We were in some sort of opinion rather to carry on the war alone for an increased subsidy, even for the advantage of France in Germany; but as France would hardly have the same wish, neither have we communicated this opinion to it. But since this time we have had no assistance from France in Germany, ye may try, at the congress, whether France would not be willing to double the subsidies, or to continue the war with a larger force. For the rest, you may sound whether France would not be inclined to contract for the future also a closer alliance with our crown, especially after peace is made in Germany, where new leagues are

we see the two generals united at the beginning of April in Franconia, while the Imperialists and Bavarians, who had conceived new hopes of driving the Swedes across the Weser, weakened by scarcity and excesses, hastened back over the Danube to the defence of Bavaria. A war of devastation and vengeance, like Baner's against Saxony, a war full of robbery, assassination, burning, and ravage, was commenced against unfortunate Bavaria, otherwise without remarkable occurrences, as also without victories deserving of the name; for the battle of Susmarshausen, fought in the neighbourhood of Augsburg on the 7th of May, which cost general Melander his life, was rather a bloody skirmish, wherein Königsmark surrounded and cut down a portion of the hostile army, than a decisive action. Meanwhile the confederates pressed on to the Inn; while Königsmark, who had taken the Weimar regiments into his force, and separated from Wrangel (the more gladly that they did not agree⁸), went to Bohemia, and on the 31st of July made himself master by surprise of the so-called Little Side (Kleinside) of Prague, where an immense booty was gained. This was the last achievement of the war, since Wrangel and Turenne were at last compelled to recross the Lech; and although Charles Gustavus, now appointed generalissimo, arrived with reinforcements from Sweden, and in conjunction with Königsmark and Wittenberg laid vigorous siege to Prague, yet the town itself, through the heroism of its inhabitants, remained untaken. The campaign of this last year in the end became a serious

gentle terms which he could choose, but in fine signifying to him positively, that our armies and garrisons will act against him, so long as he shall have the Swedes for enemies. Meanwhile, he has put all his troops in action." (Nous n'estions capables de donner dans ce piège, &c.) Extract of a letter from M. le visconte de Cournal to colonel St. André. Mayence, Dec. 25, 1647. C. G. Wrangel's correspondence. The charges by which Turenne put off the junction, related to the Weimar regiments.

⁸ Torstenson writes from Segersice, Jan. 29, 1648, that he had received Wrangel's letter of Nov. 10, 1647, in which the latter stated, that the queen had ordered him to observe a good comportment towards Königsmark, and give no occasion for discord and jealousy. Torstenson, with his usual prudence, mentions that no such misunderstanding between the generals was known to him. Yet this is contradicted by his own confession, that Königsmark had written to him and others, that he wished his discharge. From the transmitted correspondence of Wrangel with Königsmark, Torstenson does not find that the latter had reason to be offended, since all must depend on the head. Most of the other officers were also dissatisfied with Wrangel, "as one who was still very young, arrogant, selfish, and by no means liberal." Puffendorf, xx. § 60. For this reason also, the nomination of Charles Gustavus to be generalissimo was well-liked by the armies. In compensation, Wrangel was now likewise made governor-general of Pomerania (which office Torstenson had hitherto filled), and received Bremer-vörde in donation. The queen wrote to him, August 29, 1648, that the new generalissimo would advise on all subjects with him; and Charles Gustavus, in an autograph letter, entreats his counsels.

⁹ April 29, 1648, the queen writes to the commissioners for the peace at Osnaburg: "Ye must stipulate for us, in taking possession of the fiefs, a more honourable mode than hitherto has been observed with the kings of Denmark and the princes of the Roman empire, so that the fiefs may not be conferred upon us, nor we receive them by our envoys, with flexure of the knee, or the like dubious fashion and ceremonies." Reg.

attempt at a double combined attack of Austria from Bavaria and Bohemia. It likewise brought about the peace. The treaty of Westphalia was signed on the 11th October, 1648, in Osnaburg and Munster at the same time. Sweden received Fore Pomerania, Rugen, a part of Hinder Pomerania to the Oder, with Stettin and Gartz, the island of Wollin, and the three mouths of the Oder; beyond that stream, Damm and Golnau; in Mecklenburg, Wismar with the districts of Poel and New-Cloister, with Bremen and Verden, all as fiefs of the German empire⁹.

The armies had had their own plenipotentiaries at the pacificatory congress. Their satisfaction was the last point settled, and ultimately the demands were lowered from much higher sums to 5,000,000 rix-dollars¹⁰, of which eighteen tons gold (1,800,000 rix-dollars) were to be immediately paid, while for twelve tons gold (1,200,000 rix-dollars) assignments were given, and for the remaining 2,000,000 promissory notes¹. Out of the first payment every horseman received 40 rix-dollars, every foot-soldier 12, the native Swedish troops three months' pay, and the officers larger and smaller sums², with the promise that as much would be added one or two years after their discharge, as soon as the 2,000,000 had been received. This appears never to have taken place, for these 2,000,000 were partly applied in clearing the so-called German Debt Register³, partly remitted by free consent⁴; and in general the commissaries were instructed not to drive matters in this respect to extremities, especially as the in-

¹⁰ "We were fully minded to hold out here somewhat longer in the matter of her majesty's soldiers; but since the states, now that they are ready with France, daily solicit us to subscribe the instruments of the peace, we cannot longer tarry in it without the greatest blame from the queen's majesty." John Oxenstierna to C. G. Wrangel, Osnaburg, Oct. 13, 1648. The opinions of both Wrangel and Torstenson were taken in the matter. (If the rix-dollar were 4s. 6d., the sum of 5,000,000 would be equivalent to £1,250,000. T.)

¹ The queen to Charles Gustavus, Nov. 22, 1648: "The more profit your lovingness can draw out of this money for us and the realm, without discredit among the soldiers, the better." Reg.

² The project of the college of war how the army shall be paid, sent to Charles Gustavus April 16, 1649, purports, besides what we have quoted respecting the privates, that of the first instalment Charles Gustavus should receive 60,000 rix-dollars, Gustave Horn 30,000, Torstenson 30,000, C. G. Wrangel 30,000, Baner's children 12,000, Liljehack's widow 6000, Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie 22,500, Axel Lilje 15,000, Arvid Wittenberg 15,000, Königsmark 12,000, Gustave Otto Stenbock 9000, each of the lieutenant-generals 7500, of the major-generals 6000, of the adjutant-generals 3000, &c. A pension-list of June 28, 1648, assigned on the revenues of the Swedish possessions in Germany, and if these did not suffice, on the French subsidies, bears in addition, for Charles Gustavus, 40,000 rix-dollars, for C. G. Wrangel 15,000, for Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie 10,000, for twenty-three colonels 1000 each, &c. Reg.

³ Claims on account of the army since the death of Gustavus Adolphus, amounting to 590,084 rix-dollars. The factor Drost, of Lubeck, nevertheless, received his claim of 20,000 rix-dollars from the money of the first instalment. Reg. April 16, 1649.

⁴ Thus it was written to Charles Gustavus Jan. 3, 1649, that the Landgravine of Hesse should be freed from her contingent. Reg. The same took place with the Palatinate and Worms. The army was dismissed at three terms, which was not accomplished without mutiny.

ternal commotions of France might perhaps induce the emperor to a new war⁵; "but rather," the queen writes to Charles Gustavus, "we beg by all that is holy, that your lovingness will not be restrained by causes of hindrance interposed, but in God's name make an end without delay of this long protracted treaty⁶." The completion of the peace was settled by the Recess of Execution in Nuremberg, 1650. The pacification of Westphalia determined for a long time the political arrangement of Europe. We know that violence provokes violence; but if, fixing our eyes on the many years' devastations of this war, we inquire whether it were mainly urged on account of religion, we must answer with Axel Oxenstierna, no⁷! and call to mind an oriental proverb: "What princes take, they harry; what God takes, he heals⁸."

Peace, however wishfully expected, has often, no less than war, its initial moments of embarrassment. It is like a sudden change in the way of life. Forces, whose direction has long been external, are thrown back within the body. If to this we add, that men are in general tolerant of those necessities which are keenly enough felt in war, but know no bounds to their wishes when these have scope to expatiate, it will appear that peace, not less than war, must try the strength of a government. In Sweden this great conflict, wherein the country had borne the most honourable share, left behind it such profound internal derangements, that Christina ended by committing their adjustment to the hand of another. The causes of this resolve lay as well in her own personal position, as in the general situation of her kingdom.

The derangements mentioned above, were partly the necessary results of a war, of which it has been rightly said, "that it was disproportioned to the forces of the country." A supportable distribution of public burdens is in such a case an insoluble problem; but whether supportable or

not, justice demands that it should be equal; and even in the most difficult circumstances, it is the strictest justice alone which saves. We may escape this necessity by a false forbearance; but this brings its own penalty. The expedient which the Administration of Guardians adopted for lightening these burdens by an alienation of the crown estates, as the foreign subsidies were inadequate, and they did not dare to augment the imposts, contained alike lenity and injustice; less in itself—for the chancellor's maxim, that estates are more profitable in the hands of private persons than in those of the crown, has much in its favour—than through the conditions attached to the alienation, and by the extension given to the denomination "crown-estates." In the former respect our attention is fixed by the circumstance, that these estates could only be alienated to the nobility⁹; in the latter it should be remarked that the alienated properties comprised not only domains of the crown, but also the crown-rents of the tax-paying peasants, who in this manner were brought under the superiority of the nobles, and thus transformed from immediate into mediate subjects. It is indeed specified, that the rents alone of the assessable estates should be alienated; but the relation in which the nobleman was thus placed, left him but too much opportunity to encroach upon and annul the ancient right of the Swedish odal yeoman as possessor of the soil. Neither soft nor hard words were spared to bring the latter entirely under the sway of the gentry, as is shown by the repeated complaints of the yeomen at the diets. Nor were there wanting those who maintained, that all liability to land-tax had its origin in the crown's primary right of property in the soil, wherefore the transfer of the rents to the nobility must bring with it a silent transfer of the soil itself. This assertion was even so loudly maintained that it called forth a special refutation¹.

partners in religion might sit in security, as well in their ecclesiastical as in their political state." Axel Oxenstierna in the council, 1637. Palmisk. MS.

8 "Wer ist der wahre König? Gott allein.

Wo Könige ein Land einnehmen,

Verwüsten sie's, so weit sie kamen.

Gott heilt ein Herz, so weit er es nimmt ein."

"Who is the true King? God alone.

The Kings of Earth, when they a land invade,

Far and wide desolation spread.

God heals a heart that he takes for his own."

Friedrich Rückert, Traditional sayings of the East. (Sprüche, &c.)

9 So strictly was this enforced, that although great part of the estates was alienated for the payment of old claims, the ministry, as appears by their letter of July 14, 1642, to the board of treasury, gave orders that no un noble person should in this manner receive satisfaction of his claim, unless it had previously been transferred to some one of the nobles.

1 "Irrefragable Proofs against the right of the nobility over taxed estates," written by Ehrensten, afterwards councillor of chancery, in 1647, although not mentioned in his autobiography. The treatise was printed at Stockholm, in 1769. He lost much subsequently, by the reduction of king Charles XI., which caused the author of the Observations, included in the 9th volume of the Memoirs for the History of Scandinavia, to say: "The official Ehrensten had written in youth, as an un noble person, most severely against the land-claims of the nobles; but when the king's bounties to himself were in question, the shell gave another sound." p. 147.

5 To the commissaries in Osnaburg, Feb. 10, 1649. Reg. The queen enjoins Charles Gustavus, on the 10th of March of the same year, to try to hinder Turenne, who was on the side of the parliament, and wished to lead his army against Paris. Lieutenant-general Erlach writes on this subject to Wrangel, May 2, 1649: "As the design of M. de Turenne had neither justice nor grounds, I opposed it with so much success, that the marshal has no more than a handful of people about him." After the court in 1650 had caused Condé to be arrested, Turenne solicited Wrangel's help to liberate the prince. "I doubt not," he writes, "that your excellency has learned the arrest of the prince. I hope your excellency will be touched by his misfortune, and that you will do me the favour of sending to me the officers who would wish to serve a cause so just." Wrangel received for his refusal a letter of thanks from Lewis XIV. from Dijon, March 27, 1650: "Having been apprized how you have rebutted the intrigues of Marshal de Turenne, who desired to be assisted with troops against my service, I write you this letter by advice of the queen-regent, madam my mother, to express to you what satisfaction I have felt at the effects of your good disposition." (Ayant seu comme vous avez rebutté, &c.) The original is in the correspondence of C. G. Wrangel, in Sko-Cloister.

6 To Charles Gustavus, Jan. 19 and 26, 1650. Reg. On the 7th May of the preceding year, she had written to him, that she would gladly see him erect a statue on the spot where her father had fallen.

7 "The principal aim of the German war was by no means the defence of religion, whose weapons are spiritual, as prayers and tears; but that the realm of Sweden and our

It touched the existence of the order of yeomen as a free estate in Sweden.

That the high-chancellor was an enemy of this freedom, we cannot in general affirm. Several of his expressions in the council, where he was by no means the strongest aristocrat, attest the contrary. "The Swedish yeomen are a free class, and have a voice," is one of his sayings²; but then he adds, "it is but a contract, which subsists between them and their masters³;" this infers that the nobleman may be master, notwithstanding the personal liberty of the peasant; and if we review the consequences of the chancellor's system in internal administration, we discover no obstacle to the conclusion that the nobleman ought to be master. The opinion of this great statesman appears in fact to have been little different from that of the high-steward, count Peter Brahe, who declared on the same occasion: "we are all subjects of the realm, the peasants mediately, we immediately," a distinction so little to the taste of king Charles X., that finding it stated with some verbal alteration in Gyldenstolpe's Politics, he threw the book, which was dedicated to himself, out of the window⁴. Great progress was made to the end of vesting the possession of the soil of Sweden in the nobility, and the chancellor seems to have formed the conception of making the order of yeomen, with the privilege of representation, for the most part a class of free farmers. Hence also his preference for indirect taxes, as customs and

excise, and his urgency that the nobility should not shake these off, but rather support the crown by separate grants, which reminds us of his expression, "that all Sweden's misfortunes sprung from this root, that the sovereigns had wished to receive in the measure of the public necessities, and the nobles to contribute nothing⁵." This was the only way of reconciling taxation with the immunity which the nobles claimed for their lands.

Christina confirmed without reservation all alienations of crown and taxed estates made during her minority, which were now assigned to the possessors as perpetual freeholds⁶. The same expedient of which the guardians availed themselves with some reserve, was employed by the young, vivacious, and open-handed queen without bound or stint; and the registers of her reign are filled with deeds of sale, infications, letters of nobility, tokens of grace, and gifts of every sort. She had brilliant merits to reward, sometimes ancient wrongs to redress⁷, and the care which she devoted to old or wounded soldiers⁸, deserves all praise.

But favour was the source of benefactions exceeding all others in amount. We may well be amazed at the profusion heaped by the queen upon count Magnus de la Gardie, the handsomest and most brilliant of the young nobles of her court, who is said within a few years to have amassed an income of 80,000 rix-dollars yearly in landed estates alone⁹. We have mentioned the man whose

² In the council, 1650. Palmsk. MSS.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Memoirs for the History of Scandinavia, x. 115.

⁵ In the council, 1642. Palmsk. MSS.

⁶ As an example, may be quoted the royal confirmation, issued June 9, 1645, of the purchase of estates from the crown made by one of the guardians, the high-treasurer Gabriel Bennetson Oxenstierna, cousin of the chancellor. It is therein stated, that at the sale, made in the time of Gustavus Adolphus, the estates were sold for 3 per cent. (at 100 rix-dollars for 3 rix-dollars' rent), the rix-dollar being valued at 6½ marks, and only the fixed yearly rents computed; and that afterwards, it was resolved to compute also casual yearly rents, and to sell the estates for 4½ per cent., valuing the rix-dollar at 6 marks. Under these conditions, the high-treasurer had bought, in the years 1633, 39, 40, 42, ninety-eight and a half hydes, specified in different provinces, for 28,450 rix-dollars in all. And when we consider the motives for this sale,—it is said—in the impending exigency and general danger of the realm, not to burden the estates with higher imposts, it being also not convenient for us to repay the money, and the good tendency of lands promoting cultivation; therefore, though we might object something against the calculation of the rents for the Westgothic estates, we confirm him in possession of these estates, with immunity from taxation, as for others of his hereditary lands. Among those ceded in this manner are both crown, taxed, and church estates, with two of the Gustavian heritage.

⁷ Thus the children of the high-chancellor Eric Sparre received compensation for the half of the Berguara estates, which the high-admiral Gyllenhielm now possessed. April 16, 1645. Reg.

⁸ Since our father, of happy memory, erected the soldiers' house at Vadstena, from commiseration for all wounded and frail warriors, and endowed it with rents of 2000 dollars, which up to this day it has been found impossible in effect to perform; therefore we give to the soldiers' house of Vadstena, as many of our own and the crown-granges, as will reach to this sum." Oct. 12, 1646. Reg. There are besides a multitude of individual examples.

⁹ This statement is taken from a ministerial memoir, written in Italian, of the year 1654, probably by count Monte-

cueuli, copied in Venice, and communicated by Arckenholtz. Mem. de Christine, ii. Appendix, n. xlvii. We subjoin a summary of the promotions and donations granted to count Magnus by the queen, chiefly from the state registries. He began his public career in 1644, at the age of two-and-twenty, when he was appointed colonel of the guard, and received besides a pension of 1500 rix-dollars yearly. The following year he was sent to France, at the head of a splendid embassy; obtained on Feb. 9, 1646, the investiture of Magnus-hof on the Eesel; in the same year was made colonel of the life regiment, and in 1647, councillor of war and state at once; April 17, 1648, general over all the Swedish and German soldiery in Germany, as lieutenant-general of duke Charles Gustavus, with a stipend of 10,000 rix-dollars; April 20, of the same year, he received the donation of twenty-nine hydes in Upland; June 28, a pension of 15,000 rix-dollars, from the French subsidies and the German revenue; April 16, 1649, 22,500 rix-dollars, from the fund for the satisfaction of the Swedish army; May 11, he was made governor-general of Lifland; Jan. 15, 1650, he received an assignment of 7000 rix-dollars, from the produce of the customs, in compensation for some revenues in Bremen; Aug. 14, 1650, an augmentation of his arms as count, and the county of Arensburg on the Eesel; Aug. 23, of the same year, a free gift of all the artillery and munitions in the fortress of Benfeld; Dec. 24, the district of Wollin in Pomerania, in perpetual possession; April 16, 1651, an augmentation of the county of his father, Jacob de la Gardie; in the same year, he was made high-marshal; Jan. 31, 1652, president of the chamber of accounts; March 27, lawman of Westgothland and Dalsland; May 30, he obtained the manor of Ræfsnes, in Sutherland, with several in East Bothnia; and on October 19, estates in Nerike; Dec. 30, he was made high-treasurer; March 2, 1653, he received the church tithes of the parish of Ilmola, and 30,000 rix-dollars, for Jacobsdale, now Ulricsdale; March 23, about sixty granges in Medelpad and West Bothnia, the salmon-fishery of Umea, and the salmon-tax on twenty granges; Sept. 30, a donation of the house in Stockholm, which the government had purchased from his father for 70,000 rix-dollars, in consideration of the surrender by count Magnus of a grant of estates in Halland.

influence soon eclipsed that of the chancellor. One of the first misunderstandings between the old minister and the young queen, is said to have arisen on occasion of her design to call count Magnus into the council, shortly after the beginning of his term of favour¹. It appears to have been in order to overcome his resistance, that she first nominated him in 1646 to the brilliant embassy to France², which cost 100,000 rix-dollars of the subsidies³. De la Gardie, himself through his grandfather of French extraction⁴, communicated his own inclination for the interest of France to the queen, and thereby at last occasioned the open disgrace of the chancellor. He was accused both of delaying the peace, and of cherishing dispositions hostile to the policy of France⁵. On the 10th April, 1647, the queen writes to her ministers at the pacificatory congress: "Sirs! these few words I add to my public letter only that I may disclose to you under my own hand, how I fear, lest this so much desired treaty, which has hitherto yielded such good hope of a happy issue, may be stopped through some causes not completely clear to me. Now, in order that you may be fully assured of my will, ye may be convinced that I, before all things, aim at a secure and honourable peace. And because the satisfaction of the crown is already fully adjusted, and nothing more remains than the contentment of the soldiery and the grievances of the state, it is my will that ye keep matters going with good management, until Erskeime⁶ can come to you and make known his commission; and then that ye bring the work to its desired end, settling the condition of the states, the satisfaction of the crown, and the contentment of the soldiers, as well as may be done without rupture of the peace, and dally no longer with it, as hath heretofore been done. If it fall out otherwise, ye may look how ye will have

¹ Compare the above-mentioned ministerial report, which, however, is erroneous in several points as regards the order of events.

² "Here we are all busy with the legation of Count Magnus. Duke Adolphus goes with him. William Taube is court-marshal. Two of her majesty's chamberlains, and sixteen noblemen selected by the queen herself, accompany him, with thirty noblemen as volunteers, eight guards in the livery of her majesty, four of her pages, six lackeys in the queen's liveries of gold and black, four of the queen's trumpeters. Three ships of war convey the embassy from Stockholm." Lawrence von der Linde to Wrangel. Stockholm, June 13, 1646. C. G. Wrangel's Correspondence at Sko-Cloister.

³ "Touching the 100,000 rix-dollars which count Magnus has borrowed in Paris, it has not been without my will and express command; I therefore request that you will not permit his foes (as far as rests with you) to slander him with impunity, since he is entirely innocent." Christina to Salvius in Osnaburg, Feb. 13, 1647. Arckenholtz, i. 93. "Since the sum will fall somewhat heavy, some appear to grumble, as if it were sufficient to arrest and hinder the progress which field-marshal Wrangel might have hoped to make, if he had had this money. What such sayings may breed to my prejudice, you may easily judge. Therefore have I, although reluctantly, thought this time to put your truth and affection to the safest and most infallible proof; and that I may not detain you long with many words, I am constrained to say to you that my request consists in this, that you will have this matter commended to you in time, and so arrange that the army shall hereby suffer no injury; but that you will take up so much money on your own credit, that this sum may be supplied for the requirement of the

to answer it before God, the estates of the realm, and me; from this mark be ye not turned aside by any phantasies of ambitious men, as ye would clearly wish to avoid my highest displeasure, and if ye take not joy to stand to answer pale and red before me; for then may ye be certain, that no authority nor family interest shall hinder me from showing the world the dislike which I bear to irrational proceedings." The letter was intended properly for count John Oxenstierna, son of the chancellor; hence the queen wrote at the same time to his associate Salvius: "I will not omit to recompense with all favour your loyalty and industry, and with the other party I will so take order as to show the whole world, that R. C. (the high-chancellor) shall not have power alone to move the world with a finger. *Sapienti sat*. My letter to you both herewith transmitted, you may deliver to G. J. O. (count John Oxenstierna); and although therein I address you both harshly, yet he alone is meant by it. Arrange it so that d'Avaux⁷ may know its contents, that the French may not conceive a wrongful opinion of me, but may see whose is the blame. Ye may be well assured, that I will hold you scatheless; and if God once send you home with peace, your services shall be requited with the senatorial dignity. The interest of count Magnus I recommend to you as mine own⁸. I pray you will let me know how G. J. O. (count John Oxenstierna), on reading my letter, demcaus himself towards you both⁹."

The haughty John Oxenstierna replied, that he was ready to render an account of his conduct, when the queen pleased; that on account of personal motives and concerns he had already long wished to be released from continuing the negotiations¹; that he knew well, so insignificant a person might be dispensed with; but he who had put it into her majesty's mind to write such a letter

army." Christina to Salvius. Ibid. According to a manuscript note of the late Dr Fant, Christina, at the death of Salvius, owed him 146,000 rix-dollars; and afterwards borrowed 50,000 rix-dollars from his widow, which were never paid.

⁴ "His grandfather was a Frenchman. He was well made, had a lofty mien, and resembled a favourite. He spoke of his queen in terms passionate, and so respectful, that it was easy to suspect him of some tenderness greater than that he owed her in his quality of subject. However this might be, he appeared a man worthy enough of his fortune, but more fitted to please than to govern." Mém. de Mad. Motteville. Arckenholtz, i. 89.

⁵ Chanut says: "It had been to be wished, for the success of the affairs of France, that the chancellor had quitted for the other world." Arckenholtz, i. 117.

⁶ Councillor of war and assistance; afterwards, also, minister in the negotiations for peace.

⁷ Count d'Avaux, together with Servien, French minister in the negotiations for peace, but still more at variance with his colleague than Oxenstierna was with Salvius. In consequence of this disagreement of the French envoys, the duke of Longueville was sent as third French minister to the congress.

⁸ The queen wished at this time to procure for him Benfeld, in Alsatia, or some other principality. "If you could advise me how I might benefit him (count Magnus) with Benfeld or some other similar fief, it would be dear to my heart," the queen says, in the same letter to Salvius.

⁹ Arckenholtz, i. 110.

¹ This was true. He had lost in 1647 his first wife, Anne Margaret Sturé; and after her decease required to come to Sweden for the division of her heritage.

should answer it to him one day, if they met in the body. Some weeks afterwards he was able to inform the queen, that the blame of procrastination was so little chargeable on him, that the French ministers themselves deferred the treaty². It was so in truth; and now Salvius received orders to direct himself herein by them. "Ye do well to assist the French in their postulates," Christina writes to him, July 6, 1647. "Ye must embrace this occasion to bring us in good grace with France³."

That which had occurred gave occasion to an interview between Christina and Oxenstierna, mediated by Torstenson, in which the queen at last declared, that she had not written the letter above-mentioned with an ill-meaning against his son, and a seeming reconciliation followed⁴. The French ministry also flattered the old chancellor⁵; but he withdrew for some time from court. "I have now been residing about five weeks at home on my estates, to attend to my private affairs,"—he writes to his son John from Tiden,—"for I have ever hitherto, as is known to thee, bestowed my whole time on public business, troubling myself little about my private concerns. For the rest, all stands well here with us in the country, and a noble harvest is before our eyes; God be praised! I depart in two days for Fiholm, to survey the house and my new clearings. There I have had this year a set of Dalemen, who have already cleared a large tract, so that I hope to have Fiholm provided with spacious meadows. The worst with me is, that I cannot go to inspect it; a fortnight ago I had the misfortune to fall with my horse into a marsh, where I bruised my leg against a fence, which has weakened me so much, that since then I have been unable to mount a horse⁶." Age and sickness began to exhaust his vital forces. "Your mother has been obliged mostly to keep her bed," he writes the following year to John, "but age so plays too with me⁷."

² "I perceive by your letter just arrived, that Trautmannsdorf, instigated by the Spanish ambassador, has departed; that the treaty is put off; that you and your colleague have stayed hitherto in Munster; and that the French, who formerly blamed you for postponement, now themselves obstruct its progress. Herein nothing occurs of which I would say, 'Non putaram;' and I refer all to God, to dispose of it as is pleasing to Him. But it disgusts me that we ourselves should judge so childishly, and still more that we should proceed so. I am of old not so accustomed, but use, as you know, to have my mind made up for any event. *Sed hæc dies aliam vitam, alios mores postulat.* Yet, my son, I hope that God and time will disclose who means well and rightly. Be not too deeply moved. Keep thy course as becomes thee, and seek to further the service and reputation of her majesty our queen, and the realm; and if in any thing there should be backwardness, look that thou bear no great part therein. The rest commend to God. Thy particular difficulty I see well, and what inconvenience may grow to thee from this delay; but look upon it as a necessary evil, and bear it with patience." The high-chancellor to his son John, Tiden, Aug. 4, 1647. "You will learn by her majesty's own letter, her intention that you should continue there, and execute the commission with Salvius, hereafter as hitherto. Dear son, if you have so long vexed yourself, and drunk so much bitterness, stand out yet, and be not misled by impatience." To the same, Stockholm, Dec. 12, 1647. "Thy colleague enjoys his accustomed confidence; yet here we are not sure of peace as before; although thy colleague can write of little else in his private letters, and discourses with a heap of ratiuncles, as if he were reading Terence and Plautus for school-boys, to show his great

He resumed the discharge of his official functions. Such a man could hardly remain without influence; and after the disgrace of De la Gardie, towards the end of the year 1653, we see the affairs of government for some time again in the hands of the chancellor and his son Eric. But he no longer retained the same importance as formerly; and of this the cause was not the caprice of a young woman on the throne, but the altered position of the minister to the throne and kingdom. A statesman's activity should find its springs only in the central point of the commonwealth, regulated by a strict regard to the interests of the whole⁸. His strength lies not in favour and personal connexion, but in that general dispensation of justice, security, and order, for which he lives, and which he is called upon to watch over. The great European war, in which Sweden bore so honourable a part, had profoundly disturbed the internal balance of the state. To restore this upon new foundations was a problem perhaps not too difficult for the creative spirit of Gustavus Adolphus, had not the thread of his life been so early cut off. What was effected after him, even though with magnanimity, was left a half-finished work. To ground the administrative system for a term of peace on those relations, which the war had called forth, was undoubtedly a great mistake; and of this mistake we cannot acquit Axel Oxenstierna. For that reason his political life terminated with the peace. It was the beginning of a new order of things, which in its operation set him aside; in this, more than in the weakness of age, lay the secret of his powerlessness. Without him, and against him, Sweden's future was to be determined; in this, the principal figure was Christina herself. With all the reproaches which have been cast upon and deserved by her, we yet cannot deny her either intellect or courage; and for the steadfastness with which she

knowledge. But, my son, let that stand aside, and bold to what is real, averting as much as thou canst all public jealousy." To the same, Stockholm, March 4, 1648.

³ Arckenholtz, i. 129.

⁴ "The letter which has been written to thee has troubled me not a little, and I had a conversation with her majesty upon that subject on the 25th of this month. It causes me sorrow, and I believe that, if it had not been written, it would perhaps be withheld. They seek to excuse it, and pretend that it is only a warning. But the words are clear as light. However it be, the matter stands a-boil. For what concerns myself, I shall not, by God's help, be found without resolution." The chancellor to his son John, Stockholm, May 29, 1647.

⁵ "What the cardinal Mazarini has written to me in a letter, received two days ago through Chanut, filled with big French compliments, thou mayst perceive by the copy herewith following." The chancellor to the same, March 11, 1648.

⁶ Tiden, July 19 and August 4, 1647. The letter to his younger son Eric (a youth of distinguished endowments), in which he advises marriage, in consequence of a suspicion expressed by the queen herself, that Eric Oxenstierna cherished hopes of her hand, is also of this year, Stockholm, June 29, 1647.

⁷ Stockholm, February 5, 1648. His wife was named Anna Bat.

⁸ The chancellor himself has admirably expressed this: "When a government does not assume the spirit of a sovereign, and speak for the commonwealth, but, instead, acts as a private person, and speaks for the behoof of a class, then can its rule no longer subsist." Protocol in the Senate, July 20, 1656.

carried out, against the will of the magnates, her resolution to transfer into the hands of Charles Gustavus a sceptre which had become too heavy for her, she has never yet received sufficient justice.

Already, at the queen's assumption of the government, in the diet of the year 1644, presages of that which was to come were observed. "The peasants steadily adhere," writes a contemporary, "to their desires for the restitution of the estates, before her majesty enters on the government, as well as in many other matters which especially concern the baronage; perchance the yeomen have good patriots at their side who inform them. Their order hath likewise lately requested to have the Form of Government read, that they may deliberate after upon its practice; wherein the ministry hath been obliged to yield to them."² It is added, that the clergy agreed well with the peasants, but were not altogether at unison among themselves, since the priests began to controvert their bishops. In the comments upon the constitution made at this diet, which we have already cited, threats are held out of a conflict betwixt the estates. It is not a little remarkable, that these comments, directed against the great families, proceeded mainly from a portion of the nobility and the clergy;—the first sign of that severance of the inferior and superior nobility, which was afterwards to have consequences so important in the decision of the questions now awakened. It was still only in the initial stage; and we find the clergy at the head of the unnoble estates meanwhile assuming the guidance of the new opposition. This was principally directed against the privileges of the baronage, which, nevertheless, the queen not only confirmed, but even augmented, the nobility in return surrendering their immunity from excise¹. Of these privileges many had long been felt as burdensome by the clergy; for example, the baronial right to the patronage of parishes. Every nobleman residing within the limits of a pastoral district had the right of electing the minister²; if

there were several, and they could not agree among themselves and with the congregation as to the choice, it was the office of the bishop to interpose between them, as in general he had the privilege of rejecting the person proposed, if the latter were found to be unsuitable; yet, on the other side, it is expressly stated, "that no priest can be forced upon the nobility against their consent and good will." Another source of discord was the tithes, from payment of which in respect of their manor-houses the gentry were exempted, while they extended this immunity far beyond the import of their privileges. Under these circumstances we need not wonder at the resistance which the proposal of a general consistory (*consistorium regni*), composed of laical and ecclesiastical members, encountered. The clergy saw therein only a new field for the preponderant influence of the magnates over the church; although Charles IX., who is the original author of this proposal, appears to have generally intended by it the enlargement of the rights of laymen in spiritual affairs³.

The chief aim of the clergy was now directed to secure themselves, by special privileges, against the nobility in particular. The foremost champion of this object was John Rudbeck, the distinguished and active bishop of Westeras in the time of Gustavus Adolphus. His book upon the ancient privileges of the literates and the spiritual order was interpreted as an effort for the restoration of the hierarchy in Sweden; and drew upon the author, who had besides indulged in sallies against the government and nobility, an indictment before the administration of guardians, and a prohibition of the publication⁴. Rudbeck thus lost the archiepiscopal chair, to which he would else have undoubtedly been called. But he did not want successors. Johannes Matthiæ, afterwards the object of a persecution by his own order, drew up at the diet of 1644 that proposition for clerical privileges, which the queen first confirmed in 1647, and more fully at her coronation⁵. The rights and revenues

¹ Letter from Bennet Baaz, tutor of Charles Gustavus, to the palsgrave John Casimir, Stockholm, October 26, 1644. C. Adlersparre's Historical Collections, ii. 167. Among the grievances of the yeomanry was, that the nobles, when they had bought the rents of an estate, deprived the peasants, under pretexts of all kinds, of their scot-right (*skatte-rätt*, right of property accruing from payment of taxes), and stocked the grange with coter tenants; they complain also, that the term for the redemption of the purchased estates was too short, and wished to have a clause inserted in the statute of the diet, that the crown might repurchase them at its pleasure. "Thereupon the yeomen were called into the council-chamber: it was represented to them, that they had attacked the queen's prerogatives, and they were asked whether they had come to turn the state upside down." *Ibid.* i. 177.

² For the cession by the nobility of their immunity from excise, the peasants of the gentry (*frälset*), even beyond the so-called free mile, were exempted, like those on the counties and baronies, from all gabels, portage, and day-work to the crown, and their lords were empowered to exact performance of these services for themselves, or to remit them at pleasure.

³ Sec. 33 of the Baronial Privileges of Gustavus Adolphus, confirmed by Christina. Here the question touches only the churches. From a manuscript treatise of this time upon the Jus Patronatus, in the collections of Mr. Prefect Järta, it is clear, however, that the nobility extended their claim

of right to nominations to chapelries. In the one case, as in the other, the nobleman was to interrogate the congregation *pro forma*, who thereupon had the right of consenting. *Plebis est consentire*, is the expression used in the above-mentioned treatise. In the remarks of Gustavus Adolphus himself on the baronial privileges, the aristocratic right of patronage is noted among the matters requiring alteration.

⁴ In the short charter of clerical privileges issued by Charles IX. in 1607, it is stated: "We have also privileged and given them power to judge and doom in all spiritual causes, along with our church-council and the members of consistory, as we will appoint them, both from clerical and secular persons." Appendix to the History of the Swedish Church and Diets, from the archives of the clerical order; Stockholm, 1835, p. 136. That these privileges did not satisfy the desires of the order, we learn from their petition to Christina for a new charter.

⁵ The title of this rare book is, *Privilegia quædam doctorum, magistrorum etc.*; or more briefly, *Privilegia ministerii ecclesiastici in inclito regno Sveciæ, a piis regibus et regni proceribus quondam benigne concessa et indulta*. On the consultations occasioned by this treatise, and Rudbeck's trial in the council chamber, and ultimately before the chancellor, see Frauzen's Memory of John Rudbeck, bishop of Westeras, in the Transactions of the Swedish Academy, t. 15.

⁶ At the diet of 1647 the clergy also solicited that the Formula Concordiæ might be adopted as a symbolic book in the Swedish Lutheran Church, "in order that we may

of the spirituality were hereby taken into protection against all assaults; yet, in respect to the dispute with the nobility on patronage, the privileges appear more conciliatory in words than satisfactory in reality. The special assurances of grace which the superior members of this order, bishops, superintendents, and doctors of theology received⁶, contributed to alienate the minor clergy from them, as was soon to be shown.

The two diets following the peace, in the years 1649 and 1650, bring us nearer to the solution of the play. In both years the queen was obliged to ask for new levies in the room of the foreign troops who departed, and likewise the continuance of most part of the taxes which had been imposed during the war. These requests were granted⁷; "because," says the statute of the diet of 1649, "a newly won peace after a long war, as her majesty's self declares, is not unlike a great conflagration lately extinguished, wherein firebrands abound that still smoke, and may easily be rekindled." The queen did not yet stand ill in the popular affections. She was beloved for her father's sake, as well as for her youth and personal qualities; nor were the sufferings of the country laid to her charge. But the minds of men were still in a high ferment. To the proofs of this belong, in an age when so little was written, the appearance and efficaciousness of anonymous pamphlets, which were plentifully circulated through the country, and furnish contributions to the internal history of the times not undeserving of notice. We will confine our attention to two of these, opposite in their tendencies. The one is a kind of manifesto, composed in the name of the people of Middle Sweden⁸, which closes with an exhortation that all, especially the clergy, should ponder and disseminate it. This treatise complains that the future reserved for the peasantry is to sink from the rank of a free estate of the realm into the condition of bondsmen and thralls; that the queen's mildness was abused, so that she would soon possess only the name of realm and crown. With infusions great frauds were committed, since it was not always merit that was so rewarded; they were distributed from favour or for bribes by subordinate functionaries, who took even the calves and butter of poor widows by

process of law; the tallages had increased beyond all capacity of bearing them, and were like the poll-tax, unreasonable, since rich and poor paid the same proportion. The complaints of the commonalty were not listened to at the diets; perverters of justice were appointed for their notaries, who mutilated their presentments of grievances, which had no answer save words without performance; in old statutes of the diets it remained upon record that the yeomen had the right of themselves choosing those who should bring their suits for redress to the knowledge of the authorities. The other treatise alluded to contains a colloquy between four members of the four estates of the realm⁹, where the nobleman seeks to convince the rest, that the power and honours achieved by the nobility in fact tended to the security and profit of the realm; that their opponents merely covered their own designs with the false accusation that the nobility intended to change the constitution of Sweden into an aristocracy or an elective monarchy; whereas the nobility had given too many proofs of their fidelity to king and country; it was also sufficiently well known that the nobility tolerated nothing so ill as being governed by their equals; the tendencies now prevailing with the un noble estates led, on the other hand, directly to "popular regiment," the disastrous consequences whereof were now laid bare in England; thitherward looked the attacks on the supremacy of the crown; for the crown was assailed in order to endanger the privileges which had flowed from its bounty, and were bound up with the existence of monarchical government. Affairs of state at the diets, which could be propounded only by the ministry, depended for their resolution in the last instance on the decision of the ministry, not on the votes of the estates, since these were only summoned to a diet to confer loyally with each other, else would the estates be able to vote the king from crown and sceptre, and the nobility from honours and welfare. The gentry were pre-eminently the cultivators of the land; and thereby the revenues of the crown were now fifteen times greater, than if their estates had still remained its property. The augmentation of the nobility, so much cried out upon, was made from the order of burgesses; how

had received from Gustavus Adolphus, was again brought into question.

⁶ The twelfth section of the charter holds out to them the hope of ennoblement.

⁷ The conscription was not by man-tale, but by grange, or ham-tale (hemman-tal), which latter method had been introduced at the diet of 1642. Permission was also given to buy oneself off with money. The clergy were for the most part released by the new privileges from their obligations in reference to the levies. So far had these extended, that by a rescript of the administration, dated Feb. 1, 1633, ministers and schoolmasters were enjoined to assist those entrusted with the execution of the levies, in procuring individuals of loose character. Reg.

⁸ It begins: "We, whilome reeves (länsmän) and men of the commonalty in Upland, Sutherland, Westmanland," &c., and is preserved in the Nordin Collections, with the inscription "1649 or 1650." The tract probably belongs to the first-named year.

⁹ Colloquy between Younker Peter, Master Hans, Nils Anderson, burgess, and Jeon of Berga, yeoman (danne-man), held at St. Thomas' fair, in Linköping, year 1650. It is also found in a printed form. The author was Schering Rosenhane, councillor of state.

thereby be distinguished from the secret Calvinists, who conceal themselves under the Confession of Augsburg," as they said. The queen did not accede to this request, it was supposed by the advice of Johannes Matthiæ, who was accused at this diet, on account of his treatise *Idea boni Ordinis*, as a secret Calvinist, and believed to have favoured that project of union with the Calvinistic church, which the Scotsman Duraeus brought forward in 1638, although in the book referred to no trace of it is to be remarked. The high-chancellor was especially zealous for the *Formula Concordiæ*, and the subject was again in 1650 brought under consideration in the commission issued for the revision of the Church Ordinance, but without any result being concluded upon. The *Formula Concordiæ* was first acknowledged in Sweden as a symbolic book in 1668. The revision of the church ordinance was an old question. It had been already, before the year 1644, confided to Joannes Matthiæ, bishop of Strengness, and his *Idea boni Ordinis* was a proposal thereby called forth. In the year 1650 a commission for this purpose, consisting of clerical and laical members, was issued under the direction of the chancellor. It appears from the records appertaining thereto, that the permission for free exercise of his religion, as a Calvinist, which Lewis de Geer

many of mean birth were there not who had attained to the most considerable offices? but that a man should at once arrive at dignity from the pepper-bag or mud-cart, was not fitting. The clergy sought to recover their old dominion, the burgesses to found a new power; the nobility's right of patronage in the parishes, alleged as a grievance, was hardly exercised by the twentieth part of them. The peasantry were misled; for although the nobility had by donations and purchase acquired a large portion of the crown estates, yet they had never maintained that the yeomen should be excluded from the diets; these still attended when a diet was called, both the peasants of the gentry and those of the crown, and the former had as much to say there as their lords, albeit, if they staid away, affairs could be managed as well, and there was hardly in the world a kingdom to be found where the peasants had any voice at the diet. Many a nobleman was a good master, so that the peasants under him stood well; but those good men, the soke-peasants of the crown, had begun for some time to raise their heads, and were bent on quite despising the other common people; these were they who were employed as instruments by the excitors of disturbance.

The privileges of the clergy had already been found a stone of offence at the diet of 1649. The nobility demanded the maintenance of their right of patronage unimpaired. The provision contained in these privileges respecting the family chaplains of the magnates, that the bishop should only appoint such on weighty and urgent grounds, awakened disgusts. The queen replied, that the nobility were bound, when not furnished with legal excuse, to attend the churches; else from the number of chaplains the laud would be overstocked with clergy who were not wanted, so that they would eventually be compelled, to the dishonour of the realm and the degradation of the order, to settle in farms and become peasants, and be employed by the nobility like others of their servitors¹. The prospect opened by the charter of privileges to the sons of priests, of receiving appointments in the civil service if they approved themselves capable thereto, occasioned a renewed petition by the nobility, that persons of their own order might be employed in her majesty's chancery. The queen,—who in 1648, on creating Salvius a councillor of state, had declared to the senate, “when we ask for good counsel, we inquire not for sixteen ancestors,”—answered sharply, that “offices were no hereditary estates.” On the 10th November, 1650, followed her public declaration with regard to the word “ill-born,” used in the charter for the nobility; “that no other persons should be understood thereby, than such as were degenerate from their gentle birth, applying to no pursuit of virtue or honour, and staining their descent by sloth and vileness; that all others of legitimate blood and respectable ancestry, whether they came of the nobility, clergy, burgesses or peasants, should neither be called ill-born, nor excluded from any station of honour in their native country².”

The ensuing diet brought the matter to a rupture. Priests, burgesses, and yeomen delivered to the queen before her coronation, on the 3rd

October, 1650, the well-known “Protestation anent restitution of the crown estates³.” After generally representing “how for some time scot and crown estates had been abstracted from the crown and alienated to divers individuals in permanent possession; nay, those held merely by concessionary tenure (*förläningsvis*) had been appropriated by means of unreasonable reversions; whereby the crown had received, instead of secure rents, uncertain and newfangled imposts for supply of its necessities; while the conquered territories had been held only nominally for the state, but really for the gain of private persons; and immediate vassals of the crown had been changed into mediate subjects, to the notable detriment of the realm, and oppression of the lesser estates;” they proceeded to enter more minutely into the abuses thus engendered; as, “that the innumerable manorial seats (*säterier*) enjoyed far too great privileges, and attracted far too many souls into their dependence; that churches, hospitals, schools, and clergymen thereby suffered minishing of their sustenance, old and impotent soldiers were brought to the beggar's staff, many properties fell into the hands of priests and sextons; that the lords of the land kept grain at a high price; that the sovereign could not travel through the country without its being felt as a burden, since all the royal manors and granges, whither he had else resorted, were made away with; that the yeomen were compelled to give up their cattle to the gentry, by whom they were maltreated, in vain claiming the protection of the law; that many peasants had thus been reduced to be beggars, and their crofts changed into meadows, horse-pens, or parks; such alienation being contrary to God's own institutes among the Jews, against the law of Sweden, the testament of king Gustavus I., the statute of Norr-keeping of the year 1604, and all sound policy besides, making the regalities which Gustavus had acquired by the reduction of 1527 of no effect, and the late glorious conquests of no use to the realm.” Therefore they insisted, “that all crown and scot manors alienated should be again resumed by the crown;” demanding therewith for the behoof of coming time, “that all such allodial donations be abrogated; that a court of inquest (*refste-ting*) be held yearly, to redress what misdeeds might be committed against the rights of the crown and the liberties of the commonalty; that in the pecuniary exigencies of the throne no estates should be sold, but only mortgaged, the yeoman himself having the first option of advancing the loan; that no order should engross public employments to the exclusion of others; that no one should intrude himself into the purchase of gavel-lands, without just claim of birth-right; that no one should enjoy the salary of lawman or judge of the hundred without doing the work; that all, without distinction, should be partakers of law and justice; that all private prisons and tortures, which some exercised against their peasants, as if they were bondsmen, should be rigorously forbidden and abolished; that no one should possess more manor-houses than was permitted by the recess of 1562; that the estates might speak freely and without interdiction, anent

¹ Resolution on the complaints of the equestrian order and nobility, in 1649. *Stiernman*.

² *Stiernman*, t. v.

³ Printed by *Lœnbon*. *Handlingar till konung Carl XI.'s Historia*, ix. 70.

the needs and rights of the realm; concluding with the wish, that the nobles who against law and legal statutes held estates of the crown, might set themselves right in the matter, and perceive that they, after this reclamation now made by (three) estates, could never acquire any prescriptive or legal title thereto⁴.

The high-chancellor, who sought on the part of the nobility to refute this protest of the unnoble estates, alleged as his main argument, that they hereby attacked the royal supremacy, and should therefore be severely reprimanded. This brought him into a difficult position, since the queen took the matter quite otherwise, and it was clear that this step had not been taken without her good will. "Now or never," she said to Terserus⁵. This bold and active man, professor of theology at Upsala, was chosen by the inferior clergy in this diet to be their speaker, after the bishops, who all sided with the nobility, had separated from the other representatives of the spiritual order. This schism between the bishops and the parochial ministers lasted for six weeks; the former retaining the hall commonly used for meetings of the order, the latter deliberating by themselves. The deepest perturbation filled men's minds; yeomen and burgesses vented menaces; a civil war seemed at hand. The most opulent of the nobility began to place their valuables in security, and to turn their thoughts towards flight⁶. The high-chancellor remained undismayed. He sat all day in his chamber, says a traditional story, and expected nothing else, each time the door opened, than that some one should come to take his life⁷. The clergy at last assumed the part of mediators, after the bishops had coalesced with the others; which however was only effected upon condition of their subscribing the protest concerning the crown estates. Two projects were drawn up with that view, one by Terserus, the other by Master Nicholas, secretary to the magistrates of Stockholm. Both propositions were approved by the queen, and ultimately combined into a single instrument⁸, which was presented to her by the unnoble estates. She received it graciously, but evaded a

declaration of her sentiments as to the main question. A controversy had now been excited, which was to lead in the future to deeply penetrating changes. Christina could but commit their issue to the hand of another. The diet of 1650, the longest yet known in Sweden, had stretched to the unheard-of duration of four months.

The prospects of the monarchy inspired just apprehension. Christina was unmarried, and the succession to the throne consequently uncertain, though her hand had been sought by several princes. Frederic William, elector of Brandenburg, renewed with this intention in 1642 the negotiations which had been commenced in the time of Gustavus Adolphus. The guardians returned an evasive answer, and the envoys never obtained an opportunity of themselves opening their commission to the young queen, whom the ministry had at that time conducted on a progress through her dominions. The popular voice was for Christina's cousin, the palgrave Charles Gustavus, as having been born and educated in Sweden; but the magnates had constantly sought to keep down the palgrave family, and Christina, though she had in childhood promised her hand to that prince, appeared in maturer age to have no affection either towards him personally⁹, or the bonds of marriage generally. Meanwhile she had formed her determination in respect to the succession, and we shall see that this resolve embraced more than at first appeared—not the tender merely, but the sacrifice of a crown. Upon the event of his courtship we may refer to the statement of Charles Gustavus, in a narrative composed by himself, from which we quote some passages. "On the evening of the 15th July, 1648, in the presence of count Magnus (de la Gardie), and bishop Dr. Johannes (Matthie)," says the prince, "the following passed between the queen's majesty and me. Having signified that I expected a categorical resolution in respect to the marriage, I was called in by her majesty, who declared after some delay, that she would attest her affection for me in presence of those two personages, and in the sight of God, and not by illusory words, but in

⁴ Compare Essay at a Pragmatic History of the order of Franklins in Sweden.

⁵ Huic trium ordinum intentioni, ut maxime salutari, magnopere favit regina,—eos quam severissime monens, ut in hoc proposito constanter permanerent, identidem illud ingeminans: *aut nunc aut nunquam*. Ortus et Vita Cursus Johannis Terseri Dalecarli. MS. in the Nordin Collections. This ardent-minded man, like Johannes Matthie, one of a different character, was afterwards accused by his colleagues of secret Calvinism, and was by a parity of lot deprived in 1664, under the minority of Charles XI., of his episcopal see of Abo; to which the anger he had roused against himself in the diet of 1650 not a little contributed. Charles XI., in 1671, nominated him bishop of Linköping.

⁶ Res ad bellum intestinum spectabat, ad quod non rustici tantum, sed et cives valde erant propensi. E nobilitate ditissimi quique, collectis pretiosissimis thesauris, fugam in tutiora meditabantur. Terserus, l. c. In the previous year a rumour to this effect had already reached France. "Depuis quinze jours il a couru un bruit à Paris, ce qui me mettoit fort en peine. On disoit qu'il y avoit guerre civile en Suède, sur le sujet du couronnement et du mariage de la Reine." Du Quesne (formerly a sea-officer in the Swedish service) to C. G. Wrangel. Paris, March 5, 1649. C. G. Wrangel's correspondence.

⁷ Eric Benzeliuz, from count Nicholas Bielke's relation,

in the *Anecdota Benzeliiana*. MS. The statement there added, however, that Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie had undertaken, at the queen's order, to put the chancellor out of the way, on account of his opposition to the election of Charles Gustavus as her successor, but that neither de la Gardie nor count Gustave Gustafsson had courage for the performance,—we consider to be groundless.

⁸ Ex ambobus unum composuimus. Terserus, l. c. Master Nicholas, in his *Reminiscences* of his own life (Upsala Transactions for 1777, p. 36), states, that the document presented to the queen was framed by him. "Axel Oxenstierna," he says, "bore me no good will, on account of the public memorial which I had to draw up at the coronation of queen Christina, by the gracious pleasure of her majesty and the estates of the realm, for the unanimous petition of the clergy, burgesses, and peasants, *de applicandis et restituendis regni banis fisco et regi*. There were many that wrote on the same subject, as doctor Jens Terserus, professor in Upsala, Magister Jacob Scotus, of the Kopparberg, and many others; but after the concept of a memorial by each of these had been read in the consistory, mine was approved, and finally presented to queen Christina by the archbishop doctor Johannes Lenæus, the burgomaster (of Stockholm), and myself."

⁹ She used to call him "the burgomastering," from his short and thick figure. Mem. for the Hist. of Scand., ix. 128.

right earnest. Touching the marriage she would neither give me hopes nor deprive me of them, but promised me, on the contrary, to give her hand to no one else in the world, if she should ever enter into the married state; if that might not be, she would seek to declare me her successor on the throne. If I were not content with that, she had no other resolution to give me. Hereupon I was silent for some time, being unable to find words, when her majesty repeated what she had just said, adding, that in this she took no account either of her person or mine, but only of the security and weal of her country; no other thought but this was in her mind; therefore her majesty would send me to take the command of the army, in order thus to place both myself and the realm in security against all casualties. Hereupon we fell into sharp converse. I averred that I desired nothing but marriage; if hope of this were bereft me, I would rather content myself with a piece of bread, and never again see Sweden; which her majesty took ill, declaring that it was a fanfaronade and a chapter out of a romance; our Lord had not created me to sit down on my father's lands, but for something higher; she knew my humour well too, that I would be but ill satisfied with that. I protested that I was sincere, and reminded her majesty of what she had said to me at the time of the marriage of count Magnus¹, March 2, 1647, that she would possibly yield, in regard to the match, if not from affection for my person, yet in deference to the wishes of her subjects; if I had known that she would not adhere to the promises given to me in her years of childhood, I would never have returned to Sweden². She replied, that what she had promised in her youth, had been done out of youthful folly, nor would she be bound by it; then she had no power to dispose of a peasant's croft, much less of her person. But she would honourably keep what she now promised. I replied, and ever held by my first opinion as to the marriage. I wished that God might keep me from living to see the day, when after the death of her majesty I should be in the hands of these lords; I should never agree with them, and would not stain my hands with their blood. I could be far better content, under such conditions, never to have a hope of the crown. Her majesty rejoined, that she would take good precaution that I should not soil myself with their blood; on the contrary, she hoped by my person to avert all disorder³.

The estates had more than once solicited the queen to marry, and the un noble estates had also expressed their wish that she would give her hand to Charles Gustavus. At the diet of 1649, on the 23d February, a deputation of the estates anew preferred their petition, that she would embrace some resolution. The following day Christina surprised the council with the proposition, that the prince should be nominated her successor. For three years she had meditated this, since she could not decide on a marriage; an indeterminate succession would entail great dangers on the monarchy; Charles Gustavus had no hereditary right to the

crown, but was of kingly blood, and her nearest relative, born in Sweden, and brought up in the religion, language, manners and laws of the land, highly esteemed by all on account of his friendly, benevolent character, and other virtues; of his undaunted courage he had given sufficient proofs against the enemies of the realm; no foreign views would deter him from dedicating himself wholly to the service of Sweden. A general silence in the council followed this address. At length almost all zealously declared themselves against it. It would be highly dangerous to appoint a successor to the queen in her lifetime, especially as he was not to be her husband; an undetermined succession was a great evil, a disputed succession was a still greater; in Sweden men had had sufficient experience of discords in the royal family; Eric and his brothers, Sigismund and Charles, were still freshly remembered; even between Gustavus Adolphus and Charles Philip a secret jealousy had prevailed, which might easily have become dangerous, had not Providence set bounds to it. If the palgrave were declared successor, without certain expectation of the queen's hand, he would either marry in the end some one else, or not at all; in the former case, if the queen afterwards married, there might easily be two lines of hereditary princes in the realm; in the latter, the succession would be anew uncertain, and the palgrave, if he did not die before the queen, must, by the law of his own position, endeavour to secure the crown for his family, perhaps for his brother. To Charles Gustavus they wished all good, but could only advise marriage; the queen might therefore fulfil the promise she had once given to the prince. Christina protested that she had only promised not to marry another person. She had resolved for the safety of the realm to procure the nomination of a successor, and they could not wonder if she chose him whom the estates had deemed worthy of becoming her consort; the renewal of former dangers might be avoided by declining to invest him with a duchy. The altercation became vehement, and arguments were of the less avail, as every one could divine that under the queen's announced resolve something lay concealed, by which alone that resolve was to be explained, while yet she would not declare her mind. She herself felt this; she was constrained to resort to the high hand, and she did so. The young sovereign tried her power over gray-headed statesmen and warriors, before whom Europe had trembled, and silenced them by the boldest impeachments. She knew well (they were haughtily told) that the senate wished again to introduce elective monarchy and aristocracy in Sweden; the plans of the chancellor and the steward, the expectations of the Oxenstiernas and Brahes were no secrets; they had spoken of a contest of hereditary princes for the crown; was it better, then, that it should thenceforth become an apple of discord between their own children? Declare Charles Gustavus, she said, my successor; if I die without that being done, I will wager both my ears that he never comes to the throne. When

¹ With the princess Maria Euphrosina, sister of Charles Gustavus; a match brought about by Christina.

² Charles Gustavus had returned to Sweden in 1645, after permission received from field marshal Torstenson, under

whom he served. He repaired again to Germany in 1648, being named by the queen generalissimo of the Swedish armies; with what view is manifest from the conversation quoted.

³ C. Adlersparre's Hist. Col., ii. 219.

Torstenson objected that the prince might probably never marry, if he did not obtain her majesty's hand, the queen replied, "No danger of that; love need not ever burn for a single object; a crown is a winsome bride⁴."

Some days afterwards, on the 28th February, the queen made the same proposition to the deputies of the three unnobble estates; but to their repeated representations concerning the marriage she rejoined: "Ye shall have not a word upon it, until the resolution for the succession of the prince is drawn up." The land-marshal requested a communication of the opinion of the senate, without which the nobility could not express themselves otherwise than they had already done. The queen accomplished her object. On the 10th March, 1649, the council of state and the estates of Sweden,—induced, as they said, by the high and weighty grounds and arguments of her majesty,—declared his princely grace the palgrave duke Charles Gustavus successor to the throne, in case of the queen's decease without heirs⁵. Next day Axel Oxenstierna, who had abstained from taking any public part in the deliberations, was reluctantly persuaded to subscribe the resolution. The queen had for this purpose sent the act to his house by the court-chancellor Tungal, who has left an account of his visit⁶. Among other things the high-chancellor said: "I seriously confess it, if my grave were standing open at this moment, and it were in my choice to lay myself in it, or to subscribe the instrument regarding the succession, the fiend take me if I would not bury myself rather than sign." Undoubtedly the aged statesman suspected rightly, that Christina was only calling another to the throne in order to descend from it herself. That the matter really stood thus, circumstances were soon to show. The queen confirmed her work by a declaration obtained from the estates at the diet of 1650, for the heritability of the crown in the male descendants of Charles Gustavus, and celebrated her coronation on the 20th October at Stockholm, with a pomp hitherto unknown in Sweden. One year afterwards, on the 25th October, 1651, she made known her purpose of laying down the sceptre. It is historically demonstrable, that she had formed this resolution so early as 1648⁷.

We have said that Christina's abdication was the result partly of political circumstances, and partly of personal inducements. The former have un-

folded themselves to our observation; it remains only to say of the latter, which belong to the story of her own mind, as much as the compass of the present work permits. We set out with some short remarks upon the civilization of that age, and its influence on Sweden. On the Protestant side the Bible and ancient Rome were the main fountains of this civilization, both of which regained a certain freshness, when the Romish hierarchy that had overgrown them was in a great measure destroyed. From these elements, albeit sufficiently conflicting, spirits of the nobler order created for themselves an appropriate and interesting system of opinion, exercising great influence both in religion and politics; whose most important representatives were, in the scientific and learned world, the famous Grotius, in the political, Gustavus Adolphus. It was something more than accident that conjoined these names. It was love for the writings of Grotius that moved Gustavus Adolphus to offer to this persecuted scholar, a fugitive from his country, a refuge in his service; and Oxenstierna fulfilled the intentions which the king's death prevented him from carrying into effect⁸. The chancellor also belonged to the same religious and political school. He was a great Bible-reader⁹, and not less an assiduous student of the old Roman writers. Both these influences pervade his earnestful state papers in a pleasing and simple style; and we perceive them in several others of his colleagues in the ministry and council, as in the high-steward, Peter Brahe the younger, who resembled his grandfather, as will have been seen, in this particular¹. In more recent times we have so often heard the Swedish magnates of this period praised for well-digested learning, that we might conclude this advantage to have been somewhat widely diffused. But this our own researches do not bear out. The knowledge of Latin indeed was among the accomplishments of the great, since it was still recognized as the diplomatic language of Europe; whence the ministry directed by a special minute, that notes written in Latin should be answered in Latin, but that all persons who employed other languages should have their answer in Swedish. Learning of greater extent, such as that of John Skytté and Axel Oxenstierna, was found only in exceptional cases. We have already remarked in the leaders of that generation this mark of a great age, that almost all of them sought their honour in

of your subjects, and the security of your states, foreseeing the confusions and partialities, difficult to be avoided after the decease of sovereign princes, who are considered as the last of the royal house. This is the motive which your majesty was pleased to disclose to me *six years ago*." (Mon seul partage dans le grand dessein de V. M., &c.) Arckenholtz, l. c. i. 399.

⁸ Grotius, who had first sought refuge in France, returned thither as Swedish ambassador, and Oxenstierna persisted in keeping him on that post, in spite of Richelieu's dissatisfaction with Grotius. He was recalled after the accession of Christina, came to Stockholm in 1645, but died in the same year, on his return to his country. He himself says, that he considered himself more honoured by Oxenstierna's friendship than by the embassy. "Oxenstierna amicicia me speciosiorum quam ipsa legatione censo." Compare Arckenholtz, l. c. i. 77.

⁹ Among several of his manuscripts in the library of Upsala, is a collection of Biblical proverbs, compiled by him during his reading.

¹ Compare chap. x. ad fin.

⁴ From the narrative of Puffendorf and Arckenholtz, founded on documents. Torstenson died April 7, 1651. Upon this event, the chamberlain, Ekeblad, writes to his father, April 23, 1651 (Scand. Mem. xx. 314): "My dear father has heard of the mortal end of our good count Linhart; God knoweth with what heart I learned the tidings. The chief cause of his death (say the doctors), was his great neglect in using no medicaments, after his body had become constipated by all sorts of forbidden food. The queen was with him shortly before his death, and he spoke his last words to her."

⁵ Stiernman, Resolutions, &c. ii. 1105.

⁶ Printed in Adlersparre, l. c.

⁷ In the answer which Chanut, formerly minister from France, wrote to a letter from the queen, upon her abdication, dated the Hague, March 2, 1654, is this passage. "My only concern in the great design of your majesty, since you are pleased it should be known that you have had the goodness to communicate it to me, is to testify, wherever I may be, that the first and strongest consideration which has caused your majesty to form this resolve, has been the good

the promotion of learning, without pretence of condescension. Reverence for the noblest treasures of humanity is the only spirit which honours mutually both the protector and the protected. Nothing exalts a man, how highly soever he may be placed, which is not felt to be above him. Thus all pride finds cause of humbleness, and then only does it approve its own rectitude. In the schools of learning, which were among the fruits of the times of Gustavus Adolphus and Christina in Sweden, the principal subjects of tuition were theology and Latin. The first names which Sweden has to show in science and inventive art begin to appear; the most eminent were Stiernhielm, at once philosopher, geometer, philologist, and poet, and Stiernhök, the father of Swedish jurisprudence. Among the crowd of learned foreigners invited to Sweden, Loccenius and Scheffer gained an honourable right of citizenship.

This picture is not without its shadows. We may discern an inundation of foreign influences in almost all directions—the result of the political situation. But just as Sweden's sudden political greatness lacked an inner core of strength, so the foreign elements of civilization cast no very deep roots. Independent footing in science and art Sweden did not obtain until late, when her gaze was no longer directed abroad, but reverted on herself. Now the alien forces operated rather to perversion than progress, and it would be easy to indicate the breaches of the natural order, as well in manners and sentiments as in political relations; but the language alone speaks sufficiently on this head—mongrel and barbarous, larded with German, Latin, and French phrases and forms, in a word, that which is exemplified in the fragments we have quoted from the records of the age. Christina's eye, captivated by novelty, fixed on learned men to be invited from all the ends of Europe. They came in flocks with their philology and antiquities, the fashionable learning of the age; displayed their arts, wrote dedications and panegyrics, in which all the elegancies of the Latin tongue were brought to vie in praise of the queen, presented books, were rewarded and dismissed. For the rest, we know not what their names have to do with Swedish history. Exceptionally one may be named, far different from the rest, since he is the founder of the modern philosophy, the great Descartes. His friend Chanut in 1649 procured his invitation, accepted by the philosopher, to the Swedish court, where the queen daily for two months received him in her library at five o'clock morning. Descartes died at Stockholm February 1,

1650. What impression so profound a doubter may have made on the queen's disposition we remit to inquire, though it has been asserted that in these conversations she imbibed her bias to Catholicism. It is certain, however, that it was not from the whirls of philosophical doubt, but from those of frivolity and atheism, that Christina threw herself into the bosom of the Catholic church. The epoch of indifferentism in the queen, though prepared by some of her philologists, was indicated by the dismissal of the scholars, and the ascendancy of the physician Bourdelot². This person, having succeeded in saving Christina's life (as she believed) in a severe illness³, prescribed to her a gayer course of life; but at the same time inspired her with his own scorn of religion, and appeared to possess her confidence for some time so exclusively, that all the favours of the throne were dispensed by him, and even De la Gardie's brilliant day of grace began to be obscured⁴. An independent life, in happier lands, was Christina's only desire, after she regarded her political career as closed; and already, in 1652, Swedish travellers in Italy heard that she was expected there⁵.

It has been already mentioned that the first announcement by the queen to the council, in reference to the divestiture of the crown, was made on the 25th October, 1651. She remained unshaken by the representations of the council; but yielded, when the aged chancellor, at the head of a commission of estates which was assembled at the time, conjured her to desist from her purpose. It seems as if she had deferred its execution, in order for a term to watch the signs of the times. Her will had overcome all hindrances in the choice of Charles Gustavus for her successor; but she appears not to have been sufficiently attentive to the character of his confederates. She wished that her renunciation of the crown should possess appropriate lustre in its perfect spontaneity. But it began to transpire, that the act might be deprived of this semblance, and that a party was in full activity to extort it if she halted in her intent. The incomplete investigations and discoveries, caused by the imprudent pamphlet of young Messenius in the month of December, 1651, pointed to the leaders of the commotions in the diets of 1649 and 1650; and among them especially to the free baron Bennet Skytté, who, of all the council, had separated most widely from his colleagues in this matter, and afterwards withdrawn in expectation of a revolution⁶. Agreeably to her

² Rumor est, Aulam Suecicam viris doctis non amplius patere et sperni illic litterarum studia, idque culpa nebulonis cujusdam (Bourdelotii), qui Sereniss. Regine animu[m] a seriis studiis ad ludica et inania traduxerit. Henr. Valesius to Heinsius, 1653. Arckenholtz, l. c. i. 238.

³ So the queen herself declares, in a letter to Bourdelot, after she had quitted Sweden, in which she thanks him for the medical advice he had formerly given her. "N'ayant pas oublié que je vous dois la vie, après Dieu, pour m'avoir guérie en Suède." Arckenholtz (l. c. iv. 23), who has also preserved a detailed Regimen for Christina, written by Bourdelot in Latin. On this I have inquired the opinion of a physician, my friend, who has stated to me, that it is not drawn up without good sense.

⁴ Vossius writes to Heinsius, Jan. 1, 1653: Bourdelotius ne ipso quidem Jove sese minorem existimat. Solus omnia

istic terrarum potest. Mensam habet instructiorem, quam habet ipse Comes Magnus, vel alius quispiam magnatum in hoc regno. Is vero comes longe minori est in gratia. Bonus iste vir (Bourdelotius) non tam clanculum, quin facile omnes animadvertant, docet et proficitur isic atheismu[m]. Arckenholtz, l. c. i. 240. Montecuculi, in 1654, states, in his account of the Swedish court, that Christina did not conceal her unbelief, and hinted that she put no faith in the immortality of the soul. Remonstrances made by her mother, on this contempt of religion, were ill taken.

⁵ Autobiography of Edward Ehrenstén. Anecdotes of Celebrated Swedes, v. 30.

⁶ He had inherited the democratic inclinations of his father, John Skytté. "In a conversation with Charles Gustavus, when king, on the form of government of the Greeks, the lord Bennet extolled those times beyond measure. The king said, 'The Greek republics ate each other up, were

fearless nature, Christina, who on the first intelligence of these machinations expected a revolt, is said to have wished to let the affair take its course, in order, as she said, to wile the conspirators into a snare⁷. Subsequently she changed her mind, and appears not to have wished to know all. The pamphlet above mentioned, whose author was soon discovered, was a pasquinade against the queen, her former guardians, and the favourite, count Magnus de la Gardie; in which the hereditary prince was called upon to make himself master of the government, and assured, that as the legitimate heir of the crown, even without election, he might count upon the younger nobility, and the co-operation of the noble estates. Charles Gustavus, who was residing in Eland, sent the pamphlet immediately to the queen. He was, by prudence as well as gratitude, far removed from the approbation of such designs. The Messenians, father and son, suffered death, thus ending their unfortunate race; the grandfather had died after an imprisonment of twenty years⁸. Terserus, Nils Nilson, burgomaster of Stockholm, with the secretary of the magistrates, were accused as accomplices, but acquitted; the burgomaster, however, being obliged to give bail, as was also Bennet Skytté. The records of the trial were destroyed by the queen's orders. She had the courage to meet another general diet, in 1652, without making mention of abdication. A prospect of war again opened from the misunderstandings with Poland, Denmark, and the emperor, and she obtained a three years' conscription to complete the army and man the fleet, with an augmentation of imposts for the same period, the nobility agreeing to a separate grant⁹.

The remainder of the queen's reign was spent in such a manner as if she were determined that she should not be regretted. Profusion abounded on all sides; and to donations of all kinds there was no end. In letters of infeoffment to estates began to be inserted the phrases, "if it be not

already granted to another," or "if it be still reserved to us and the crown." To previous donations were often annexed "amendments," as they were called, under various unusual names, such as conditional or provisional amendment¹. Concessions of this sort were vended by the secretary of the chancery. A secretary's clerk, who had sold forty-two forged donations and letters of freehold, was executed April 13, 1651, on the marketplace of Norrmalm². For a long time no more counties and baronies remained to be assigned to the many new counts and barons. Christina, during her reign, increased the house of barons by eight families bearing the title of count, twenty-four that of free barons, and four hundred and twenty-eight newly ennobled. Among the latter was the court-tailor, Jan Holm, who assumed the imposing name of Leyoncrona (Lioncrown)³. He was likewise made intendant of the household, and was an opulent man, but found himself obliged to quit the court when the chamberlain, baron Clas Baner, refused to serve with him. "From this time," says one narrative⁴, "dates the ruin of pure and decorous morals. Youth began to take precedence of its elders unabashed; and the fear of God was treated with equal levity. One and the other scoffed at Divine service, acting as if they only resorted thither for appearance sake; and so the queen herself did at last. Arrogance was the badge of the young nobility. Guttling and toying were already common since the German war; yet this was blended with a chivalrous gallantry, which shed a generous exhilaration on social life; the ladies were the goddesses of the day." Cromwell's ambassador, Whitelocke, who in 1654 concluded a treaty with Sweden in the name of the Protector, saw with disgust, during the residence of the court at Upsala, young nobles rambling noisily through the streets on a Sunday, and drinking the queen's health on their knees in the marketplace⁵. Ballets, in which the queen herself danced, entertainments, and running at the ring, filled up the time⁶. For entire months she

never tranquil, and never prosperous, on account of the turbulent fellows who aimed at ruling them. One state, the Lacedæmonians, had a sort of kings, whom I cannot look upon as aught else than the fools of the demagogues; and these were the only kings in Greece." Mem. for the Hist. of Scand. ix. 138.

⁷ "The Messenian intrigue was of far greater consequence with regard to public tranquillity than could then be conceived. The queen heard of it in the evening, just as she was about to go to bed. Shortly after appeared governor Hermann Fleming, bringing the intelligence which she had already heard, through some one who had betrayed the Messenians. The queen, who was a fearless and discreet princess, stood and looked very quietly at Fleming, and after considering a short time, replied: 'What you say, lord Hermann, is well judged; but what think you of the hereditary prince? For I know maybe more than you; I know that they have communicated their damnable projects to the prince. You, who are in his confidence, what think you of it?' Lord Hermann answered, 'It is very possible; but what I know for certain is, that his royal highness does not bite the hook.' Then the queen said to lord Hermann, 'In order to get exact knowledge of all the conspirators, we must let the matter come to a rising, and have them all together on the stage, before we drop the curtain and catch them all in the trap. We may well see a fray of it; but I with my people fear the issue not a jot.' Lord Hermann had enough to do to draw the queen from this daring and bloody idea, assuring her that all would yet come to her

knowledge, and the matter be quashed without noise. The most notable circumstance was, that just so much time as an express takes to go to Eland and return at the utmost speed, elapsed between the queen's conversation with governor Fleming and the arrival of the prince's letter to the queen, informing her of the audacious designs of the Messenians." Ibid. ix. 107, seq.

⁸ Namely old John Messenius, who died at Uleaborg in 1636. His son Arnold John Messenius, in the first instance, suffered fourteen years' imprisonment; after his release and recovery of his father's manuscripts from Poland, he, in like manner, was appointed historiographer royal. His son was the young Arnold Messenius, who had been page in the service of Charles Gustavus and his brother.

⁹ The old cattle-tax, which in 1642 had been transmuted into a tax of two dollars on every crown and scot-farm, and in 1650 remitted, was again adopted. In 1642 money-dues were introduced instead of free portage, and in 1649 these were made permanent.

¹ Examples are found in the registers of the year 1653.

² Mem. for the Hist. of Scand. xx. 314.

³ It was in consequence of this that Charles XI. afterwards, in 1687, forbade any one, on being ennobled, to take the word *krona* into his name, or bear a crown on his arms, without special permission.

⁴ Scand. Mem. ix. 100.

⁵ Comp. Whitelocke's Journal of his Embassy.

⁶ "Now there is so much ado with ballets and running at

held no council, saying, when the secretary of state came with warrants for her signature, that she would as lief see the devil. The court was crowded with dancers, singers, and comedians⁷.

Even Jesuits came under this disguise, and laboured for the conversion of the queen. This was determined by a new favourite, Don Antonio Pimentelli, who came in 1652 to Sweden as Spanish ambassador, a man distinguished for agreeable qualities, who was long inseparable from the queen, living in the castle, and passing the time in her company until three or four hours after midnight. This favour he shared with the young and handsome count Tott, lately returned from his travels, whom the queen appointed to a seat in the council (now augmented to forty-six members) at the age of twenty-three, and wished also to have made a duke, since he was descended through his mother from king Eric XIV. This project was dropped when Oxenstierna and Brahe, to whom she offered the same honour, declined it. Jealousy stung De la Gardie to complaint. He alleged that count Tott, baron Steiuberg, master of the horse⁸, and colonel Schlippenbach had said that the queen had charged him with faithlessness and deceit. Though all these declared to his face that his assertion was false, he failed to demand satisfaction. Christina could never forgive him this, and afterwards, as long as she lived, expressed nothing but contempt for him. Prodigality brought its usual consequences; it had twice become necessary to close the queen's kitchen, from want of money. Under such circumstances it would be little while to quote from the state registries the projects repeatedly furnished at command by the treasury, how the expenditure and receipts might be equalized, or the pains-taking review of the state of the finances in 1653, drawn up by the hand of the old chancellor, and preserved in the library of Upsala. Public discontent began to rise to a formidable pitch. "Come not here," de la Gardie's mother wrote to him from his county in West-Gothland, March 7, 1653; "through the whole journey we heard that the peasants had revolted; and in Blixberg that peasant with the great red beard, who is usually deputy to the diet, said, when he drank with my people, that the peasants would kill all the nobility⁹." Charles Gustavus, who passed his time in Celand, silent and attentive, wrote, that he did not dare to travel to visit his father, because the people sought and flocked to him every where, as soon as he showed himself¹.

On the 11th of February, 1654, the queen summoned the council to Upsala, and communicated

to them her irrevocable resolve to lay aside the crown, and to transfer it to the hereditary prince. The usual remonstrances were offered; at length the high-chancellor said, "If it is to be, then the sooner the better." The estates were also convened at Upsala on the 21st of May. Christina spent the interval in coming to terms with the prince, through Hermann Fleming and Stiernhock, in regard to her future appanage. The estates assigned to her the islands of Gottland, Eland, Cesel, the town and castle of Norrkœping, Wolgast, with several garrisons in Pomerania, Poel, and New-Cloister at Wismar, computed to yield a revenue of 240,000 rix-dollars. That this should have been done without taking into account the donations made to others in the several districts specified, produced in the end some sharp altercation between the queen and the council. In the territory set apart for her she obtained the right of appointing governors, prefects, and other civil functionaries, together with the ministers of the royal pastorates, but only native Swedes, and conformants to the Confession of Augsburg. The first and second instance in suits at law pertained to her and her officers; she herself was to be responsible to no one for her conduct.

The ceremony of abdication we may describe in the words of the high-steward, Peter Brahe². "The queen's renunciation took place on the morning of the 6th of June. It was a mournful transaction. The queen left her chamber, having the crown on her head, with the ball and sceptre in her hand, clad in her coronation robes and a white silk atlas kirtle, and delivered an address. To this Herr Shering Rosenhane replied in an oration fairly composed, and fitting to the occasion. Thereupon her majesty laid aside one regal after the other, descended from the throne, spoke to the hereditary prince, who was presently to be crowned king; recommending to him the weal of his country, with laudation of every order, the council of state, and especially those who had been her guardians, with the noblest and most moving exhortations and wise sayings that could be imagined. Her majesty stood and spoke thus finely unconstrained; sometimes a sob broke her utterance. Many honourable persons, both men and women (for all the ladies were present), were moved to tears, seeing that she closed both her race and reign before God's enforcement, and how she stood beautiful as an angel. To this the king made answer fitly and gallantly. Her majesty wished to see the king immediately on the throne, but he would not. With that they left the hall, and her majesty

the ring, that no important business is despatched." The chamberlain, John Ekeblad, to his father, Nov. 17, 1652. Scand. Mem. xx. 322. After one of her entertainments the queen, in 1653, founded the order of the Amaranth for fifteen persons of both sexes, with the motto, *Dolce nella memoria*. The first knight was Pimentelli, to whose birth-place, Amaranthe in Portugal, some have wished to find an allusion in the name of the order.

⁷ "Some twenty head of Italians are on their way from Denmark, and expected to-morrow; among them some comedians, but most singers and musicians." The same to the same, l. c.

⁸ Steinberg had won the queen's favour by saving her life on the 14th May, 1652, at a naval review, when she fell from a plank into the sea with admiral Fleming, and was drawn by him in his fright under water. Others ascribe her rescue

to general Wachtmeister. It is certain that Christina created Steinberg a baron, and shortly before her abdication gave him the rank of count. The nobility made some difficulty about receiving him; but they complied on Charles Gustavus declaring that till then he would not accept their homage.

⁹ Mem. for the Hist. of Scand. xviii. 372.

¹ Ayant quelque scrupule de passer en ce temps icy par le pays pour y estre acablé des diverses questions et propositions du menu peuple, qui me cherche partout. Charles Gustavus to his father, Borchholm, March 14, 1652. Communicated by his late excellency M. Adlersparre. The palsegrave John Casimir died at Stegeborg, June 8, 1652. In Nerike and Vermeland insurrectionary movements actually broke out. The ringleaders were punished with gibbet and wheel.

² Count P. Brahe's Journal, p. 92.

wished to attend upon the king to his chamber, but he refusing, attended upon her. Straightway at two o'clock afternoon, the king was crowned, with the usual procession; his majesty rode to church with all the councillors of state; thereupon was held a banquet³." The following day Christina quitted Upsala, and stayed a few days at Stockholm, where she went publicly to confession. Twelve ships of war had been equipped to convey her to Germany, which were to await her at Calmar. Instead of this she took her way by Halmstad and the Sound. Only four Swedes followed her; the rest she had dismissed. On coming to a brook which then formed the frontier between Sweden and Denmark, she dismounted from her carriage, and leaping across it cried, "At length I am free and out of Sweden, whither I hope never to return⁴."

Thus sank Christina, like a meteor, below the horizon of Sweden. Soon after Axel Oxenstierna descended to the grave⁵, with sighs exclaiming

³ The queen had caused the tapestries, furniture, and moveables of the castle to be packed up; and such articles had to be borrowed for the coronation. Yet a contemporary account says that all things were well managed.

⁴ Arkenholtz, i. 420.

⁵ August 28, 1654.

that "she was still the daughter of the great Gustavus." Her subsequent conduct, in changing first secretly, then publicly, to the Catholic church⁶, estranged from her for ever her former country. She revisited it, however, in 1660 and 1667, and renewed both her claims and her renunciation, besides announcing herself in 1668 a candidate for the vacant throne of Poland. It is neither possible nor necessary to discover the reasons which might explain these proceedings. The learned men of Europe continued to be her voluntary subjects. Her treatises, mostly composed of short reflections, exhibit a soul still ardent and untamed in age, striving in all things after the extreme and the supreme, but at length submitting to her lot. The feminine virtues which she despised avenged themselves on her good name; yet was she better than her reputation⁷. She died at Rome, April 19, 1689, sixty-three years old.

⁶ The former occurred at Brussels, Dec. 24, 1654; the latter at Innsbruck, Nov. 3, 1655.

⁷ H. Frederick von Raumer, in the 5th volume of his *History of Europe*, from the end of the fifteenth century, in the few pages he has devoted to Christina, has flavoured his narrative too highly with scandal, of which he seems, strangely enough, to be fond in history (In the German translation this note is altered. T.)

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

A.

CHAP. I. (p. 12, n. 1.) The national name of the Swedes is written in different manuscripts of Jordanes (to judge by the printed copies and their variations), *Suethans*, *Suehans* (?), *Sueveans*, *Sue-thidi*, *Suetidi*. On the derivation of *Suithiod* here proposed, as well as on that of the name *Tuisco*, the author lays no weight.

B.

CHAP. II. (p. 23.) Though not coming strictly within the scope of this chapter, as defined by Professor Geijer, the English reader may be glad to have some further account of the celebrated province of *Dalecarlia*, or rather *Dalarna* (the *Dales*), whose inhabitants play so conspicuous a part in the Swedish annals. "On the lofty fells which form the boundary between Sweden and Norway, rises in two head-streams the great river *Dal*. Of these, one, called the *Easter Dal-elf*, receives in its course the *Orsa*, and flowing through lake *Silyan*, runs into the parish of *Gagnef*; the other, named the *Wester Dal-elf*, rising in *Fulu Fells*, flows to the church of *Linna*, and breaks with many sudden beuds through the encountering mountain-ridge, running likewise to the parish of *Gagnef*. Here, below the parish church, the two branches unite, and the *Dal-elf* continues in one channel its course to the sea, intersecting wide and fertile levels; at times spreading into vast sheets, which encompass a group of islands, again collecting its waters in a straiter bed, forming considerable falls at *Elfkarleby* (the by or dwelling of the *Elf-carls*), and disemboguing into the gulf of *Bothnia* about a mile (six miles) therefrom. The narrow and high lying valley which the western branch, or *Wester Dal-elf*, flows through, forms the division of the province of *Dalarna*, called *Westerdalarna* (*Wester Dales*); the more spacious and lower valley through which the eastern branch, or *Easter Dal-elf*, flows, bears the name of *Österdalarna* (*Easter Dales*). These two main valleys, *Easter* and *Wester Dale*, form the whole upper or northern part of the prefecture of *Stora Kopparberg* (the great copper-mine); the other portion, lying below, or to the south of the valleys above mentioned, comprehends in the south-west the western mine-canton, and in the south-east the bailiwicks of *Kopparberg* proper, *Seter*, and *Næsgard*, the latter comprising the eastern mine-canton." (*Strinholm, Svenska Folkets Historia, German Translation, ii. 12.*) In the upper part of the province the mountains are from four to six thousand feet high, and it is every where broken into valleys, forests, heaths, lakes, and

streams. The town of *Falun*, or *Old Kopparberg* at which is the great copper-mine, made famous by travellers, is about one hundred and forty English miles from *Stockholm*. The inhabitants of the province are called *Dalkarlar* (whence *Dalecarlia*), or *Dalsmen*. (*Tuneld, Geography of Sweden, Stockholm, 1773, p. 203, seq.*) *Tr.*

C.

CHAP. II. (p. 28, n. 2.) From observations on the *Lapps* and their relations to the *Finns*, communicated to me by Mr. Peter *Læstadius*, who is so well acquainted with the *Lapp-marks*, I may add, that these so-called *Wood-Lapps*, moving between fixed places of abode and exercising tillage, are in a transitional state from the manner of life of the mountain *Lapps* to that of the new settlers, whence the diminishing numbers of the hill *Lapps* are partly to be ascribed to this cause. In the *Lapp-marks*, a settler in general is called *Finn*, whence the statement of *Högström*, as to the pleasure with which the *Lapp* hears himself called *Finn*, is to be understood in this sense. Traditions among the *Lapps*, who gather and diffuse with the greatest avidity all accounts of family, are, according to *Læstadius*, hardly to be depended upon; nor do we lay weight upon them, where they are not corroborated by other evidence.

D.

CHAP. II. (p. 31, n. 5.) *Tings* and assemblies were generally held on some extensive rising ground; but that courts were held on or at the kin-barrows, not only their traditional appellation of *Tings-högar* (court-knolls), but the mention of *Högating* or *Knoll-court* in the *Chronicles of the Kings*, bespeak. From other passages in them (comp. *Saga of Harald the Fair-haired, c. 8, Saga of Haco the Good, c. 13.*) we learn also that the king used to sit on a knoll, probably the barrow of his ancestors; whence the Swedish prince *Styrbiörn*, when he demanded his share of the kingdom from his uncle *Eric the Victorious*, seated himself on his father's barrow.

E.

CHAP. II. (p. 32, n. 2.) The circles of stones, called by us judges' rings or seats, were not always intended for sitting upon, for they are often of considerable height, and pointed, but properly marked the circle without which the people were to keep. For the rest, the king, lawman, and others of the chief men, sat at a court, but stood up when they addressed the people, as may be learned from the description of the *Upsala Ting* in the *Chronicles of Snorro*.

F.

CHAP. II. (p. 33.) Against the statement, that the judge expounded the law along with the wisest of the people, it has been remarked, that it was the function of the lawman and of no other to lay down the law in the Land's Ting, which we do not dispute. But the expression in the text has reference to an older condition of the commonwealth, still so democratical as hardly to tolerate the jurisdiction of a single person, unless in particular cases from sacerdotal authority. So late as the time of Olave the Lap-king, a sentence passed in a general assembly (Alshärjarting) was said to be by the whole people (Allsherjardom, the doom of all the host). It was not under such circumstances that the king or lawman could be the sole expounder of the law; though the jurisdiction of the people in practice was naturally transferred to some few of the chief and most able men as arbitrators and daysmen (whence the Chronicles of the Kings expressly state of the last-named king, that "he had always with him twelve of the wisest men, who sat with him in judgment, and advised in hard cases"), and with the development of legal principles the judge appears more and more in his proper character.

G.

CHAP. VII. (p. 87, n. 5.) That Magnus Ericson's Land's Law, notwithstanding the protest of the clergy, was immediately received, appears from a deed communicated to me by Professor Schröder, in the count Bonde's collection of monuments at Sæfstaðolm. In a letter of one John Gregorson, dated Wexjö, 1352, he declares that he appoints a morrowing-gift, "*secundum modum ac formam legum per Dominum meum carissimum, Domium regem, nuper editarum.*"

H.

CHAP. XVII. A few extracts from the work of Monro, frequently referred to by Professor Geijer, may not be unacceptable, as illustrative of the character of Gustavus Adolphus, and the spirit of his followers. As exemplifying the strictness of his discipline, in an age of military license, we quote the following:—

"Notwithstanding our easy march (to Old Brandeburg) and good quarters, there were some in both the regiments unworthy the name of good soldiers, who, in their march, leaving their colours, and staying behind, did plunder and oppress the boors; for remedy whereof the soldiers being complained on, accused and convicted, they were made for punishment to suffer gatlop, where they were well whipped for their insolency. Likewise on this march, some of our soldiers in their ranks, their colours flying, did beat one another, for which oversight I did cashier a sergeant, after I had cut him over the head, for suffering such abuse to have been done in his presence. . . . Andrew Monro was executed at Stettin, for having, contrary to his majesty's Articles and discipline of war, beaten a burgher in the night within his own house, for whose life there was much solicitation made by the duchess of Pomeran, and sundry noble ladies, but all in vain; yet to be lamented,

since divers times before he had given proof of his valour."—ii. 46.

Another passage shows the king in a different light:—

"The next day the duke of Saxony with a princely train came unto Halle, to congratulate his majesty's victory (at Leipsic). . . . Having once been companions of danger together, they were then entertaining one another's familiarity, in renewing of their friendship, confirmed again with the German custom, in making their league the firmer, by drinking brothership together; where I having entered the hall, and being seen by his majesty, I was presently kindly embraced by holding his arm over my shoulder; wishing I could bear as much drink as old major-general Ruthven, that I might help his majesty to make his guests merry; and holding me fast by the hand, calling to the duke of Saxony, declared unto him what service our nation had done his father and him, and the best last, at Leipsic," &c.

The intrenched camp at Werben is thus described:—"This leaguer lay along the side of the river on a plain meadow, being guarded by the river on the one side, and the foreside was guarded by a long earthen dike, which of old was made to hold off the river from the land; which dike his majesty made use of, dividing it by scones and redoubts, which defended one another with flanking, having batteries and cannon set within them, amongst the whole leaguer. He did also set over the river a ship-bridge for his retreat in need, as also for bringing commodiously of provision and succours from the country and garrisons on the other side, as Havelberg and others.

"In like manner his majesty did fortify the town of Werben for his magazine, being close to the leaguer, with works about it which defended the leaguer; and the leaguer-works were made to defend the town also, so that they could relieve one another being in most distress, and both the town-wall and leaguer-wall were so thick and firm of old earth, faced up with new, that no cartow could enter into it. The bulwarks on which the batteries were made for the cannon were also very strong and formally built, and they flanked one another, so that none could find but folly in pressing to enter by storm. And betwixt the flankers were left voids, for letting troops of horse in and out, with booms before them, where strong guards were kept for defending the passage.

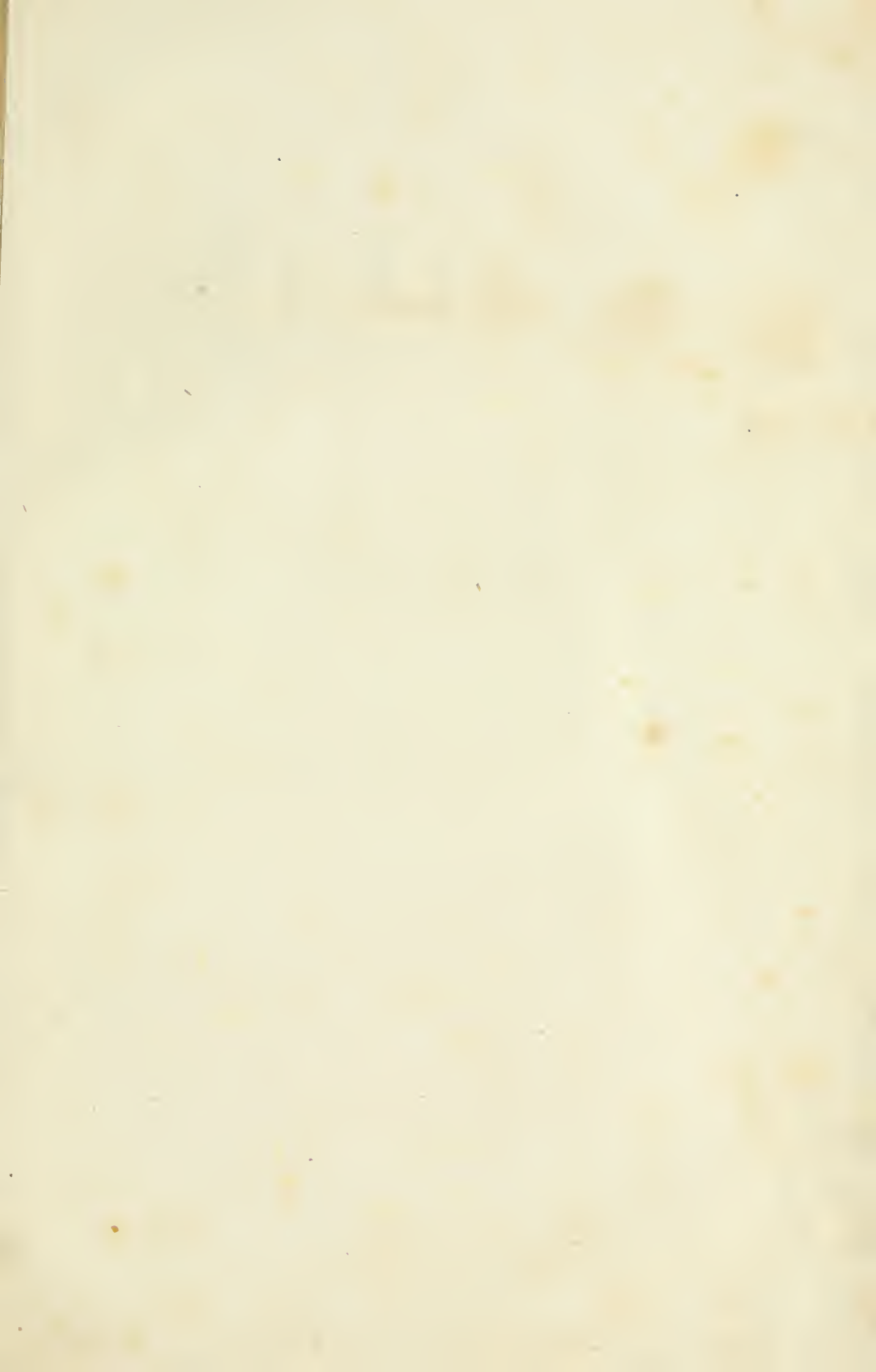
"And on the one side of this leaguer were planted above one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, great and small, besides those that were planted on the town-works; and our whole horsemen were quartered within the leaguer."

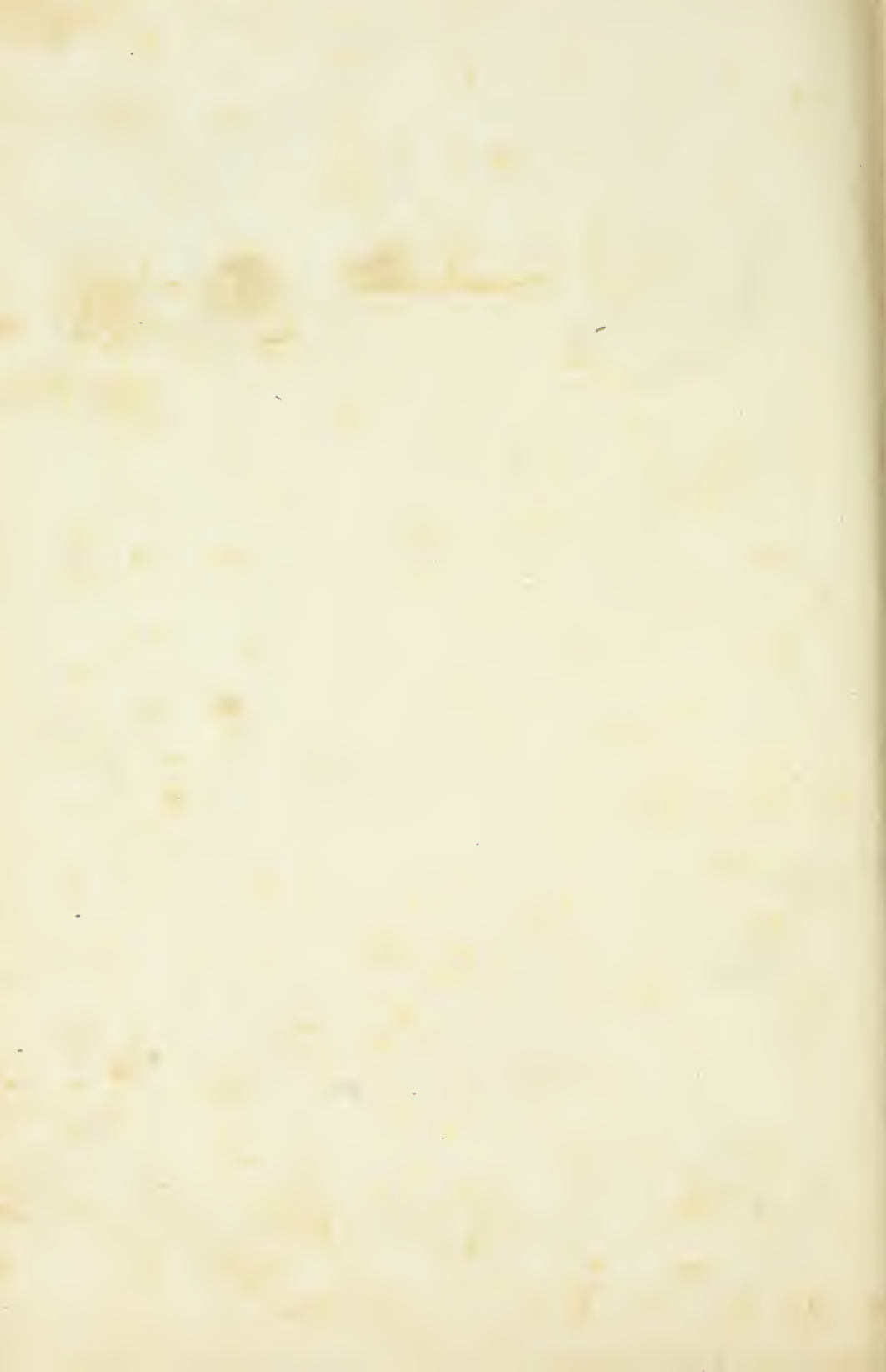
Speaking of Tilly's retreat from this intrenched camp, he extols Gustavus as "a worthy king and general, whose prudence and wisdom in command were ever answerable to the dignity of his majestic person, that ought and should be endowed with infinite virtues, since infinite were those things he had to foresee, and which are needful for a man of his place. Infinite chances and altogether diverse every moment were set before him, in so much that Argus' eyes were too few for him, not only in respect of the weight of his command, but also in respect of the wit and prudence which was requisite for him. All other commands belonging to a soldier are so inferior to this of a general, that

almost they are nothing in respect of this; who amongst others his great gifts, must know severely to command, and softly to bear with others. As also, he must learn patiently to give place to others' contumacy, and he must not only be powerful to strengthen his own affairs, but also he must weaken his enemies. And chiefly, he must make war by policy, without giving battle or travel (as this wise general did deal twice with old Tilly); who was forced, after a long march, having but visited him and seen his orders, to retire again with the loss of many men, without any detriment or hurt at all to his majesty's own little army, which he kept ever to the last, by preserving them from their enemies, and by supplying of them, as they became weak, so that their weakness could never be

truly discerned. Who would not then admire the wisdom and foresight of this general, in preserving this little army, at this time, for a second fitter occasion? Who ever then was so worthy of the honourable title of a general as he? For though he had been no king, he was a brave warrior, and which is more, a good man; magnificent, wise, just, meek, endued with learning and the gift of tongues; and as he had strength of body and a manlike stature, he had also the ornaments of the mind, fitting a brave commander. He knew how to dally and weary an army led by such an old general as Tilly was. For though he (Tilly) did vaunt he had beaten two kings before in an open field, the third king made him, for all his experience, to be thought but a child again," &c. *Tr.*

END OF VOL. I.













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